THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1793.



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PREFACE.

THE Volume now offered to the Public brings to a close that important part of the history of the French Revolution, which induced us to depart from the general plan of this work, and enter into details of wider research and more circumstantial narrative, than the civil transactions of a foreign country can, in the ordinary course of events, be permitted to demand in such a publication. The remaining struggles of the Girondists with the Jacobins, from their overthrow of the monarchy to their own political defeat and destruction, a short but busy interval, are here faithfully traced and illustrated. They make much of the bulk of the present volume. We have already

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on a former occaſion fairly ſubmitted to our Readers, the motives which perſuaded us to impoſe on ourſelves a taſk of ſo much encreaſed labour and difficulty; of a nature too which was never likely to compenſate in reputation, the pains beſtowed to make it uſeful. But ſince the date of our laſt preface, the exiſting Governor of France has given a new intereſt to this period. He has in a manner immediately connected himſelf and his cauſe with the ſhort-lived rulers of that day. In reviſing the decrees againſt emigration, the line of ſuppoſed criminality and innocence has been drawn at the preciſe epoch of the fall of Briſſot and his faction. Up to that moment it is conſidered, that there was a legitimate and protecting government in the country: from that time all is regarded as a frightful chaſm, till the aſſerted reſtoration of ſocial order and do-

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meſtic ſecurity under the conſulate. He ſeems alſo to have adopted the principle of their foreign policy, as it will be ſeen ſtated in the beginning of our VIth Chapter; with this ſingle exception, that as he has ſubſtituted an imperial deſpotiſm for the name of republican liberty and equality, inſtead of confederate democracies he has ſurrounded France with dependant monarchies of his own creation.

Another queſtion on which we have endeavoured to throw the fulleſt light, is that of the fact of aggreſſion in the late war declared againſt this country by France. For the party which, by appealing firſt to the deciſion of arms, is in form the aggreſſor, is not always ſuch in eſſence and in reality. Here, however, we truſt that we have ſatisfactorily vindicated the juſtice of the Britiſh Nation. We have

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indeed been anticipated in the mean time by a very able and accurate writer, the Reverend Herbert Marſh, who has publiſhed an entire work on this ſubject. If we have not quoted his authority, it has not been from any affectation of diſſembling our very high opinion of his merit; but in truth our Readers will perceive, that a very great part of our materials had been already prepared in the Chronicle and State Papers of the laſt volume, which he has himſelf uſed perhaps a little more largely than he has always thought it worth while to particularize; and the collection of the other documents of the ſame kind, in the preſent volume, had been not only made, but was in part actually printed, before his eſſay appeared. For the reſt, it will be found, we believe, that we have added from our own ſources of information

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(ſome of which we before incidentally pointed out for other purpoſes) ſeveral very important circumſtances and facts which had eſcaped even his diligence.

No good account has hitherto been given of the operations of the armies in the early part of the war. Such as could be obtained, have been carefully compared, and are here combined in a ſuccinct, but, it is hoped, a clearer and more ſyſtematic view, than has yet been preſented of the ſame events. The gallant, heroic, and for a time the ſucceſsful ſtand made by the loyal gentry and peaſantry in various quarters of France, are reſerved entire for the following volume, which has been ſome time in the preſs.

On all theſe main branches of our hiſtorical narrative, it is confidently expected, that our Readers will now receive, in the more perfect execution of the work,

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ſome conſolation for the diſappointments, which they have ſo repeatedly ſuffered, and ſo candidly and liberally overlooked, in the time of its publication. The cauſes (for they have been many) of this delay cannot now be in general intereſting. One alone we will mention; becauſe it is the ſtrongeſt pledge of our future exertions; we mean, the deſire of accompanying this with the firſt volume of a new ſeries, which has lately been announced to the Public, and which is now ready to be ſubmitted, together with this, to their accuſtomed indulgence and approbation.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1793.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Power in France. Character of the different parties. Manifesto of Condorcet. Secret service money voted to Roland. It involves him in difficulties. Secret service money voted to the executive council. Danton establishes a new periodical paper. Commissioners sent to the departments to explain events. Danton gets the selection of them. Statues and pictures of kings destroyed. Ill treatment of royalists and constitutionalists, by the populace. Marat in possession of the king's presses. Bad conduct of the assembly to the royal family. Tyrannical conduct of the usurping common-council. Suspected persons and priests daily imprisoned. Endeavours of the assembly and common-council to obtain something like proof of a conspiracy, on the part of the court. Examination of M. M. Montmorin and D'Abancourt. Convenient morality of the revolutionists. Papers said to have been found at M. Septeuil's. He makes an affidavit in London of the falsity of the charge. Papers found in M. Laporte's house. No proof of guilt in them. New tribunal decreed for trying the crimes of the 10th of August. Pretended correspondence carried on by the royal family, in the temple. The attendants of the royal family dragged to a common jail. Trial of M. D'Affry. He is acquitted. Trial of M. D'Angremont. Iniquity of the proceedings. Conspiracy of the court, declared by the jury to be not proved. M. D'Angremont condemned, and executed. Trial, condemnation, and execution of M. M. Laporte and Duvoisi. Execution of a poor waggoner. Acquittal of M. D'Offonville. Acquittal of M. Montmorin. Rage of the spectators.

He is re-committed to prison for a new trial. The new tribunal thought too slow. Threats thrown out that the people would take the law into their own hands. Motion of Merlin, that the relations of emigrants should be made responsible for the events of the war. Transportation of the priests decreed. Funeral ceremony in honour of those who fell on the 10th of August. Jean Debry moves for the formation of a corps to assassinate kings and generals. It is referred to a committee. Federates refuse to leave Paris. Speech of Manuel, and oath taken by the Jacobins against royalty. Domiciliary visits. Houses searched under pretence of finding arms, but in reality to obtain prisoners. Consternation of Paris on the measure. Disagreement between the assembly and the common-council. Louvet attacks the common-council at the section of the Lombards. He is himself attacked by Tallien and Robespierre. Roland complains of the common-council to the assembly. The common-council surround the war-office with armed men to arrest Girey Duré. The assembly decree the breaking of the common-council, and the formation of a new one. Pétion's new prudence. He comes to the assembly at the head of a deputation from the common-council, and announces a desire of conciliation on their part. Insolent speech of Tallien, the spokesman of the deputation. Ultimate triumph of the common council. Artifices used to irritate the minds of the populace. Roland issues a most inflammatory libel against the late court. Preparations for a massacre. Rumours circulated preparatory to it. Massacre of the priests commenced. Massacre at St. Germain. At the Carmelites. Murder of the archbishop of Arles. Fortitude of the priests. Massacre at St. Firmin. At the abbey. Mock tribunal there. M. M. Cazotte and Sombreuil saved by their daughters. Feelings of the prisoners. Courage of princess de Lamballe. Her massacre. Bicetre. Number slain. Duke de la Rochefoucauld murdered. Murder of the state prisoners brought from Orleans. Attempts to extend the carnage to the provinces. In some places effected. Fears of the Ministers for their own safety. Danton implicated in the massacres. Roland and his party meant to be sacrificed. A warrant issued against him, but suppressed by Danton. Brissot denounced by Robespierre. His papers searched. Roland's letter of the 3d of September. Elections at Paris all in favour of the more violent faction. Weak endeavours of the Brissotins to regain some portion of authority. Robbery of the Jewel Office. Termination of the assembly. Its character.

THE overthrow of Lewis the XVI^th^, with which the last volume concluded, was the cardinal event whereon the destiny of Europe turned. The power of France, compact and solid as it is by nature, had now become more formidable, by the constitution which had made every man a soldier, by the extraordinary resources of plunder and confiscation, which the massacre, or flight of the rich from day to day augmented, and by the furious energy which the continual agitation of demagogues had communicated to the more licentious and daring part of the populace, and which now impelled them to the camps; while the many disasters, and final discomfitures which the armies had lately suffered in their first essays of revolutionary conquests, without having essentially diminished their strength or courage,

courage, had begun to teach them the neceſſity of diſcipline and obedience to their military chiefs. Henceforward the whole direction of this power was left, without any internal counterpoiſe or check, in the hands of bold and triumphant zealots, who, however they had differed on the order, the time, or the means of carrying their common deſigns into effect, yet all profeſſed to agree in the ſame ends, of aboliſhing royalty for ever in their own country, of extending the territory of their new republic to what they were pleaſed to call its natural boundaries, and of eſtabliſhing, by the combined force of arms and intrigues, a paramount dominion over all ſurrounding nations.

If there was any diſtinction worth remarking in the character of the two parties, Briſſot and his connexion were leſs outrageous and leſs wantonly cruel in their domeſtic politics; more ſyſtematic and more vigorous in their foreign: the Cordeliers and Jacobins, under Roberſpierre and Danton, were more intent on fixing their horrible aſcendancy at home by bloodſhed and terror; ſucceſs abroad was with them a ſecondary conſideration, for which, having no methodized plan, they truſted more to intrigues, and leſs to arms. Thoſe ſeem more ſeriouſly to have deſired ſome regulated democracy of the populace, which they might have ſubjected to an ignoble oligarchy of their own; theſe had no preſent object, but to take the chances of a prolonged anarchy, while through ſome of them the duke of Orleans yet hoped, by new largeſſes and inſurrections, to find the means of making himſelf lieutenant-general of France; and through others Roberſpierre was ſecretly working his way towards the dictatorſhip, to which he aſpired. The former were more eloquent, and poſſeſſed the greater ſhare of literary talents; the latter were more aſſiduous in courting the multitude by every ſort of art, and more conſiſtent in following the maxims of the revolution through all their conſequences, without compromiſe, without fear, without compunction. The majority of the legiſlative aſſembly, which ſometimes though rarely had over-ruled both, now leaned of courſe to the former as leſs intemperate; and in the executive council erected by the aſſembly, Danton was the only member taken from the latter of the rival factions. On the other hand, the moſt active of the clubs and popular ſocieties in the capital, had long been under the lead of Roberſpierre and Danton, * as we have already had occaſion to obſerve; and in the new common-council of Paris, which had been the immediate conductor of the late revolution, and the authority of which was now proportionably high, there was only Pétion who had any confidential intercourſe with Briſſot, and he probably owed his ſituation to the good underſtanding, which he had hitherto maintained with the Orleaniſts. For the inſtant, indeed, they ſeemed to be all cordially united in their views: the primary care of all was to ſecure their late victory. The Girondiſts, who had fluctuated

* See our Volume for 1792, p. 1. p. 441 and 442.

and hesitated, while the issue of the conspiracy and insurrection was uncertain, now thought *their* * *interest and glory* concerned, in defending what had been atchieved without their participation. But in the very first steps which they took for establishing their new government, they prepared the way for their own destruction.

During three days all the mails, and the couriers, even of foreign ministers, were stopped, while Condorcet was drawing up such a justification as he could, of the conduct of the assembly from its commencement, and a particular explanation of their motives in calling a national convention. It is a laboured, but a languid composition, † chiefly made up of insipid sophistry and inartificial misrepresentation. It was approved, however, by the assembly, and dispatched to the departments and to foreign courts. 13th August.

This was their formal, ostensible manifesto: but for the effectual instruction of the public, as they termed it, they relied on M. Roland; to second whose efforts in that respect, they voted a sum of one hundred thousand livres ‡. So unfortunate, however, was he in his application of the means, which his faction had thus put into his hands, that it afterwards served to furnish a principal article of impeachment against him, and immediately involved him in various embarrassments. Marat, without delay, demanded fifteen thousand livres of this fund, to assist him in his publications. The minister desired to see the manuscripts, and laid them before his colleagues in council; but they referred the business entirely to Danton, who thus had an opportunity of attaching Marat still more to himself, and of irritating him against Roland. Nor was Danton unwilling to take upon himself the entire trouble of disposing of the sum voted. He, and his intimate friend Fabre d'Eglantine, very kindly enquired whether the ministers of the home department had writers in readiness to employ; mentioned the project and title of a new periodical paper; and recommended Camille Desmoulins, Robert, and others of the same stamp, to execute it. But when it was proposed, that they should be introduced, and meet weekly at Roland's house, to receive his directions, the subject was dropped. Soon after, Danton had the address to get possession of a much more considerable fund. The assembly gave the council two millions § for secret services. Roland was of opinion, that the council collectively ought to decide on the appropriation, in each particular case. But Danton said, that as the minister of the home de-

* These are the words of Madame Roland, vol. 2. p. 99. Eng. Transl.

† It is printed at length in our State Papers for 1792, Part II. p. *317.

‡ About 4,167 *l.* sterling.

§ About 83,333 *l.* sterling.

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partment had already a ſeparate allowance* of the ſame kind, the other five members ſhould divide this among them. The majority declared for him. The miniſter of the home department in vain proteſted. His pertinacious oppoſition only offended and alienated his colleagues. Danton quickly drew his proportion of 400,000 livres, ſqueezed between one and two hundred thouſand more, under different pretences, from Servan and le Brun; and then the work, which he had before mentioned, made its appearance.

In addition to the pen and the preſs, the council thought proper alſo to employ commiſſioners, who, ſent to reſide in the ſeveral departments, ſhould be charged with the taſk of explaining the late events, and of giving the deſired impulſe to the minds of the people. The choice of thoſe agents was an early ſubject of their deliberations. Roland, to whoſe office the nomination ſeemed properly to belong, deſired till the next day to conſider what perſons he ſhould recommend. "No," cried Danton, "I will take it all upon myſelf; the common-council of Paris will ſupply us with excellent patriots." He was ſingly entruſted with this delicate and important office, and the next day came with commiſſions ready drawn, which, on his motion, were filled up, and ſigned without debate. This was a maſter-ſtroke of party politics: picked men of his adherents thus became the accredited repreſentatives and organs of government throughout France.

The populace of the ſuburbs, with the federates and the men of Marſeilles and Breſt, contributed not a little in their faſhion to the public inſtruction. They marked, in the moſt extravagant manner, their hatred to the name of king. Not a ſtatue, not a picture, not an ornament, that ſuggeſted any notion of royalty, was ſpared. "When I had the rope round the neck of Henry the IVth," ſaid the ſpokeſman of a deputation at the bar of the aſſembly, "I paused a moment from reſpect to the virtues of the man; but I recollected that he was a king, and the ſtatue was tumbled from its baſe. Let a ſtone inſcribed with the Rights of Man, be erected inſtead." Neither were the buſts of Necker, Mirabeau, Bailly, and the other original leaders of the revolution, ſuffered to eſcape. No living royaliſt (and the conſtitutionaliſts were now comprehended under the ſame appellation) could ſhew himſelf in the ſtreets without imminent hazard. The impreſſion of the bloody leſſon, which had been early given in the murder of M. Clermont Tonnere, not long after that of M. Mandat, † was refreſhed from time to time, by ſimi-

* Madame Roland ſays, that the miniſter for foreign affairs had alſo a ſeparate allowance; that, in conſequence, the two millions were divided among the four remaining miniſters, and that Danton drew 100,000 crowns, which is 500,000 livres. This is, however, a miſtake. M. Claviere, on the 11th of September, explained it to the aſſembly as we have ſtated it.

† See the vol. for 1792, Part I. p. 233.

lar examples. The falſe information of a malicious enemy, or treacherous domeſtic, a caſual phraſe of ſudden emotion, a word, a geſture, a look, any indication of diſſatisfaction at the hideous ſpectacles every where preſented to the view, or of inſtinctive commiſeration for the victims, even ſilence amidſt the ſhouts of ſedition, the dreſs of a gentleman, above all, the character of a prieſt, was ſufficient to render the moſt innocent perſon ſuſpected; and once ſuſpected he was liable to be attacked, to be reviled, ill-treated, dragged about, buffeted, and wounded. Should the unhappy man raiſe his hand to parry a blow, as did the unfortunate M. Clermont Tonnere, ſelf-defence was a violation of the majeſty of the people, deſerving inſtant death; or if he was permitted to live, he was hurried away, bruiſed and mangled, to a priſon, there to lie in dreadful ſuſpenſe, expecting his fate from courts, which knew neither mercy nor juſtice; or the infuriated bands of murderers, who from time to time openly menaced him, even in thoſe ſanctuaries of the law. All this while journals, pamphlets, hand-bills and placards, echoed nothing but the moſt unmeaſured invectives againſt the fallen monarch, and cries of popular vengeance againſt all who ſhould dare to ſhew the leaſt intereſt on his behalf; for the prints of every kind, that had ventured before to expreſs other principles, had been ſummarily ſilenced; the writers and editors partly aſſaſſinated, partly driven to ſeek their ſafety in flight and exile; the workmen diſperſed; the preſſes deſtroyed or ſeized. Four belonging to the Louvre, whence ſo many ſplendid works of elegant erudition had formerly iſſued, had been carried away to be polluted by Marat, and were now groaning under the loads of ferocious ſcurrility, wherewith he was daily covering the walls. The ſtreet orators too were inceſſantly at work, and were more than ſeconded by the declaimers of the clubs: where, as all the celebrated haranguers were buſied* in the aſſembly and its committees, in the executive council and its dependant offices, in the common-council and the ſections, or ſome of the infinite departments branching out from theſe different authorities, the pulpits were now occupied by pretended federates, ſoldiers debauched from their officers, and nameleſs wretches, from the very dregs of Paris, and of all France, who were thruſt forward to utter ſentiments diſgraceful even to their mouths, in phraſes which betrayed the voice of the prompter.

The aſſembly, partly from inclination, more from fear, foſtered and encouraged by their own conduct the prevailing ſpirit, which it was their eſpecial duty to repreſs. They treated the royal family, when under their declared

* The Jacobin club itſelf, in a circular letter, addreſſed to all the affiliated ſocieties, aſſigned this reaſon for the interruption of their correſpondence, from the 10th of Auguſt to the 13th of September. That fact alone is a ſufficient teſtimony of the ſtate of Paris in the interval.

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safeguard, with wanton harshness, confining them during four days in two small rooms, though the same roof might have afforded more suitable accommodation; keeping them without a change of necessary raiment, while the rich pillage of their wardrobe was deposited in triumph before their eyes; and suffering them again and again to be personally insulted to their faces with impunity. At last, when they delivered the august prisoners over to the common-council made for their destruction, instead of sending them to the Luxembourg agreeably to their own decree, they transferred them to the most inconvenient and melancholy place of custody that could be selected; and appearing to give the king an ample allowance of half a million of livres, by putting it under the management of the common-council, made their * affected liberality a source of perpetual vexation and affront. From that hall, where, in any liberal common-wealth, the arts might have hoped to find protection, emanated a barbarous decree for demolishing all statues and pictures which had any reference to royalty. They substituted a new great seal, with a figure of liberty carrying a pike; in a similar style they altered the device on the coin; and directed all laws, ordinances, and acts of state, to go "in the name of the "nation." In their zeal to make royalty invidious, they mounted beyond the epoch of the revolution, and printed those parts of the red-book, which containing pensions and grants to persons since become obnoxious, or the elegant expences of a gay and brilliant court, had been passed over by the constituent assembly, as they now invidiously said, from a motive of respect to the king. By these, and other measures of the same tendency, they totally prejudged the great political question, to which they confessed their own powers to be inadequate; and by tolerating, by applauding, they invited all the wild and brutal violence, which was perpetually vomited forth before them, under the pretext of addresses and petitions. Not only did their complaisance to the ruffians, who assumed the name of Federates, carry them the length of appointing a deputation from their own body, to attend the funeral of such as had fallen in the attack of the palace; but so far did they outrage nature, manners, and decency, as to receive with honour a female monster, the companion of the infamous Theroigne: they sullied even their records, impure as they already were, by inscribing them with her patriotic gift of a crown and a three coloured sash, which had been voted to her by the Federates, for her detestable eminence in the work of cruelty and slaughter.

The usurping common-council, still more directly instigated, sanctioned and protected every crime. Much the greater part of the spoils taken from the Thuilleries, and from the private houses of the rich, who had been massacred, or had fled, was brought to them; in addition to which, they ordered the churches to be stripped of all the sacred

* M. Clery says, that not more than the sum of 2,000 livres was ever paid.

utenſils, and images of gold and ſilver; and ſwelling theſe reſources of plunder by ſums, which with one hand they took from the maintenance of the captive monarch, and with the other diverted from the purchaſe of corn for the people, they applied the whole to pay freſh violences and enormities. From the 10th of Auguſt, they had their liſts of proſcription. Innumerable warrants of arreſt were iſſued by them, without any evidence, without any enquiry, without any diſtinct charge of guilt. To enforce theſe, they delegated their power to men of bad character, who again employed men ſtill worſe. It has been ſaid, they had under them three hundred municipal officers, and nearly ſeven hundred officers of ſections. The barriers, during eight days, were kept ſhut and guarded, that ſuſpected perſons might be prevented from eſcaping, and paſſports bring a better price; for ſuch as did get away (and they were many) were indebted not to the lenity, but the corruption of their perſecutors and tyrants. The armed force within the city was at the diſpoſal of the municipality, but inſtead of being called out for the preſervation of tranquillity, it was never employed but in acts of oppreſſion, ſpreading, wherever it went, confuſion, tumult, and conſternation. If, by miſtake, any of the public robbers and aſſaſſins were apprehended, they were ſoon enlarged in triumph; for the pretence of a fanatical zeal againſt royalty, or what was called *civiſm*, ſtood in the place of every virtue; and ſanctified every abomination: while, on the other hand, inoffenſive ſufferers, who had dared to complain, were not unfrequently thrown into dungeons, or turned looſe only to be worried, hunted down, and killed. Never before had there exiſted in civilized Europe, in the capital of a great and poliſhed people, any body of men, aſſuming the title and authority of magiſtracy, that openly purſued a ſyſtem of conduct ſo audaciouſly flagitious.

The common-council, the aſſembly, and the miniſters, were above all things ſolicitous to obtain, if poſſible, ſomething like a proof of that conſpiracy, which they had ſo long and ſo confidently attributed to the court. Committees of the common-council and the aſſembly were engaged, with much parade, in collecting and examining whatever was found, and the miniſters had their emiſſaries and informers. For the juſtification of their own cauſe, they enjoyed every facility to be derived from deſpotic power, the poſſeſſion of the palace, the ſeizure of the king's ſervants, or, if they eſcaped, of their papers; in ſhort, all the means of the moſt rigorous enquiry, unreſtrained by any ſenſe of delicacy, or regard to the forms of juſtice. Yet the fact is, that ſeveral days elapſed, before any fruit of their reſearches appeared, and then two or three letters only were read by M. Bazire: others came dropping in at diſtant intervals. Neither was proper care taken to verify ſome, which were ſuppoſed to be among the moſt important, but the perſons who could beſt have ſpoken to the truth or falſehood of them, were, ſoon after, maſſacred, without having been interrogated to that point. It is probable, that the leaders of the aſſembly, may have been deterred from riſking ſuch a ſtep with others, by the

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experience which they gained in queſtioning M. Montmorin. He was preſſed by M. Genſonnè for two hours on the ſubject of the famous Auſtrian committee, but his anſwers, the coolneſs and addreſs of which his enemies admired, only ſerving to evince more fully than ever the futility of the clamour which had been raiſed, the proſecution of his examination was haſtily adjourned. The next day, inſtead of being remanded to the bar, he was ſent to priſon, there to await the report of a committee; which, when it came, impeached him on the ſingle ground that he had not broken the old treaties with Auſtria, and contracted a new alliance with Pruſſia; though, in fact, he had quitted the miniſtry before the firſt vote of the aſſembly glancing at the emperor Leopold. M. D'Abancourt was not examined at all to a letter, purporting to be from one of his correſpondents, though ſome little ſtreſs was laid upon it. The letters read by M. Bazire, were reported to have been acknowledged by the prince De Poix, whoſe addreſs they bore; but it was an error: they had not been produced to him, and he had made his eſcape. In this ſituation it imported thoſe, who conducted ſuch an enquiry, to uſe peculiar caution in authenticating at leaſt the circumſtances which attended the finding and the keeping of the papers, eſpecially as they were brought at different times, by different perſons, and as multitudes, from the perturbed ſtate of Paris, had continual acceſs to the committees; nor could they be ignorant that the morality of the revolution was not ſuch, as to ſcruple the practice of fraud and fabrication *, if uſeful to the good cauſe. Indeed one inſtance which ſhould teach us much circumſpection

* We have the very candid and unexceptionable teſtimony of M. Garat, who had the beſt means of knowing, that ſome of his moſt moral friends uſed "*the artifice of combining lies with truth*," and "*attributing crimes to their enemies which they never committed*;" that it was perhaps "ſometimes neceſſary to "ſerve the good cauſe by ſuch ſtratagems," and that "villany with them was a "virtue, *when what they called the public good required it.*"

"Plus d'une fois (dit il) dans le cours de la révolution, j'ai ouï des hommes "qui avoit eût de la morale, appeller au ſecours des principes les plus purs et "à l'exécution des meſures les plus legitimes, des moyens dans leſquels l'artifice "combinoit le menſonge avec la vérité, et pour déjouer et punir plus ſurement "des ennemis coupables, leur prêtoient des crimes qu'ils n'avoient pas commis. "Je l'ai vue; et tout ce que j'ai pu faire, c'eſt de fermer, non pas les yeux, "mais la bouche."

Peut-être y ait-il des circonſtances terribles, ou la bonne cauſe, la cauſe même du genre humain, ſe trouve dans l'alternative ou de reſter expoſée, ou de ſe ſauver par de pareils ſtratagêms; peut-être y ait-il quelque vérité dans ce que me diſoit un jour un des nos plus célébres révolutionaires: *Vouz avez un grand vice en revolution, c'eſt de ne vouloir pas vous prêter à une ſcélérateſſe, quand le bien public l'exige.* Memoires ſur la Revolution, &c. par Garat. pp. 126-7.

Madame Roland alſo gives us, in the ſame manner, a little inſight into the morals of her huſband and his friends. After ſaying, that the court believed all thoſe who oppoſed its deſigns to be factious, ſhe proceeds, "The true patriots "ſuffered this noiſy pack to take its own courſe, like ſo many ſetting dogs; and "perhaps

tion on this ſcore actually occurred. It was bruited about, that receipts for conſiderable ſums of money remitted to the king's brothers, to M. la Fayette, and M. Bouillè, had been found after a long ſearch, in the houſe of M. Septeuil, treaſurer of the civil liſt; but that gentleman, who had taken refuge in this kingdom, immediately made a ſolemn depoſition on oath, that he never had been ordered to make, and never had made, any ſuch remittances whatever, declaring moreover that they who pretended to have found any ſuch receipts among his papers, were guilty of forgery and calumny.

If the treaſurer of the civil liſt, however, was in a place of ſafety, M. la Porte, who had been at the head of that eſtabliſhment, was taken as well as his papers. Theſe ſufficiently ſhewed, that he had not ſought to deſtroy the evidence of his tranſactions, but their contents by no means anſwered the hopes of the king's enemies. It is true, there were whole packets of letters addreſſed to the firſt clerk, M. Ponteau, which were declared to be full of counter-revolutionary projects, and ariſtocratical ſallies; at the ſame time the writer was repreſented to be a madman, though, it was gravely added, one of the dangerous ſort of madmen. A liſt of perſons, to whom bulletins were to be ſent, ſeems to have excited more ſuſpicion, till it was learnt that theſe bulletins related ſimply to the king's illneſs. But another liſt, containing applications for admiſſion to the palace-gardens, was not ſo eaſily paſſed over. It was remarked, that they who applied, all aſſigned for their motive, a deſire of taking their ſtations by the king's ſide *to defend him*, and this was conſtrued into a criminal attempt in his favour. The moſt valuable treaſure, however, was a printer's bill for various publications favourable to the crown. How far many of theſe were entitled even to the deſcription of libels, it is not poſſible to aſcertain; but ſome conjecture may be formed of the whole, from thoſe which were pointed out as moſt obnoxious: there were ſome, it was ſaid, which were calculated to depreciate aſſignats, and others which adviſed the repulſe of the Marſeilleſe by * open force. From another quarter ſome knowledge was gained relative to the little

" perhaps were not ſorry to employ it as a forlorn hope, that ſacrificed itſelf to " the enemy. Their hatred of deſpotiſm permitted them not to reflect, that, " *if it be allowable in politics to let good things be effected by bad men, or to profit* " *by their exceſſes for ſome uſeful end; it is infinitely dangerous to aſcribe to them* " *the honour of the one, or not to puniſh them for the other.*"

Madame Roland's Appeal, Part I. p. 83. Eng. Tran.

Their own danger was all that ſtartled their morality, and that unfortunately for them when it was too late.

* The following is the liſt of ſome of them, which was read to the aſſembly by M. Gohier, and afterwards inſerted in a democratical publication of this country. "An Advertiſement for ſinking the Credit of Aſſignats." Ditto againſt the Jacobins. Ditto againſt the ſoldiers of Châteauvieux. Advice to the Pariſians. Proclamation of the Emigrants, printed in yellow. A piſtole given to the Bill Sticker, for the blows he ſaid he had received from the Jacobins. A Letter from a Grenadier. The Order of the Emigrants March. Queſtions put to the Emigrants. Their Anſwer. Another Advertiſement againſt the Jacobins. Hue and Cry againſt the Jacobins. The ſhorter Madneſs is the better; in yellow.

Band

band of thirty-five gentlemen *, now multiplied to fifteen hundred by credulous or malicious exaggeration, who, under the name of obſervers, had been employed to report the true ſtate of Paris from day to day, and to enforce the laws againſt the diſturbers of the public peace, by lodging regular informations before the magiſtrates. Of the papers ſaid to have been found at the Thuilleries, we ſhall take notice in the proper place, when they were produced to the king upon his trial.

To bring forward ſuch documents in the face of the world, as proofs that juſtified the leaſt of the atrocities which had been committed, required no ſmall degree of contempt for the judgment of mankind. The neceſſity of their affairs, however, left them no choice. They felt it incumbent on them to produce ſomething at leaſt, that might ſerve with weak and willing minds as a colour for the inſurrection, by which they had overturned the throne, at the expence of ſo much perjury and bloodſhed. The pieces, therefore, which were thought moſt likely to ſtrike the multitude, were from time to time communicated to the aſſembly, with inflamed comments from the reporters and members of the committees. At laſt the whole collection was publiſhed, and forty thouſand copies diſtributed throughout France. The profligate reſolution was alſo taken, of endeavouring to gloſs over one crime by the help of another. The very demagogues, who, almoſt at the ſame moment, put more than eighty thouſand pounds for ſecret ſervices of a ſimilar nature, at the diſpoſal of their own executive council, which profeſſedly was but proviſional and temporary, were not aſhamed, on pretexts ſuch as have been related, to ſend loyal and honourable men to a trial, which could have no iſſue but condemnation. To lend as impoſing an air of juſtice as they could to the proceeding, the aſſembly, inſtructed in their duty, as uſual, by a ſuborned petition, decreed the formation of a new tribunal for trying the crimes of the 10th of Auguſt. The nomination of the judges was left to the common-council. The very day that they were to enter upon the exerciſe of their functions, reports were circulated of a new conſpiracy carried on by the royal captives in the Temple. Letters were ſaid to have been ſent and received by the queen, in the folds of the linen which ſhe had been conſtrained to borrow; in the foot-ball with which the dauphin was permitted to amuſe himſelf; in almond paſte, and a pot of pomatum.

Theſe frivolous tales might have excited ridicule rather than alarm, had they not been uſhered to notice with all that ſtage trick, which was the conſtant ſtudy of the Jacobins. Pretending to have detected this clandeſtine correſpondence, the common-council ſent ſome of their officers to the Temple, at an unuſual hour, in the dead of night, with an appearance of myſterious importance, that ſeemed to ſpeak an apprehenſion of ſome imminent danger: there they arreſted the princeſs of Lamballe, the marchioneſs of Tourzel, and her daughter, who, from pure and tender attachment, had followed the fortunes of the

* For a particular account of them, taken from M. Bertrand de Moleville, who at one time had the direction of them, See Vol. for 1792. part I. page 464.

unhappy

unhappy Marie-Antoinette; and, with them, every one of those faithful attendants, whose affectionate services were the last miserable consolation on earth to the august family in affliction; carried them all before M. Pétion for examination; and with the exception of M. Huë, who waited on the young prince, committed them, like criminals of the basest description, to a common jail. Under the impression made in the capital by this event, which was immediately published, with a malignant distortion calumnious to the king, the jurors were impannelled; and bills of indictment were quickly found against M. D'Affry, colonel of the Swiss guards; M. D'Angremont, one of the chiefs of the thirty-five observers; M. la Porte, and M. Durosoi, a writer of distinguished ability on the royal side, and editor of the Paris Gazette.

M. D'Affry pleaded, that he was at his own house on the 10th of August, as his judges knew. This however, would have been of little avail had he not added that, on the preceding evening, having been asked by her majesty whether he would order his men to fire in defence of the palace, should it be attacked, he had given a positive refusal. For the merit of this treachery he was acquitted.

When M. D'Angremont was put to the bar, his counsel contended that, having been seized on the 8th or 9th of August, he could not be amenable to a tribunal expressly appointed for trying crimes committed while he was in prison. The court, however, maintained its own jurisdiction against this clear, and, as it should have seemed, decisive objection. Thirty hours were spent on the trial, at the end of which three propositions were given to the jury, on which they were to deliberate. In these they were asked, whether they found it proved that there was a conspiracy at the Thuilleries on the 10th of August, to excite a civil war in France; or whether there was a design of seizing unconstitutional power; and whether the prisoner was engaged in that conspiracy or design.

To those who are acquainted with the forms and spirit of a trial by jury, under the English constitution, this mode of proceeding must appear no less strange than exceptionable in its own nature, and the propositions themselves highly partial and iniquitous. A conspiracy to excite a civil war, according to the notion of the old French law, of the English law, and indeed of the law of reason and nature, was a distinct crime, and one of the greatest crimes against the state: but in the new penal code itself, full as it was * of the loosest and most dangerous definitions of state offences for the purpose of terrifying ministers with the most rigorous responsibility, not a mere design, but only "some act tending to "give a power contrary to the "constitution," that is, the written letter of the constitution, was capital even in a minister. The sophistical manner in which these propositions were brought forward, to entrap the life of the unfortunate D'Angremont, betrayed a manifest consciousness in those who managed the prosecution, that there had been no conspiracy, no treasonable offence, indeed, under the plain letter of the law.

* See the Vol. for 1792. Part I. p. 140.

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Though by the conſtitution the jury were not required to be unanimous, no leſs than three hours were occupied in deliberation. When, after this anxious interval in the court, they returned, while the attention of all was directed towards them expecting the reſult of their long diſcuſſion, the principal judge, inſtead of taking a general verdict, proceeded to put the queſtions ſeparately, and aſked them, "whether they found it proved, that there was a conſpiracy within the Thuilleries to excite a civil war." It was probably intended by this method, to obtain the ſemblance of an authority, which might ſerve, with the weak and the willing, to juſtify what now began to be called the new revolution; and it was hardly imagined, that implicated as all the jurors, more or leſs directly were, any force of truth could extort from them a deciſion injurious to their faction and themſelves. Nevertheleſs, to the ſurpriſe of all, the anſwer was, that they did not find any ſuch conſpiracy proved. Thus from a tribunal, which the worſt part of the triumphant faction had juſt compoſed of its own creatures for purpoſes of blood, out of the very iniquity of a ſophiſtical procedure, which had been deviſed to entrap the life of an innocent man, the over-ruling juſtice of Providence drew a moſt ſtriking and ſolemn teſtimony againſt the wickedneſs of their own rebellion. A general murmur immediately burſt from the audience, that evinced their diſappointment, and conveyed to the jurors an intimation which, in the circumſtances of that time, it required unbiaſſed integrity, ſupported by more than common fortitude, to diſregard. The ſecond and third queſtions were anſwered in the affirmative. Sentence was directly pronounced, and M. D'Angremont was accordingly executed by torchlight, five hours after, amidſt the ſavage howlings, clapping of hands, and acclamations of the populace.

Againſt M. Laporte a variety of charges were brought, but the only evidence was the papers which have been already mentioned. On the payment of the king's body guard, the money ſent to the emigrant princes, and other points of a ſimilar tendency, he was particularly preſſed with interrogations, in a manner the moſt unfeeling and unjuſt. Lights were ordered to be placed near him, and the jury were directed to obſerve every turn of his countenance. But he perſiſted, with the coolneſs and compoſure of truth, in denying the facts which the examination ſuggeſted. One of his judges had the indecency to reproach him with his fidelity to his royal maſter, telling him, that had he been a good citizen, he would have revealed to the national aſſembly the improper expences of the king. He was then found guilty, and ſentence of death pronounced. He heard it with the greateſt ſerenity, and, after the preſident had concluded a ſort of exhortation, turned to the audience, proteſted his innocence, and prayed that the effuſion of his blood might reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom, adding, however, with a prophetic ſpirit, "I doubt it." The ſame firmneſs attended him to the ſcaffold. He met his fate with a dignity and compoſure that gained the compaſſion of many, and the reſpect of all, who were preſent.

M. Duroſoi was next brought to trial. The charges by which he

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was to be involved in the guilt of the 10th of Auguſt, were, in general, equally vague and void of proof as in the preceding inſtances. The ſingle ſpecial charge worthy of notice, was, his having inſerted in his paper of the 9th, a plan of defence in caſe the Thuilleries ſhould be attacked. To this he replied, that the obnoxious article was inſerted in the Paris Gazette without his knowledge; and, as to the 10th of Auguſt, he ſaid that in fact he was not even in Paris on that day, he was at Auteuil. Notwithſtanding an eloquent defence, he was found guilty. He heard his ſentence unmoved, and exclaimed, "a royaliſt "like me ought to die on St. "Lewis's day."

If theſe judicial murders ſhock and diſguſt any man of true moral feeling, a ſentence which was paſſed, ſome few days after, was no leſs revolting for its ridiculous abſurdity than for its injuſtice. A waggoner, for ſome real or pretended offence, was put in the pillory, where, exaſperated by the inſults of the crowd, he anſwered their ſhouts of "the nation for ever," with the cry of "the king for ever." It was with ſome difficulty that he was ſaved from being butchered on the ſpot, to be put to death in due form by the tribunal. On no other ground than theſe exclamations, provoked as they had been, he was condemned as an accomplice in the crimes of the 10th of Auguſt. When he came on the ſcaffold, he turned to the ſpectators, and coolly took his leave, with "good b'ye, rabble."

M. D'Oſſonville, a conſtitutional magiſtrate, againſt whom nothing appeared, but that his name was found in one of M. D'Angremont's papers, was acquitted by the criminal tribunal, and the ſentence was even applauded by the ſpectators. Very different was the fate of M. Montmorin, governor of Fontainbleau, a man of a mild, unambitious character, who was not known to have mingled in politics. His acquittal was pronounced; but the audience, by loud murmurs, expreſſed their anger. In vain did the preſident expoſtulate upon the impropriety of their conduct. They continued their outrages, till he, in ſome degree, pacified them, by ſaying, that ſome of the jury might perhaps have been influenced by a connection with the priſoner's family, and that a new jury would reviſe the verdict. Such was the violence of the people againſt M. Montmorin, that the preſident thought it neceſſary himſelf to conduct him to priſon. This office proved a dangerous one, for, in performing it, not only the priſoner's, but his own life, was attempted; a national guard aimed a blow at him with a ſabre, which, fortunately for him, was parried by one of the ſpectators. The next day, ſeveral perſons, calling themſelves deputies of the people, came to the bar of the aſſembly, expreſſing their indignation at the favourable verdict, and demanding, in the name of the ſovereign people, a ſpeedy anſwer. To this ſturdy addreſs the preſident replied, that the French people was undoubtedly the ſovereign, but that the ſovereignty reſided, not in a part, but the whole of the people, and, conſequently, could only be exerciſed by their repreſentatives. Danton, the miniſter of juſtice, reconciled, however, the aſſembly and the petitioners, by ordering a new trial.

It was early perceived, that the moſt expeditious injuſtice of the new tribunal

tribunal would not be able to satiate the thirst of blood. The judicial forms of the constitution were pronounced too slow, and too favourable to prisoners, for a period of revolution; and the first acquittal of an obnoxious man, subjected the judges and juries, chosen as they were by the common-council, to suspicions of corruption. The orators at the Jacobin club openly declared, amidst the applauses of the galleries, that the people must take the sword of the law into their own hands, and avenge themselves, and, Aug. 23. on the very day that M. la Porte was condemned and executed, one of the sections went to the common-council *, and declared, that the citizens, weary of the delays which took place in the decisions, would force the gates of the prisons, and sacrifice to their vengeance the criminals detained there. This petition couched in the most frantic terms, was received with applauses. The next day a petition, in the same style, but confined in its object to the dissolution of the high court at Orleans, and the transfer of the prisoners to Paris, was presented to the assembly. But, as it concluded with a distinct menace of another insurrection, and the massacre of all the prisoners, if the prayer of the petition was not accorded, the president, in a commendable tone of firmness and dignity, asserted the right of the assembly to take its own time for deciding, and told the petitioners to abide that time with patience and submission; adding, "We will die, "if necessary, at our post, but fear "shall not make us fail in the dis- "charge of our duty." The answer was applauded, decreed to be printed, and forgotten.

M. Merlin, in the same session, after communicating the information that two Prussian columns were, ravaging the frontiers, and that an emigrant served them for a guide, thought this a sufficient ground for a motion, that all the relations of the emigrants should be responsible

* With reference to the subsequent pretence, that the massacres which followed were occasioned by the progress of the duke of Brunswick, it may be material to observe, that this transaction at the common-council was before intelligence had arrived of the investment of Longwy, the first enterprize of the combined army under the duke of Brunswick. The fact itself, and the date, we learn from Pétion, who introduces it with an assertion of his own, that "Justice was slow to "pronounce on the fate of the prisoners." Miss Williams, who quotes the passage from him, says more explicitly, that "the tribunals, overloaded with busi- "ness, and *hampered by the common forms of justice, too slow for a period of* "*revolution*, made almost no perceptible progress in bringing the guilty to con- "demnation:" and she further develops her principles of political morality in the following note: "It is certain," observes she, "that the new system of "jurisprudence rendered the conviction of criminals tedious. An acute writer "observes, that the best informed lawyers had said to him, that they never "would have been able to convict a criminal, if they had followed exactly the "new forms. See a Pamphlet, entitled, 'Lettre d'un Negociant Anglois á un "Negociant Francois, &c.' As it is the genius of free governments, however, "to set a high value on human life, it is right that it should be rendered difficult to convict the accused. *Only rules generally good, will not apply to the* "*moment of a revolution.*"

See Letters from France, Vol. IV. p. 192-3.

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for the events of the war. The minds of men were not yet sufficiently prepared for the horrid tendency of such a proposition. It was opposed, and the assembly passed to the order of the day. A measure was then brought forward, about which there was but one contention, an emulous strife who should render it most severe; it was the transportation of all nonjuring priests, moved by M. Benoiton. Unanimous applause ensued. "Let them "have but fifteen days to get ready," cried one member; "three "days, and not a single hour longer," interrupted another, "we must get "rid of those vermin as fast as we "can." "I move," exclaimed M. la Croix, "that all canons and "monks be included in the law." "Away with them," said M. Cambon, "to French Guyana. We "ought to shut them up in the most "sequestered corner of the world, "at the greatest possible distance "from every civilized nation." M. Fauchet, in a compromise of affected tenderness for his former brethren, would have substituted the islands of Rhè and Oleron; but M. Cambon prevailed. All nonjuring priests, canons, and monks, were ordered to quit the country within fifteen days, on pain of being transported to Guyana. The unprecedented violence of this decree, it might have been hoped, would have produced one beneficial consequence, by taking from the persecutors of the conscientious clergy every pretence for their destruction; since in so short a time they would cease to be objects of jealousy and alarm; yet it only seemed to have been viewed, as giving a sanction to the enmity against them, which the philosophical faction cherished; it multiplied the number of arrests, and ultimately furnished the first occasion to the horrors that soon succeeded. With much consistency and propriety, the expulsion of their own christian pastors was followed, that very afternoon, by the naturalization of all foreign philosophers, who, by their writings, had served the cause of liberty and equality.

These proceedings in the legislature probably looked forward to the elections, which were now approaching. On this occasion, "none "of the conditions of eligibility, "none of the limitations of the "right of electing, or of being "elected, established by the former "laws, were preserved, because "those laws were considered as so "many restrictions on the exercise "of the right of sovereignty; and "therefore inapplicable to a na"tional convention, in which (ac"cording to their notion of the "term) this right ought to be ex"ercised with complete independ"ence *." Even the distinction of active citizens was dropped. This mode of proceeding (difficult at the same time to reconcile in principle with the recommendation of primary assemblies and an electoral body) threw an extraordinary weight into the scale of the populace. Their prejudices, therefore, were to be courted; their passions to be inflamed; their minds to be agitated.

Aug. 26. With this view, the day when the primary assemblies were to meet, was fixed by the sections of Paris for the funeral ceremony in honour of those, who had fallen at the attack of

* Exposition of Motives, Vol. for 1792. State Papers, 324.

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the palace. All the public bodies, magiſtrates, adminiſtrators, and a deputation of no leſs than ſixty from the aſſembly, were preſent. M. Chenier pronounced an inflated diſcourſe on the virtues and patriotiſm of the dead. The ferment which this celebration alone might naturally excite, was much encreaſed by the intelligence which arrived that morning, of the ſurrender of Longwy. Immediately Merlin ſtarted up, and propoſed, that all the municipalities throughout France ſhould be authorized to ſeize all the double-barrelled guns in gentlemen's houſes to arm the volunteers. Weak as this ſuggeſtion was, and likely to ſpread confuſion inſtead of being ſerviceable, the aſſembly, fearing to reject it altogether, leſt they might be ſuſpected of favouring ariſtocracy, ſent it to the military committee. This was ſucceeded by a motion of M. Jean Debry, the moſt diſgraceful that ever was entertained in any publick aſſembly; it was a digeſted ſcheme for raiſing a corps of twelve hundred aſſaſſins, for the avowed purpoſe of murdering all kings and generals who ſhould invade France. They were to be armed with piſtols and poignards, and have each a yearly penſion of two thouſand livres, with reverſion to their children and grand-children. The project was warmly oppoſed by M. Vergniaud and M. Lariviere, as equally unjuſtifiable and inexpedient; but it was ſtrongly ſupported on the ground of the extraordinary nature of the war, and the ſame trite cant of falſe philanthropy, which had already deluged France with blood, that it was good to ſave many lives by the deſtruction of a few. At length, ſome members urging that the paſſing of ſuch a decree might occaſion the king of Pruſſia and his generals, for their own ſafety, to put their priſoners to death; Jean Debry reluctantly conſented that his motion ſhould be referred to what was called the extraordinary committee of twenty-one. "Even this," exclaimed Lariviere with eagerneſs, "is unworthy of the French nation." Yet juſt and laudable as was his feeling for the honour of his country, he could not venture to meet this ſavage propoſition with a direct negative. He was forced to content himſelf with moving the order of the day; and even that palliative of infamy was not ſeconded. The plan of a corps of aſſaſſins was ſent to the committee for their conſideration. Some few meaſures of a leſs exceptionable nature, though calculated to be made the cauſes and the pretexts of much agitation in the capital, were afterwards adopted. One of theſe was for drafting from other corps a body of cavalry, which was much wanted in their armies. Another, and the moſt important of them, was a decree ordering a reinforcement of 30,000 men, to be raiſed in Paris and the neighbourhood, to march immediately to the frontiers.

If the men who, under the name of Federates, had ſo long ſpread havock through Paris, and overawed the legiſlature, had been ſent away by this decree, a greater benefit would have been derived from it, than from the moſt brilliant victory over their foreign invaders. But the propoſal was made to them in vain. They refuſed, as one of them ſaid in the name of the reſt to the Jacobin club, to obey the impulſe of a blind patriotiſm; they had

had ſworn to defend the cauſe of liberty at Paris. There it was, and not on the frontiers, that they ſaw the root of all their evils: there, it was ſaid, they had to guard two depoſits committed to their charge, the national aſſembly and the priſoners in the Temple;—but whether they meant to avow, that they would keep both equally in durance, as in effect they did, was left to conjecture. They reſolved that they would not fly to the frontiers, till they had taken good care not to leave any traitors and conſpirators behind them. The club, in the ſame ſitting, took for their patron Junius Brutus, whoſe buſt was introduced with oſtentatious ceremony into the middle of the hall; while Manuel, a candidate for the city of Paris, delivered a prepared ſpeech, one paſſage of which clearly intimated the plot of this new exhibition. "At this moment," cried he, "when the elec-"tions are going on, conſider that "if a Brutus be found in the con-"vention, France will be ſafe, for "there will be no more kings. We "ought then, all of us, to ſwear, "and I myſelf the firſt take this "oath; whatever part I may fill, "all my efforts ſhall tend to the "important object of purifying the "earth from that peſt called roy-"alty." Every hand was at once uplifted: all took the oath aloud. An order was then made, that the ſame oath ſhould be preſcribed to all the affiliated ſocieties. It was deſigned to make this a ſort of univerſal teſt in the elections. The peculiar miſſion of the convention, was to be the taſk of purifying the earth from kingly government, which was repreſented as one of the great inflictions of divine wrath on mankind. And notwithſtanding the mode of purification propoſed by Jean Debry had not been adopted, there were too many of thoſe who employed their erudition only to miſlead the ignorant and the vulgar, that quoted the atchievements of Pelopidas, Timoleon, Scævola, Brutus, and all the examples of doubtful morality in ancient hiſtory, to juſtify and recommend the aſſaſſination of hoſtile generals and kings.

The common-council in the mean time were not idle. In aid of the ſecond guillotine which they had recently erected, they were buſy in modelling a new engine of tyranny and terror, called domiciliary viſits. Their reſolve on that ſubject Danton undertook to carry to the aſſembly, and clothe it with the authority of a law. "The nation," ſaid the miniſter of juſtice, "muſt "now make war in perſon. The "entire people muſt march in a "maſs againſt the enemy, and ex-"terminate him at a ſingle blow. "Every individual who cannot him-"ſelf go, muſt aſſiſt in equipping "thoſe who will." More than eighty thouſand muſkets, he ſaid, might be obtained in Paris, to arm their new levies. He propoſed, therefore, and it was voted, that all the municipalities ſhould be empowered to ſearch from houſe to houſe; to preſs as many of the carriages and horſes kept for pleaſure as the ſervice of the armies might require; to diſarm all ſuſpected perſons, and to give their arms to thoſe who would uſe them in the defence of their country. Six commiſſioners were at the ſame time appointed, from members of the aſſembly, to go into the neighbouring departments for the purpoſe of haſtening the

the levies. The design of this measure probably was not so much the obtaining of arms, which being of different makes and sizes, could have been of little use in battle, or even the disarming of suspected persons, as the discovering of those who yet remained concealed. In fact, though the seizure of suspected persons made no part of the decree, men, rather than arms, were sought by the municipal officers.

The vote passed early in the afternoon. It was instantly dispatched to Robespierre, who then presided at the common-council, and by him distributed without loss of time to the chiefs of the sections. The barriers were shut; public notice was then given by beat of drum, that within two hours from that time every citizen was required to be at home. Consternation and dismay were at once diffused through the capital. After all that had been already felt and seen of lawless violence in the dominion of the common-council, the imagination knew not where to stop in conjecturing what this strange and alarming command might portend. They talk only of searching for arms, it was said; if that be all, why are the barriers shut? why are boats stationed along the river, filled with armed men? why are guards posted at every outlet towards the water? why are the shores and quays lined with soldiers? At once all the menaces rush to the recollection, which had been repeatedly thrown out against the twenty thousand citizens of Paris, who signed the petition for the suspension of Pétion: nor do they tremble alone; their families, their friends, their more distant connexions of every kind, may be involved in the same comprehensive punishment of allegiance and loyalty. The uncertainty of the danger increases the apprehension, which its apparent magnitude excites. The shortness of the interval allows no deliberation. Many, taking counsel only of their fears, fly as chance directs. Alarmed lest some offended mechanic, or discarded servant among the patrole, may recognize and mark them for vengeance, they hope to be safer in remote quarters of the city, where they are least known. One is cheerfully admitted; another is coldly received; a third is repulsed where he was confident of protection, and wanders he knows not whither, perhaps to cast himself on the humanity of one he has neglected, while the lapse of time redoubles his affright. The husband hurries away from the embrace of a wife whom he tenderly loves; the father separates himself from his children, after pressing them to his bosom, as for the last time. Decency is in some degree violated by the most innocent and meritorious affection; the brother shares his sister's pillow; modesty takes refuge in the abode of vice, and purity behind the curtains of prostitution; life * seeks preservation in the bed of disease and death. Every where are persons occupied in concealing their relations, their friends or their property; every where is heard by fits the dull sound of the muffled hammer, with slow and interrupted strokes closing up the chosen hiding-place. But on such occasions of extraordinary trial, it

* This is a literal fact. A gentleman of the name of Paroi, saved himself by lying three nights in a hospital bed, between one patient who was sick, and another who was dying.

it is that virtue ſhines with the moſt conſpicuous luſtre; and the hiſtorian, who has been compelled with pain to record, that the execrable Theroigne de Mericourt was not without companions like herſelf, in the ſanguinary ſcenes, which ſtained every leading epoch of the French revolution, will find relief and ſatisfaction in bearing teſtimony, that during this night of univerſal trepidation, the women were nobly diſtinguiſhed, no leſs by their fortitude than fidelity, in ſaving others at the peril of their own lives: that they with alacrity expoſed themſelves to become ſacrifices, even for ſtrangers, in the cauſe of benevolence and charity. The former, comparatively few, were aberrations and depravities of nature; the latter, more in number, diſplayed the true energy of their ſex, in acts of gentleneſs and goodneſs, which beſt adorn and elevate the female character.

By ſix o'clock, in a beautiful ſummer evening, the ſhops were all ſhut; the ſtreets, juſt before ſo crowded, ſo alive with buſineſs and buſtle, were deſerted and ſilent; they who waited at home to abide whatever might be the event of the night, retiring into their back rooms, ſat loſt in anxious conjectures of the doubtful evil. Already were ſentinels placed at the corner of every ſtreet; already had they begun to inſult, maltreat, and, in ſome inſtances, even to arreſt thoſe, whom accident had detained abroad. Seven hours did this ſtate of tormenting ſuſpence endure, before the ſearch commenced. A body of ſixty pikemen occupied every ſtreet. They conſiſted chiefly of idle, unprincipled, diſſolute lads, apprentices, footmen, day-labourers, and others of a ſimilar deſcription, all commanded by commiſſioners of the ſections, moſt of whom were clerks, handicraftſmen of the inferior claſſes, young libertines, and old drunkards. All night long this inquiſition laſted. No great quantity of arms of any kind was taken, and thoſe were chiefly old fowling pieces, pocket piſtols, and hangers; but no leſs than three thouſand perſons were dragged away to the ſections; and, although the greater part of them were releaſed the next day, yet very many of them were ſent to cram ſtill more the overgorged priſons. To ſanction a large proportion of theſe commitments, the complaiſant aſſembly, by a new decree declared all, in whoſe poſſeſſion concealed arms were found, to be ſuſpected perſons.

Here, however, ended the apparent good underſtanding between the legiſlature and the common-council. The animoſity, which had long divided the Jacobins, now began openly to burſt forth. The rupture firſt became manifeſt among the ſections. Louvet, who was preſident of the ſection of the Lombards, procured from them a vote, declaring the power exerciſed by the common-council to be an uſurpation, withdrawing their repreſentatives, and calling upon the other ſections to do the ſame. He was quickly attacked by Tallien, and others of that faction in their reſpective ſections, and Roberſpierre in the hall of the common-council loudly demanded his head. The ſection of the corn-market joined that of the Lombards; two others inſtantly ranged themſelves on the oppoſite ſide. The duties of Roland's office perpetually

actually clashed with the authority assumed by the common-council; they acknowledged no law but their own will, and he, in a style not the most gracious, was for ever reminding them of his responsibility for the execution of the law. Robespierre in consequence brought him to give an account of his conduct at the bar of the common-council, and Marat heaped lampoon on lampoon, at one time denouncing his uncivic parsimony, and with shameless profligacy requiring from the duke of Orleans the fifteen thousand livres which he wanted; at another time lashing with coarse ridicule the intrigues of different kinds imputed to his wife; and again, calling out for hundreds of thousands of heads and a triumvirate. Roland now ventured to inform the assembly, that from the disorganizing system pursued by the members of the common-council, he could not answer for the subsistence of the capital, and he added, that one of their body had forced the doors of the jewel office, and carried away many of the national effects by open violence. This was succeeded by another serious complaint against them, which was supported by Servan, the minister at war. Conceiving offence at some articles in Brissot's newspaper, they issued their warrant against Girey-Duprè, a young man of quick talents and ardent zeal, who then conducted it. He applied, by letter, to the assembly for redress, considering himself "as a patriotic writer, "invested with a sort of moral "magistracy." Nothing, however, was done, till Gensonnè from the committee of twenty-one reported that the common-council, taking it into their heads that Girey-Duprè was secreted in the war office, surrounded the place with armed men, and cut off all intercourse between that and the other offices. Enquiry was made of the minister of war, and he confirmed the fact. The assembly felt a fit of vigour, and, on the motion of Guadet, supported by the declamations of some others among the Girondists, proceeded at once to break the provisional common-council of the 10th of August; to direct the formation of another, composed of 120 members only instead of 288; to re-establish the mayor, and some branches of the old municipality, in their former functions; and charged the executive power with the execution of the law, which placed all the public force of Paris at the requisition of the mayor.

When the assembly met the next morning, they seemed well inclined to follow their blow against the common-council. On the motion of Vergniaud, a decree was passed, directing the minister of the home-department to give his orders, that every thing taken from the jewel office should be sent back to it; to make the common-council, within two days, deliver an account of all the property found at the palace, in the churches, and private houses of persons who had fled or were in prison; and to present it immediately to the assembly. At the same time, all the gold and silver deposited with the assembly itself, the common-council, and the sections, was ordered to be sent to the treasury for the purpose of being coined into money. Immediately after this, the warrants issued by the common-council

againſt M. Girey-Duprè, were declared to be invalid, as criminal attempts againſt perſonal liberty, and the freedom of the preſs; and the common-council was warned to abſtain from ſimilar encroachments in future.

It was natural to ſuppoſe, that Pétion would have been foremoſt to avail himſelf of theſe meaſures, for the reſumption of his own authority. But he well knew the difference of being reſtored againſt the will of the king, and the will of the Jacobin club. Of late he had ſeldom gone to the common-council, and had been publickly called to account for his abſence: he was unable to take any decided part on either ſide, without ſeeing or feigning to ſee danger to the common-wealth *: he diſcovered that time is the great maſter of all, and that in all things there is a point of maturity, which it is the province of wiſdom to catch. The aſſembly, however, in his opinion, did not poſſeſs that ſort of wiſdom; for the next day yielding, as he ſaid, to the wiſhes of an immenſe body of people then on their march, he came at the head of a deputation from that very common-council which had been broken on the preceding evening, and announced on their part a deſire of compromiſe and conciliation. He then made way for Tallien, their ſpokeſman, who roundly told the aſſembly that the common-council had been calumniated, that they had been condemned without being heard, and were come to demand juſtice. "The people," he obſerved, "had "not limited their powers. They "had ſaid," 'go act in our name, 'and we will approve whatever 'you do." He repreſented the king as the worthy deſcendant of Lewis the XIth., the queen as the rival of Catherine de Medicis, and aſked, if thoſe tyrants ſtill breathed, whether they did not owe it to the reſpect of the people for the national aſſembly. "You," (he added) "on your part, have applauded all our meaſures." He then deſcanted on their merits, occaſionally reminding the aſſembly of their participation in all which had been done, and concluded by telling them: "If you ſtrike us, "ſtrike alſo the people, who made "the revolution of the 14th of "July, who conſolidated that of "the 10th of Auguſt, and will "maintain it. They are now "exerciſing their ſovereignty in "the primary aſſemblies. Conſult "them, and let them pronounce "on our fate. You have heard "us: ſpeak; here we are. The "men of the 10th of Auguſt, have "no other deſire than to have "juſtice, and to obey the will of "the people" The preſident La Croix anſwered, by ſome vague common-place words, on the danger of independence in the common-council, and the neceſſity of unity in the government; and promiſed that the aſſembly would take their petition into conſideration. This was in effect to repeal, or at leaſt ſuſpend their late decree. Three citizens now appeared at the bar as petitioners. "People of the "galleries, national aſſembly, and "you, Mr. Preſident," (ſaid the ſpokeſman) "we come in the name

* Theſe phraſes are from his anſwer to the petition of the market people, dated 30th Auguſt.

"of

" of the people, who are waiting " at the door, to demand that we " may march through the hall, to " behold the repreſentatives of the " commons of Paris who are here. " We will die, if it be neceſſary, " with them." But the ſpectacle which had been pronounced ſo " fine" on the 20th of June, no longer had the ſame recommendations; and the ſitting was abruptly adjourned, to avoid the embarraſſment of an exhibition, which would have been in fact an inſult and a menace.

The aſſembly was now effectually ſubdued under the common-council. But in the committee of ſuperintendance, which ſecretly and arbitrarily exerciſed all the unlimited power claimed by the common-council, there were ſome members at this time who began to ſhew ſigns of compunction and moderation. In conſequence Panis, the brother-in-law of Santerre, was frequently complaining of his colleagues, as not having the true revolutionary elevation of mind. He now thought the moment come to get rid of them. In their temporary abſence, he put his ſeal on the door of the place where they met for buſineſs, ran away to the common-council, where his faction took care to be ready on the ſpot, urged the neceſſity of appointing a new committee of more ability and concord, and finally obtained permiſſion to chooſe his own aſſociates. Accordingly he named nine of ſentiments congenial with his own, and at the head of them Marat. From this period, the arreſts went on with increaſed activity, and the jails overflowed with the enemies of thoſe who formed the new committee.

The next morning every artifice was uſed to put the minds of the populace into that ſtate of ferment which beſt aſſiſts, conceals, and afterwards ſerves as a pretext to palliate, the nefarious deſigns of their agitators and leaders. Falſe intelligence of the progreſs made by the combined armies was ſpread with eagerneſs, and received with credulity; and every thing was done to collect crowds round the ſtreet-orators, who were hard at work to point the public ſuſpicions againſt the executive council, and the adherents of Briſſot in the legiſlative aſſembly.

In this ſtate of the public mind it was, that the miniſter of the Home Department, thought proper to draw up a proclamation of the moſt inflammatory tendency againſt the late court, and all of the king's party. After calling the palace a new baſtile, he proceeded thus to deſcribe the papers which had been found there. " Written documents," ſaid he, " torn from theſe archives of " crime will, at length, teach the " whole univerſe what it ought to " think of thoſe affected appeals to " the conſtitution and the laws, " of thoſe oaths ſo complaiſantly re- " peated, of thoſe hypocritical teſti- " monies of affection for the people, " under cover of which, aſſaſſins were " hired, pamphlets payed, aſſignats " diſtributed, regiments ſuborned, " our armies diſperſed, our frontiers " laid open, and, finally, every thing " prepared for the ravage of our " properties, the maſſacre of our " families, the ruin of liberty, and " of the hopes of the whole human " race." He then adviſes, that all which he circulates ſhould be publicly read every holy day.

For several days anonymous letters had been received by many persons, as coming from secret well-wishers, to give notice of some bloody scenes that were preparing. The grave-digger of the parish of St. Sulpitius, was now employed and paid to dig a vast pit, sufficient to contain a great number of bodies; and Manuel had promised the non-juring priests, confined at the convent of the Carmelites, that on the 2d of September they should be sent away; for which occasion he persuaded them to raise what money they could from their families and friends. There is every reason to believe, that the day for the horrible butchery which ensued, had been previously fixed, and that Sunday was studiously chosen to mark an enmity towards that religion which keeps it holy.

Sept. 2. M. Thuriot, on the opening of the assembly, proposed a decree, confirming the common-council, but reserving to the sections a right of changing their deputies as often as they would. It was referred to the extraordinary committee. Gensonnè shortly afterwards made a report, to recommend the confirmation of the late decree for the renewal of the common-council, only saving the re-election of those who might be thought to deserve the public confidence, and leaving the sections to decide whether they would send six deputies, according to the present, or two, according to the old regulation. But the project of M. Thuriot was adopted, and the submission of the assembly thus rendered complete.

Two members of the municipality now arrived, to communicate a resolution just taken of ringing the alarm-bell, firing the alarm-guns, and assembling all the patriots in the Champ de Mars by public proclamation for the purpose of marching against the enemy. Vergniaud, in a speech of much animation plainly addressed to the galleries, endeavoured to allay the panic that began to spread among the audience, and moved, that twelve commissioners from the assembly, should every day set the example of working with their own hands at the entrenchments forming round the city. Not long after this came the minister of justice to announce, that all was in motion, every man was burning to engage. He asked, therefore, and obtained a decree, making it death for any man to refuse either to serve in person, or to give up his arms, and to disobey or impede the measures or orders of the executive power; a title which, as well as that of the sovereign people, was now usurped by the ruffian emissaries of the Jacobin clubs. In the mean time every effort was redoubled to agitate, alarm, and inflame the populace. New falsehoods were circulated as from the army. It was reported that 4000 men, going to the relief of Verdun, had been cut to pieces; that the combined armies had taken Verdun, passed Chalons, and pushed their advanced parties of light cavalry within thirty miles of Paris. Fabricated letters from Germany were then read, pretending to give the details of a plan settled between the emperor and the king of Prussia, for decimating all the male inhabitants of Paris, after having selected the most eminent patriots to be broken on the wheel. A

ſtory was alſo propagated, of a criminal under ſentence of death having made a diſcovery, that, when the combined armies approached, the priſoners were to be ſet at liberty, and after having committed every exceſs in Paris, to march out and join the duke of Brunſwick. Nothing was ſo incredible and abſurd, which did not ſeem to derive authenticity from the tolling of the bell, and the firing of the guns. But great as was the effect on the populace, they were not ſufficiently wound up for the enterpriſe which was intended. Inſtead of running in crowds to the Champ de Mars, where the aſſaſſins would have more readily found the means of urging them to any crime, they met in the ſections, to conſult on the beſt meaſures for the public ſafety, totally ignorant at the moment what horrid deeds were about to be tranſacted. Finding, therefore, that the populace were not to be made the inſtruments, the ſecret contrivers and managers of this atrocious plot, were forced to uſe the means which they had previouſly concerted *. The Federates, ſitting in the hall of the Jacobin club, then propoſed to execute what they had before ſo often threatened, and to cut the throats of all the priſoners. Accordingly they proceeded to the maſſacre of the prieſts, who were under confinement for refuſing to take the oath preſcribed by the late conſtitution. About three-and-twenty of theſe unhappy men, deſtined to ſacrifice their lives to their conſciences, were confined at the abbey of St. Germain. Hither the murderers repaired, and diſpatched them, as they could be found in the cloiſters and paſſages of the abbey.

But the greateſt number of prieſts were at the convent of the Carmelites, among whom were ſome of the higher orders. The venerable archbiſhop of Arles, the biſhops of Beauvais and Saintes, and Hebert, the king's confeſſor, were here impriſoned. The biſhops of Beauvais and Saintes were brothers. When the former was arreſted by order of the municipality, the latter, againſt whom no republican animoſity exiſted, refuſed to be ſeparated from him, and thus accompanying him to priſon, became a voluntary martyr to fraternal affection.

The aſſaſſins found no difficulty in obtaining admittance into the convent, although a guard of Gendarmerie was poſted there on duty. At the moment of the irruption the priſoners, amounting in all to a hundred and eighty-five, were aſſembled in the garden awaiting their fate; perceiving the approach of their murderers, they ſeparated into two diviſions, one of which, in number about thirty, including the dignified clergy, hurried to the end of the garden, where there was a ſmall chapel, in order to ſpend their laſt hour in devotion. A group of aſſaſſins followed. One of them recognized the archbiſhop, "Villain" exclaimed they, "it was "you who cauſed the effuſion of ſo "much patriotic blood at Arles." "Gentlemen," anſwered the arch-

* This is taken almoſt word for word from Miſs Williams's Letters, vol. iii. p. 12. In vol. iv. p. 195. there is a directly contrary account, written two months later, profeſſedly to remove the prejudices of an Engliſh correſpondent.

biſhop

biſhop mildly, "I am not conſcious "of ever having done an injury to "any one;" "Very well," replied a ruffian, "I am now going to do "you one;" and immediately ſtruck him on the forehead with a ſabre. After receiving three blows, he was diſpatched with pikes. The other priſoners, who had in the mean time gained the chapel, and ſhut the gate of it againſt their opponents, could not ſo eaſily be deſtroyed; but many of them, as they were kneeling at the altar, were either killed or wounded with muſket balls through the interſtices of the gate.

While this tedious execution was proceeding, the major part of the aſſaſſins were amuſing themſelves in hunting down the remaining prey through every part of the garden, in murdering all whom they could overtake, or attack, on the walls, the trees, and behind the ſhrubs. About forty fell in this barbarous chaſe; but ſome few had the good luck to eſcape.

Apprehenſive, that by this irregular ſlaughter leſs blood would be ſpilt than was intended, a leader of their party, arriving at the moment, reproved their ill directed zeal, and ordered the whole body of the prieſts, yet remaining alive, to be driven two by two into the church of the convent. His directions were immediately obeyed, and the helpleſs ſufferers compelled by blows to enter it; from whence they were again re-conducted into the garden by pairs, and maſſacred one after another. The whole number that periſhed at the convent of the Carmelites, including the archbiſhop and two biſhops, amounted to a hundred and fifty-two. Three-and-thirty, during the confuſion which attended the firſt mode of proceeding, found means to evade the fate of their companions.

The triumph of religion was never more fully manifeſted, than at the preſent terrible period. Not all the horrors of a painful death, rendered ſtill more painful by the blaſphemies of their aſſaſſins, could ſhake the conſtancy of theſe noble victims to their faith and loyalty. They met their fate with that calm courage, that holy reſignation, which can alone be derived from the conſciouſneſs of rectitude, and a firm reliance upon divine wiſdom and juſtice. Their virtues extorted, in ſome inſtances, the admiration even of their perſecutors. M. Violet, an officer who preſided over the maſſacre at the convent of the Carmelites, exclaimed ſome time after, in a fit of involuntary enthuſiaſm "I am loſt! I am overpowered "with aſtoniſhment! it is beyond "my conception; and I am con- "vinced that any man, who had "been witneſs of the ſcene as I "was, would have been equally "aſtoniſhed. The prieſts met death "with as much joy, and as much "pleaſure, as if they had been "going to a bridal feaſt."

At the ſeminary of St. Firmin, there were a hundred and ſeven more confined. Of theſe ninety-two were deſtroyed in the moſt ſavage manner, during the night between the ſecond and third of September. Wherever they could be found, in the chambers, cells, garrets, or cellars, they were all immediately diſpatched, ſome with pikes and ſabres on the ſpot, others by throwing them out of the windows to the ferocious monſters below, who wiſhed to have their ſhare in the bloody tranſaction.

As the generality of the prisoners at the abbey were persons of a different description from the foregoing, the Jacobins resolved to methodize their proceedings by the establishment of a kind of tribunal. The president of this extraordinary tribunal was a mean person of the name of Maillard, an inhabitant of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, who had distinguished himself in every insurrection from the commencement of the revolution. One of the prisoners, who was tried and acquitted on this occasion, relates, that on his first entrance into the room where this mock court was sitting, he perceived the president, dreſt in a grey coat, with a sabre at his side, leaning on a table, which was covered with papers, pipes, and bottles. Around the table he observed several persons in different dresses and attitudes. Two of them had aprons, and were in their waistcoats. While some were sitting and standing, others were stretched along the benches fast asleep. Before the door, which led to the yard of the abbey where the prisoners were massacred, stood two persons in shirts stained with blood, and with sabres in their hands. An old porter, with his thumb on the bolt, appeared ready to open the door, whenever a fresh victim was to be sacrificed.

The murder of the few priests, known to be confined at the abbey, has already been mentioned. That of the Swiss officers, who had escaped on the 10th of August, and had been afterwards imprisoned at the abbey, or removed to the Conciergerie for trial, soon followed. In this slaughter perished all those gallant officers, except M. d'Affry their colonel, whose acquittal has been related, and M. Bachman their major, who had been already executed. Many persons likewise, of civil and military distinction, condemned by this bloody tribunal, were hewed to death with sabres, or thrust through with pikes, by the lowest and most abandoned miscreants. In all (exclusive of the priests) a hundred and fifty-seven were known to have perished. A small number, indeed, by the mercy or caprice of these popular judges, escaped, and have lived to record the miseries of their situation, and the unexampled horrors to which they were for hour after hour witnesses. A few others were preserved by the courage of their friends, who demanded them in the names of their respective sections, as innocent persons improperly confined. A gentleman, who hazarded his life in so good a cause, related, that after having forced his way with difficulty to the dreadful bar, after having exhibited his authority, and promised to answer with his head for the truth of his assertions, the two prisoners whom he required, were delivered to him. As he was retiring with his released friends, a young man about nineteen years of age, of a genteel appearance, threw himself on his knees at the door, and exclaimed; "Oh! save "me too, Sir, Oh! save me;" but the sabres of the unfeeling ruffians soon silenced the importunate petitioner. Scarcely had he arrived in the streets, before he was stopped by a band of Marseillese; one of whom, tearing out the heart from a dead body on the ground, squeezed the blood which it contained into a glass, and, after drinking a part, compelled him to taste, or at least appear to taste, the remainder.

Not-

Notwithſtanding the barbarous pleaſure, which the aſſaſſins ſeemed to receive from their employment, in one or two inſtances the charms of female youth and beauty awakened feelings, to which before they were ſtrangers, and inclined them to extend mercy, where the philoſophic apathy of their leaders would have denied it. Among the priſoners was M. Cazotte, the writer of the letters, which have been mentioned as received by M. la Porte's firſt clerk, and which even his proſecutors conſidered as the reveries of a madman. In his youth he had been well known in the literary world. Now, at the age of ſeventy-three, he had been dragged from his retirement in the neighbourhood of Epernay, and with him his only daughter, a beautiful, amiable, and intereſting girl of twenty, no leſs admired for her accompliſhments than her filial piety. Implicated in the charge againſt her father, ſhe had been tried the preceding month, and declared innocent; but from motives of filial affection refuſed to quit her aged parent. Her perſon, and behaviour, much intereſted the Marſeilleſe in her favour, who occaſionally viſited the interior of the priſon. At length the dreadful moment arrived. M. Cazotte was called out, dragged before the mercileſs tribunal, and condemned. The ſabres of the executioners were already raiſed to ſtrike; when his diſtracted daughter ruſhing in between, leaped on his bending neck and exclaimed; "you ſhall not pierce "my father, but through my heart." A cry of mercy reſounded from every ſide. The Marſeilleſe recognized her perſon, and inſtantly lowered their uplifted weapons, and permitted her to carry off her father amidſt the applauſes of the ſurrounding crowd. The happineſs, however, of this amiable woman was but of ſhort duration. M. Cazotte was in a few days again arreſted, tried and condemned by the municipality, ſome of whoſe members only ſported with the wildneſs of her feelings, extracting pleaſantry from the ſevereſt ſufferings of human nature. Nor were the perſecutions ſhe endured to end with her father. After his execution, an order was iſſued for her arreſt. Receiving, however, notice of the intention, ſhe fled, and wandered about, for eight days together, from retreat to retreat, until finding all hope of eſcape to be vain, ſhe at length ſurrendered, and was tried a ſecond time; but, in ſpite of the malice of her enemies, was a ſecond time acquitted.

In like manner, mademoiſelle de Sombreuil had the addreſs and courage to ſave her father alſo, when under the ſabres of the Marſeilleſe; but did not afterwards loſe him by a public execution. He completed his eſcape, and fled from France.

For ſome time after the commencement of the maſſacre, many of thoſe, whoſe turns did not immediately take place, were ſo ſituated, that they could diſtinctly obſerve all the tranſactions in the court below, which they watched for hour after hour with an anxiety not to be deſcribed. The vociferation of the populace, during the intervals of murder, which was generally ſucceeded by the deadeſt ſilence at the moment of the aſſaſſinations, a ſilence only interrupted by the ſhrieks of the dying, and the ſtrokes of the ſabres, added much

to

to the horror of the proceeding, as it rendered the pauſe for execution ſtill more dreadful by the contraſt it afforded. For a time, indeed, none but the wildeſt ſenſations of terror poſſeſſed the minds of the unhappy priſoners. The ſcene which they beheld, and the barbarous clamour which they heard, made them ſhudder to their inmoſt ſouls. But, after the firſt ſtupefaction had a little ſubſided, and the ſight of blood had become familiar to them, they began to collect their ſcattered thoughts, and endeavoured to derive the only poſſible benefit that could accrue from their diſtreſſing ſituation. Convinced that they were all to periſh in turn, they obſerved the apparent ſufferings of every new victim with the minuteſt attention, in order to aſcertain for themſelves the leaſt painful mode of meeting that death, which they conceived to be unavoidable.

Among the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, who were brought before the tribunal at the abbey and maſſacred, was the princeſs de Lamballe. This unfortunate lady had been confined at the priſon de la Force; from whence ſhe was ordered to the abbey. When arrived there, ſhe was aſked by Maillard, if ſhe knew of any court plots on the 10th of Auguſt. Her anſwer was in the negative. She was then required to take an oath to liberty and equality, and to ſwear hatred to the king, the queen, and to royalty. "To the firſt," ſhe replied, "I will readily ſwear; to "the latter, I cannot: it is not in "my heart." "Swear," exclaimed the preſident, "or you are a "dead woman!" She replied only by raiſing her eyes to heaven, and advancing towards the door, where ſtood the murderers, from whom ſhe received a blow with a ſabre on the head, which occaſioned a profuſion of blood to flow. Her conductor nevertheleſs compelled her ſtill to walk over heaps of dead bodies, ſupporting her by the arms. She fainted almoſt every inſtant. At length, finding it impoſſible to conduct her further, they permitted her to fall, and as ſhe ſunk down, diſpatched her with pikes. Such is the generally received account of her death. It is, however, related by ſome more at large *, and with circumſtances ſtill more horrible. After waiting in the court of the priſon two hours, it is ſaid, ſhe was called before the bloody tribunal, and interrogated in the manner already deſcribed. On her refuſal to take an oath of hatred to the queen, ſentence was pronounced, and ſhe was dragged to the gate. From this ſhe was to paſs through a double line of ſixty aſſaſſins, to a pile of dead bodies, which was the place of execution. As ſhe paſſed, they inſulted her with the bittereſt revilings, left their poſts to obſtruct her, and, in wanton cruelty, ſtroked her cheeks with their hands, reeking with human gore. Their inſults, and even the ſight of the mangled bodies, were borne with unſhaken fortitude. She was then told to kneel on this pile, and aſk pardon of the nation, if ſhe hoped for life. To this ſhe heroically replied, "that "ſhe had never injured the nation;

* Hiſtory of the Clergy, by Abbé Barruel. A great part of the Abbé's narrative of the maſſacres, was compiled from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes.

"that

"that she would not ask pardon of "it; and that she expected no fa- "vour from ruffians who assumed "its name." "Kneel, and ask par- "don!" was re-echoed by a thou- sand voices; but the princess re- mained unmoved. Two ruffians then seized her arms, which they pulled almost to dislocation; but she still refused to comply. Enraged at her constancy, they rushed on her, and, by repeated blows with their sabres, terminated her existence. The treatment which her corpse re- ceived, after a long and public ex- posure, was as shocking to decency as humanity. After exhibiting her head at the Palais Royal, where the duke of Orleans was at the instant sitting down to dinner, the assassins carried it, together with the bleed- ing heart, to the Temple, and dis- played it under the window of the apartment where they supposed the royal prisoners then to be. Those about the queen endeavoured to con- ceal from her this shocking event; but one of the national guards made her acquainted with it in the most insulting terms. Upon hearing the intelligence, she immediately fainted.

Although commissioners were ap- pointed by the national assembly to visit the prisons, and persuade the people to desist, their mission was totally ineffectual. Those who were sent to the convent of the Car- melites, did not arrive there till the priests were all murdered. The three dispatched to the Abbey stood among the crowd, idle spectators of the atrocious deeds. One of them, who attempted to harangue the populace, was immediately enjoined silence. Some are even said to have abetted the assassins.

The numbers dispatched at the Carmelites, St. Firmin's, and the Abbey, have already been mentioned. In the Hotel de la Force (where se- veral persons of rank were con- fined) a hundred and sixty-four were massacred. In the Concier- geriè eighty-five. At the other pri- sons, the following was reported to be the number of the sufferers: at the Châtelet, where persons sus- pected of forging assignats were con- fined, two hundred and fourteen; at the Cloister of the Bernardines, seventy-three; and at the Hospital de la Salpetriere, a kind of house of correction for women of infamous characters, forty-five. In all, they amounted to one thousand and five. To these must be added from four to six thousand more (for the ac- counts vary) who were killed at the Bicêtre. In this place, at once a prison and an hospital, the sick, the insane, and the guilty, were confin- ed together. Here the Marseillese found a long and resolute resistance. For eight days and nights together they were opposed; it was even necessary to make use of cannon; at length, however, they carried their point effectually, and put to death every soul within the walls. About a thousand more were said to have been murdered in different parts of the city; so that the total amount of sufferers of every descrip- tion, is variously computed from six to eight thousand; and even this last number has by many been con- sidered as falling far short of the truth.* The circumstances attend- ing

* Miss Williams tells us (vol. iii. p. 13.) that from the list of the prisoners afterwards published, the number put to death amounted but to 1088, including felons, who formed nearly half the number. Yet in vol. iv. p. 206. of the same work,

ing ſome of theſe murders were almoſt too horrible to be told. In the place Dauphine, a great fire was kindled, at which many, not only men, but women, and even children, are ſaid to have been roaſted alive, while their cries were drowned amidſt the ſongs and ſhouts of the cannibals dancing round the flames.*

It was intended, after the concluſion of the maſſacres in the capital, to put to death all the ſtate priſoners confined at Orleans. Apparently by way of preventing ſuch a crime, the national aſſembly ordered a ſtrong guard to conduct them to Saumur, ſtill further from the capital. A riotous crowd, however, chiefly compoſed of Pariſians, collected at Orleans previous to their departure, and inſiſted that the place of their deſtination ſhould not be Saumur, but Paris. The officers of the eſcort felt little reluctance in complying with what was called the ſovereign will of the people. The priſoners, amounting in all to fifty-three, were then put into ſeven covered waggons, and conducted towards Paris. After having travelled four days and a half, they arrived on the ninth at the gates of Verſailles. A party of Marſeilleſe were here ready to receive them; and in the face of a guard, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, in open day, about thirty aſſaſſins took their deſtined victims out of the waggons, and murdered them on the ſpot. Seven only eſcaped. Beſides ſeveral other perſons and officers of diſtinction, the duke de Briſſac, M. de Leſſart, and M. d'Abaneour, late miniſters, and the biſhop of Mendes, were among the ſufferers: their diſmembered bodies were afterwards treated with every poſſible indignity. The ruffians then proceeded to the queen's ſtables, where eight or nine of the neighbouring clergy had been ſhut up by the municipal officers, and diſpatched them at their leiſure.

Attempts were made at the ſame time, and in a manner which too plainly marks a concerted plan, to ſpread a ſimilar carnage through the provinces. On the firſt of September, a detachment of Marſeilleſe entered the city of Rheims, and immediately butchered, with much barbarity and inſult, thoſe perſons who were moſt obnoxious to their faction: one of them, a venerable officer of the name of Montrozier, who had formerly ſerved the king as his lieutenant-general at Liſle. But as the dungeons of that place contained no prieſts, five of the moſt reſpectable paſtors of the city and the adjacent villages (two of them more than eighty years of age) were dragged away to the town hall, and ſlaughtered: one who had been wounded, but not mortally, was burned alive in the ſtreets. A ſimilar band of ſanguinary wretches, ſent from Paris, made their appearance at Lyons; and, notwith-

work, the number is encreaſed to 1500, on the authority of the ſame liſts, perhaps reviſed and corrected. But glutted as the jails had latterly been, the regiſters were by no means full and exact; neither are the murders at the Bicêtre, or in the ſtreets, comprehended in the eſtimate; an omiſſion moſt extraordinary, if accidental. We did not venture to name the number mentioned by Louvet; it goes ſo much beyond the higheſt in the text.

* See the whole narrative quoted by Abbè Barruel, from a well-informed author on the ſpot.—Hiſt. of Cler. Eng. Tr. Part iii. p. 150.

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ſtanding the moſt active and ſpirited exertions of the magiſtrates in diſcharge of their duty, killed five eccleſiaſticks, whoſe dead bodies they mutilated, to pollute the public walks with ſavage trophies. At Meaux, ſeven prieſts who had been recently committed to cuſtody, and as many laymen confined in the ſame priſon, were put to death on the fourth of September, by a party flushed with the maſſacre already related, at the convent of the Carmelites. They ſpared only the more hardened criminals, worthy of becoming their aſſociates. In the other towns, the hopes of thoſe who had plotted theſe bloody tragedies, were generally diſappointed, though the common-council of Paris, with a bold effrontery of guilt, perhaps never paralleled, openly and under the ſignatures of all their leading members, addreſſed * a circular letter to all the municipalities of France, claiming merit for this act of indiſpenſable juſtice, as they call it, and earneſtly exhorting "the whole nation immediately to adopt a meaſure ſo neceſſary to the public welfare."

It is painful to dwell on ſuch details; but the hiſtory of them deſerves to be thus particularly recorded as a perpetual warning to poſterity. † A writer, whoſe teſtimony on this ſide is not to be ſuſpected, has truly remarked, that "it is a proper example of the conſequences of their doctrine, who "maintain two kinds of ethics, and "aſſert that the morals of a ſtateſman are different from thoſe of "an individual. To ſuch horrors "as have juſt been mentioned, does "this ſyſtem inevitably lead."

There yet remain however two acts of peculiar and aggravated depravity, which ought to be ſeparately noticed. One was the murder of the duke de Rochefoucauld. That nobleman had long been the moſt diſtinguiſhed patron of literary men. Seduced by their flatteries, and miſled by the falſe philoſophy which they inſidiouſly propagated, he had conſented to become the head of that faction in the earlier ſtages of the revolution; but he had lately acted a part in ſupport of the new conſtitution, never to be forgiven. Preſiding over the department of Paris, he had ſigned the order which ſuſpended Pétion and Manuel from their functions. At the period of the maſſacres, he was at Forges for the benefit of the waters. While there, he was taken into cuſtody by order of the municipality; and when at Giſors, on the road back to Paris, although guarded by a ſtrong eſcort, he fell by the ſabres of hired aſſaſſins, ſent by ſome of thoſe very men, who had formerly been fed by his bounty. But this was only an inſtance of ingratitude to a benefactor; the other outraged human nature. A monſter, named Philippe, is ſaid to have appeared one evening at the Jacobin club with a trunk, which placing before him, after an appropriate harangue, he opened, and produced two bleeding heads: they were, he ſaid, the heads of his own father and mother, whom he had butchered, becauſe they heard maſs performed by a nonjuring prieſt;

* See vol. for 1792, Part iii. p. *119.

† Miſs Williams in her letters, vol. iv. p. 198. in a note.

and

and for this nefarious parricide he claimed and obtained the applauſes of his admiring audience. Two or three boaſts of a ſimilar kind, though not attended with all the ſame ſhocking and revolting circumſtances, are related of others about this epoch of the revolution. But in ancient hiſtory there is nothing parallel. The paſſage which perhaps approaches it moſt nearly, is to be found in the reign of Tiberius. A ſon then appeared before the ſenate as the public proſecutor of his own father on a charge of treaſon. * The hiſtorian, however, who relates it, emphatically marks it as an example of ſtriking atrocity amidſt the miſery and barbarity even of thoſe times; and though the unnatural child was protected by the favour of the emperor, the diſguſt and indignation of the Roman people, profligate and ſervile as they then were, drove him with infamy from the city.

The menaces ſo repeatedly thrown out, and the other indications which preceded theſe abominable tranſactions, could not have left the miniſters at a loſs to diſcover what was intended. Accordingly in the morning of the ſecond, they called a meeting of the preſidents of the ſections, with a profeſſed view of conciliating all minds through mutual explanation. But, inſtead of this, the time was ſpent in mutual ſuſpicions and interrogations, and the whole ended, as might have eaſily been foreſeen, in new diſſatisfaction and increaſed diſtruſt of each other. Failing of the ſupport, which he had the weakneſs to hope from that quarter, Roland, as ſoon as he was acquainted with the firſt ſymptoms of commotion, is ſaid to have † written in a preſſing manner to the mayor, urging him and the common-council to vigilance and vigour. The hour when this letter was diſpatched, and the preciſe nature of its contents, we have no means of knowing; but M. Pétion in his ‡ anſwer, bearing date on the next morning, declared, "that he was "not apprized of the events of the "night, till they were irremedi-"able."

Danton, and he only, in the executive council, is generally believed to have been privy to the maſſacres, though it may not be true, as ſome have aſſerted, that he actually aſſiſted in planning and ſettling the time, the mode, and

* Tacit. Annal. l. iv.

† He did more, Madame Roland ſays; for, on hearing the priſons were threatened, he officially required Santerre to guard them with care, on the reſponſibility of his head, and poſted up this requiſition at the corner of every ſtreet. Unfortunately for the lady's veracity and the miniſter's reputation, his letter to Santerre, in which he mentions his having then written to Pétion, is extant in the Moniteur of the 7th of September, and bears date on the 4th of the ſame month. The reſponſibility of which Madame Roland talks, was impoſed on the commandant-general, by a decree paſſed on the 3d, and communicated to Santerre in that very letter of Roland. The letter itſelf, too, purports to be not the voluntary act of the miniſter, but the conſequence of directions from the national aſſembly, and the executive council. It ſeems clear both from Santerre's anſwer to that letter, and Pétion's anſwer to that of the 2d, that M. Roland did not write before to Santerre.

‡ Pétion's anſwer was ſent to the aſſembly by M. Roland, unaccompanied with any contradiction or comment, and without a copy of his own letter.

the victims. Certainly he was, both before and after, in avowed connexion with those who were the undoubted master-movers in the business, and he was at the time, the only member of the executive council who was constantly dishonoured by their praises, while all his colleagues were the objects of their bitterest obloquy. There are some traces also of historical evidence, which bring these enormities more directly home to him. Monsr. Grandpré, who, under the home department, had the particular charge of reporting on the state of the jails, being alarmed for the safety of the prisoners, on the evening of the 2d of September, called upon Danton, as minister of justice, to interpose his authority for their protection. But he answered, with an imprecation on the unfortunate victims, "What care I for the prisoners!" And the next day he dispatched from his office, and under his cover, the circular * letter of the common-council.

Of Brissot's faction, generally speaking, though some may have not been displeased with the destruction of their rivals in the public assemblies and in the journals, yet few, or none, are believed to have had any immediate share in this sanguinary work. Their leaders were even likely to have been among the sufferers. In the evening, nearly at the moment when the prisons were surrounded, about † two hundred men went to the office of the home department, and called aloud for the minister, under pretence of wanting arms. At their head was a ruffian in his shirt, with the sleeves tucked up to his shoulders, flourishing a naked sabre, and declaiming with fury against the treachery of the ministers. They were told that Roland was gone out to the council. This did not satisfy them. They insisted on admission; and Madame Roland was forced to receive a deputation of ten from their number. When it was observed to them, that they ought to apply at the war-office for arms, they declared, that they had been at that office, and could have none there. They wanted Roland, they must see him. The ministers, they cried, were all traitors. At length, being with difficulty convinced that he was not at home, the deputies withdrew, and after some short time prevailed on their companions to retire, carrying with them the minister's own servant as a hostage. Madame Roland immediately acquainted her husband and his colleagues with the transaction.

In the mean time, ‡ the new committee of superintendance had actually signed a warrant against him, which Danton got into his possession and shewed to Pétion, who said, "Let them do it, it will have a good effect:" but the minister of justice, probably more from a motive of policy than tenderness to his colleague, or a sense of his duty, prevented the arrest from being carried into execution. Some few hours afterwards Brissot and his friends were denounced in the common-council, as being in a secret confederacy with the duke of Brunswick. It was said, that the dangers of the country were less to be attributed to the plots of

* See vol. for 1792. Part 2. page *119. It was dated 3d September.

† See Appeal of Mad. Roland, Part 1. p. 98, and Roland's Address to the Parisians in the Moniteur of September 13.

‡ Ib. ib.

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the court, or even to the perfidies of La Fayette, than to certain men whom the deluded people ſuppoſed to be actuated only by patriotiſm. Names, however, were not mentioned, till Roberſpierre cried out; "No perſon then dares to name the "traitors. Well! for the ſafety of "the people, I will myſelf name "them. I denounce the liberticide "Briſſot, the faction of the Giron-"diſts, and the villainous commit-"tee of twenty-one in the national "aſſembly. I denounce them for "having ſold France to Brunſwick, "and received in advance the price "of their turpitude." He promiſed to give the proofs of this charge on the following evening, and at ſeven o'clock the next morning, three commiſſioners from the common council went to ſeize the papers of Briſſot, which they examined with the greateſt care for three hours, and then, at laſt, reluctantly reſtored, with a certificate that they had found nothing criminal in them.

Informed of theſe laſt denunciations, and the horrors of which the night had been witneſs, and which ſtill continued to reign in the priſons, the miniſter of the home department at firſt contented himſelf with barely tranſmitting to the aſſembly the ſhort apologetic letter which he had juſt received from the mayor. But he was urged by his wife to bring the ſubject forward in a more ſtriking official manner. It was not more an act of duty, ſhe told him, than of prudence: the actors in theſe ſcenes hated him; nothing, therefore, was left for him but to inſpire them with fear. He liſtened to her advice, and, while numbers of innocent perſons were butchered every inſtant, a whole day was ſpent in the compoſition of a long, elaborate epiſtle, which was ſent to the aſſembly late in the ſame evening; ſo late indeed as to have been anticipated by the miniſter of war, at whoſe inſtance the legiſlature had already ordered the municipality, the common-council, and commandant-general of the national guards to take all neceſſary meaſures for the ſafety of lives and of property under their own perſonal reſponſibility; had directed the mayor to report to them daily the ſtate of Paris, and the ſteps taken for the execution of the decree; had named commiſſioners to ſuperintend it, and voted a proclamation to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, and circulated through France. After this it was that M. Roland's communication was read. The internal evidence of the ſtyle clearly ſhews it to have come from the ſame pen with the celebrated letter to the king, which is known to have been the production of Madame Roland. After magnifying the integrity, humanity, courage, and patriotiſm of the profeſſed writer, it directly juſtifies all the bloody proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt, and diſtinctly attributes to the captive monarch, the court, and the royaliſt party, a conſpiracy, which, as it is aſſerted, was to crown all their treaſons, to diſplay over Paris the ſtandard of death, and to eſtabliſh there a dominion of terror. It then proceeds, in the ſort of language which had been invariably applied to palliate all the violences and crimes of the revolution from its firſt commencement, and in the very metaphor which the ſame writer had employed ſome months before in relation to the perſecutions of the clergy, to remark, that, "in "the nature of things, and in that "of the human heart, victory will

" bring with it some excess. The sea, " agitated by violent storms, roars " long after the tempest; but every " thing has its bounds, which ought, " at length, to be definitively mark- " ed." Some just but trite declamation is next indulged on the mischiefs to be apprehended, if disorganization should become a habit, and men of zeal, without knowledge and system, should pretend to interfere from day to day in the administration of public affairs. " In " that case," it is said, " government is only a vain shadow, is " nothing; and the man of probity " ought to retire from the helm, " which he can no longer guide." This is followed by a panegyric on the great services of the provisional common council; " a superfluous " testimony," it is added, " but " given from an overflowing heart." The wisdom of the assembly is also praised for preferring M. Thuriot's project of a decree, to that proposed by M. Gensonné. At the same time this panegyric and these praises are accompanied by a warning that absolute destruction must ensue from any further exercise of the revolutionary power by the common council. The minister thence passes to the denunciation of himself and his colleagues, and their misunderstanding with the presidents of the sections on the preceding day. " Yes- " terday," continues he, " was a day " upon the events of which it is " perhaps necessary to leave a veil; " I know that the people with their " vengeance mingled a sort of jus- " tice; they did not take for vic- " tims all who presented themselves " to their fury; they directed it to " them who had for a long time " been spared by the sword of the " law, and who they believed, from " the peril of circumstances, should " be sacrificed without delay. But " I know that it is easy for villains " and traitors to misrepresent this " effervescence, and that it must be " checked; I know that we owe to " all France the declaration that " the executive power could not " foresee or prevent this excess. I " know that it is due to the consti- " tuted authorities to place a limit " to it, or consider themselves as " abolished." He professes to treat with a lofty disregard all considerations of his own personal safety; throws it on the assembly to display an elevation and vigour, such as the great interests of the state demand; and expresses a belief that the people will hear with docility the voice of their legislators, and discover at last that " their secret enemies may " make use of these agitations to " hurt their best friends, and their " most powerful defenders. Al- " ready," adds he, " the example " begins. Let them shudder and " stop. A just anger, an indigna- " tion carried to the utmost pitch, " gives rise to proscriptions, which " at first fall only upon the guilty, " but in which error and private " passions soon involve the honest " man. There is still time for this, " but there is not a moment to lose; " let the legislators speak, let the " people listen, and let the domi- " nion of the law be established." This short exhortation to the legislative assembly and the people is succeeded by a much longer strain, personal to M. Roland himself, with which this celebrated address concludes as it began.

The distinction which is here attempted to be made between the murders of the 10th of August and those of September, was afterwards adopted

adopted by M. Roland's party, and made the groundwork of their claims to reputation, as lovers of juſtice, order, and morality. This letter, therefore, was conſidered by them as their public manifeſto, and was praiſed and extolled as a compoſition replete with the elevated dignity of ſevere virtue, and its nominal author was exalted into the Cato of the new republic. But, on the other hand, it did not eſcape keen and forcible animadverſion among thoſe who had not been ſatisfied with any of the excuſes and palliations of the ſucceſſive factions, which had all uſed the ſame maxims and the ſame means for acquiring and maintaining power in the different ſtages of the French revolution. It was obſerved that, in the midſt of the carnage, the miniſter thought of nothing but throwing a veil over it, which was at once to cover the guilty from puniſhment, and to extinguiſh all compaſſion for the ſufferers; that he apologized for all that had been done; that he juſtified it. He, it was ſaid, who felt ſo much indignation at "vague denunciations," when made againſt himſelf, was not aſhamed to conſider the charge of a conſpiracy to murder the Pariſians, brought againſt his maſter, on denunciations as vague as poſſible, or rather upon no denunciations, as a perfect juſtification of the monſtrous proceedings againſt him: and with regard to the prieſts, who were under no criminal denunciation whatſoever, he called the murder of them "a "vengeance mingled with a ſort of "juſtice;" he obſerved, that "they "had been a long time ſpared by "the ſword of the law;" and, by anticipation, beſtowed on all thoſe who ſhould repreſent this "effervescence" in other colours, the name of "villains and traitors." Neither did it eſcape notice, that the very ſelection, which he praiſed as a ſort of juſtice tempering the fury of the aſſaſſins, proved beyond a doubt his conviction of the foreſight, deliberation, and method, with which this maſſacre was made. It was further urged againſt him, that, although the priſoners were under the immediate charge of his office, he did not pretend to have uſed any force to ſtop the carnage, and if he had uſed any, the ſanction given under his hand to a ſort of juſtice in the murderers, was enough to diſarm the protecting force. Even the nerve and vigour of his ſtyle, which had ſpoken ſo potently to his ſovereign, was pronounced to have been ſingulary relaxed, when he came to addreſs the populace. Then he could no longer be direct. Things were never called by their common names. The whole compaſs of the language was tried to find circumlocutions for maſſacre and murder. Sometimes it was "agitation," ſometimes "effervescence," ſometimes exceſs," ſometimes "too continued an exerciſe of a revolutionary power." Above all, this letter was ſaid to let out the ſecret of all the parties in the revolution; that none of them condemned the occaſional practice of murder, provided it were properly applied, and kept within the bounds, which each of thoſe parties thought proper to preſcribe. They only feared, that if what was occaſionally uſeful, ſhould become habitual, the practice might go further than was convenient; and to this apprehenſion were attributed all the humane

feelings of M. Roland on the present occasion *. The leaders of the opposite faction did not scruple directly to charge the minister with personal timidity. And it is certain †, that his agitation of mind threw him into a nervous fever, which terminated in a jaundice; so that for some time his friends did not venture to let him know all the dangers which had menaced his life. At length he was made acquainted with them, and goaded by the attacks of Marat, especially those levelled against his late conduct and his letter to the assembly, he stooped to a public ‡ defence of himself in answer to the accusations of that libellist. In this address, to an affected contempt of his adversary, whom in a feeble retort he insinuates to be himself the emissary of Brunswick, he opposes the same inflated praises of himself, which appear so disgusting in all the state papers which he wrote, or rather which Madame Roland wrote in his name. He talks of his "native strength of character," his "sound education," and "the austere principles of morality," which had been the aim of all his efforts, as if he were delineating the portrait of some virtuous republican of Greece or Rome, whose name had been consecrated by the suffrage of centuries. "The most cruel malevolence," he boastingly asserts, "could not find in his life a single "action, or in his works a single "sentiment, for which he might "not claim honour and applause." After expatiating at some length on this favourite subject, he proceeds to that part of his "creed" (as he calls it) which relates to the recent scenes of blood. "I admired," says he, "the tenth of August; I "shuddered at the sequel of the "second of September. I fairly "considered what the long abused "patience of the people, and what "their justice could not but produce. I did not by any means "inconsiderately blame the first terrible movement; I thought that "we should avoid the continuance "of it, and that they who laboured "to perpetuate it, were deluded "by their own imaginations, or by "cruel and evil-minded men." And again, towards the conclusion of the address, after declaring himself ready to die, "if cowards and "traitors instigate assassins to take "his life," he adds in the same strain of candid compromise, "but "if my misguided brethren discover "that they have been deceived, let "them come; my arms are open to "them." When this was written, he must have known all the aggravated horrors of the massacres in their fullest extent. It was a calm retrospect of the past, except indeed inasmuch as his view may have been disturbed by his apprehensions of new attempts for his destruction. Whether these were his real or only his pretended sentiments on the subject, either supposition is alike fatal to the character which he arrogated to himself, and the name which his own faction bestowed upon him §." After such a deliberate

* Mr. Burke's preface to the translation of Brissot's Address to his constituents.

† See Mde. Roland.

‡ His address to the Parisians in the Moniteur of September 13.

§ That we may not be supposed to have misrepresented this important evidence, we shall here insert the whole passage in the French.—"J'ai admiré le 10 Août,

rate and public offer, not only to pardon, but to take these men of blood to his bosom, on the condition of their supporting his power, it is impossible to ascribe the part which he and all of his connection acted in the sequel, to any purer motive than resentment for the rejection of this disgraceful overture, or the necessity of some decisive effort for their own personal safety. Indeed it will be found that they continued to hold a double language and ambiguous conduct of mixed censure and apology, menace and conciliation, almost to the last moment.

The Jewel Office, against which M. Roland had long before suspected some improper design to have been formed, and to secure which he had Sept. 16. made repeated applications for a greater force, was now broken open, and plundered. The total value of the stones and precious metals kept there was about a million sterling. What part was actually carried away has never been correctly ascertained, but M. Roland described the spoil as* "sufficient to pay for a long time "the partizans of the system of "rapine, murder, and proscription." The circumstances of the robbery seemed to mark it as no ordinary act of depredation. The guard, which was posted to protect the spot, found the weather too cold († this was their own excuse) to remain in the open air; so retired to a comfortable room within. Their station was soon occupied by an armed gang of thirty or forty men, who kept off all interruption from without, while their accomplices scaled the galleries and balconies, entered at the windows, secured the guard-room, and ransacked the Office. Two of the thieves, however, were taken in their retreat, tried, convicted, and condemned, but reprieved on the promise of discoveries, of which nothing more appears. In communicating this event to the legislative assembly, the minister of the home department took occasion to direct their attention to the crimes, with which he thought this daring offence connected. He informed them of the attempts still going on to excite new commotions; and particularly pointed out that declamations had been made the day before in the electoral assembly ‡ against

"j'ai frémi sur les suites du 2 Septembre; j'ai bien jugé ce que la patience longue "et trompée du peuple et ce que sa justice avaient dû produire; je n'ai point "inconsidérément blâmé un terrible et premier mouvement; j'ai cru qu'il fallait "éviter sa continuité, et que ceux qui travaillaient à le perpétuer étaient trompés "par leur imagination, ou par des hommes cruels et mal-intentionnés." The passage in the conclusion is:—"Que des lâches ou des traîtres provoquent les "assassins, je les attends; je suis à ma place, j'y fais mon devoir, et je saurai "mourir. Si des frères égarés reconnaissent qu'ils sont trompés, qu'ils viennent, "mes bras leur sont ouverts." Perhaps more than necessary pains have been taken in this history to develop the true character of M. Roland, from his own, or his wife's pen: but his virtue was the boast of his party, and in his person all their pretensions to morality may best be tried.

* See A. R. for 1792, part 2, p. *121.

† M. Roland to the assembly; Moniteur, September 20.

‡ The reader will observe that these passages, which indicate the minister's particular regard to his own personal reputation and safety, are omitted in the account of his speech given in our last volume, part 2, p. *121. That was taken from a publication in this country favourable to Brissot and his faction. They are here supplied from the Moniteur, which has preserved them.

the executive power, and placards were preparing to paſte over his addreſſes which the aſſembly had read and approved. He reminded them that ten days ſince (and in their ſituation, he ſaid, days were ages) he had entreated the aſſembly to give force to the law; if they did not, he now again aſſured them, that not only Paris but all France would be torn to pieces.

This addreſs was referred to the extraordinary committee, to which had juſt before been ſent the circular letter of the common council, communicated and denounced to the aſſembly by the municipality of Amiens. On theſe and other materials of a ſimilar kind the committee haſtened to make a report that very evening. The reporter was M. Vergniaud. He painted with much force of eloquence the diſcord, the conſternation, the anarchy which reigned in the capital; the ſtrange delegations and ſub-delegations of power, by which the liberties and the lives of the citizens were put at the mercy of the meaneſt wretches; and the bondage in which they were inthralled under the vileſt and moſt deteſtable ruffians. It was time, he cried, to break thoſe ignominious chains, and to make thoſe, before whom honeſt men trembled, now tremble in their turn. He did not forget the denunciations againſt himſelf and his faction on the ſecond of September, and the perſonal dangers to which they were ſtill expoſed; and he exclaimed with a ſpirit which for an inſtant produced a tumultuous acclamation of concurrence, "Periſh the "national aſſembly and its memory, "ſo that France be free! Periſh "the national aſſembly and its me"mory, if it ſpares one crime which "would leave a ſtain on the French "name; if its vigour does not teach "the nations of Europe that, ſpite "of the calumnies wherewith ſome "would aſperſe France, there yet "are, even in the midſt of the "momentary anarchy in which "ruffians have plunged us, there "yet are in our country ſome pub"lic virtues, and that reſpect is yet "paid here to humanity!" But he had the weakneſs or the falſehood to attribute all which had been done "to the ſatellites of Co"blentz;" and inſtead of propoſing an inquiry to enforce the decree of the 3d, which made the whole municipality, the common council, and the commandant-general perſonally anſwerable for the ſafety of all lives and property, he ended with a motion, which was in effect an amneſty of the paſt, by declaring anew a more limited reſponſibility in the members of the common council, and in them only, for the ſafety of the priſoners.

The Mayor with a deputation of the common-council now appeared at the bar. He declared that he would ſacrifice his life to the faithful diſcharge of his duty; but he lamented his want of power, and of information, being generally the laſt (he ſaid) who was made acquainted with any commotion. The people, in his opinion, were no way culpable; but he aſſerted there were among them, and no man he thought could diſpute the fact that there were, *agents and emiſſaries paid by their enemies.* However, when enlightened by the aſſembly, the people would ſee their miſtake; and he had himſelf given the moſt preciſe and vigorous orders. On receiving from the preſident the decrees paſſed that day, he obſerved that the power of iſſuing warrants was not exerciſed by the common-council, but by a committee

committee of police, to which only some individual members of the common-council belonged. He was told therefore by M. Vergniaud that the law which gave that power to the common-council, did not sanction any delegation of it to others; and M. Kersaint followed with a motion, calling upon the common-council to make a return of all the warrants issued by them, or under their authority, of the numbers of persons so arrested, and the offences with which they were charged: a motion which was instantly voted, but was not, and from the shortness of the period for which the assembly expected to sit could not have been, seriously proposed to be carried into execution. Santerre, who had been directed to attend, then arrived, and assured them, that the disorders with which they were threatened would not take place. He informed them he was going to double all the guards and patroles. "It is," he said, "*only a relic of aristocracy in the "struggles of death.*" Fear nothing; "it will never be able to raise itself "again." The assembly accepted his sentiments and assurances with applause, and passed to the next order of the day, for encouraging the breed of English sheep.

Sept. 18. On the morrow another letter came from the minister of the home-department, suggesting the necessity of an armed force to be under the sole direction of the assembly. He recommended this because of the machinations of *their external* enemies to divide, as the means of enslaving them. But there was not the slightest argument drawn from the massacres. On the contrary, having occasion incidentally to refer to them, he gave them the gentle appellation of the late "*popular executions*"; an expression which sanctioned all those deeds of blood, as having in them the substance of Justice. A remark in the postscript, that going in the morning to the jewel office, he had found there only one of the commissioners whom the assembly had appointed to inquire into the robbery, drew up M. Thuriot, who retorted that they had attended there eight hours the preceding afternoon, and had not the pleasure of seeing M. Roland there during any part of that time. Each threw upon the other all future responsibility; and the assembly, declaring itself satisfied with the explanation both of the minister and the commissioner, took no further notice of the official letter which had given rise to the altercation.

Information having been given to the extraordinary committee, that a plot was in agitation to assassinate many of the more obnoxious members, as soon as their functions were at an end, a public address on the subject was proposed and voted. The character of this piece very closely resembled that of the other official letters, reports, and manifestos of the same faction. It preached the same theoretical lectures of prospective morality, though in language a little more direct, manly, and just; for it declared that "every act of popular "vengeance, every punishment, "even of a public enemy, which is "not clothed with the forms of law, "is murder; that, far from serving "the cause of liberty, such conduct "can only injure it; and they who "abandon themselves to these ex-"cesses, betray that cause while "they think that they support it." Yet in this, the strongest passage of the whole, as far as it has any application to the past, a sort of excuse is mingled in the implied censure:

Sept. 19.

sure: the forms of law only were wanting; and the motive was a blind love of liberty. And the same palliation, if not justification, is still more immediately used to cover the late atrocities, in the only sentence which distinctly alludes to them: "In the time of insurrection," it is observed, "and when the people "rise, to oppose a lawful resistance "to tyranny and oppression, sometimes misled by men over-passionately fond of liberty, *they may "regard the activity of the law as too "slow to ensure their safety:* but the "idea of an attempt on the lives of "their own representatives," which is treated throughout this address as the one inexpiable sin;—"that indeed could only have been inspired by the real enemies of "France; by men who wished to "deliver her over, torn and divided within herself, a prey to her "foreign enemies; men whose object was to annihilate the effects "of the revolution of the 10th of "August." Accordingly it is pretended in another part that the national assembly "had discovered in "this criminal project a character "of connivance between the internal enemies of France and the "tyrants coalesced against her; "traces of that disorganizing and "counter-revolutionary plan, which "the hired agents of Coblentz, of "Prussia, and Austria, were still pursuing with insolent audacity." They who employed this weak and stale pretence, must have been conscious of its falshood; but under it they concealed their fear of facing the true situation of the country, and escaped the shame of confessing the pernicious result of their own doctrines and practices now returned upon themselves.

This state-paper, coming directly from the authority of the legislature, was another still more solemn offer of a compromise, more than ever precluding all future distinction between the murders of August and September, provided new evidence of evil intention were not furnished by an attack on the lives of the obnoxious members. And the compromise was accepted; or perhaps the plot, which had been thus announced, never seriously existed; certainly no such attempt as had been apprehended, was ever made. In truth, one main purpose of the committee of the common council, and the jacobin club, was now effectually answered. This was to inspire such a general terror, as might leave them undisputed masters of the elections, especially in the capital, which had hitherto governed all the events of the revolution with absolute dominion. And there none of their adversaries ventured to contend with them. In consequence the two Robespierres, Marat, Danton, Panis, Sargent, Legendre, and others, sit colleagues for such men, were returned by triumphant majorities. At the bottom of the list, with two or three of the more obscure anarchists, stood the duke of Orleans, who, to secure this ignominious object of his depraved ambition, formally renouncing not only his old hereditary titles, but his new revolutionary distinction also as a French prince, and publicly disclaiming, it is said, the very blood of his high ancestry, with a baseness of which there is no example, stooped to solicit, and obtained from the usurped authority of the common-council, the style and name of *Citizen* EQUALITY.

As soon as a competent number of the new members had arrived from the country, some of the representatives

presentatives of Paris invited them by public advertisement to meet at the jacobin club. M. Roland instantly took the alarm, and lost no time in signifying to the assembly, that the hall was ready for the reception of the convention.

Sept. 21. The next day terminated the short and feverish existence of the first and last legislature convoked under a constitution which had been the pride of the new philosophy, and the expectation of Europe. The composition of this body we had occasion to mention in the last volume. And its conduct was such as might thence have been anticipated. Perhaps its character cannot be better illustrated than by the simple mention of the manner in which the members were found employed at the moment of its dissolution. After degrading and insulting their sovereign, kindling the flames of war throughout the continent of Europe, affording immunity, protection, and encouragement to bands of assassins, ripping open afresh the bleeding wounds of their West-Indian colonies, burying the last feeble support of the tottering throne under the ruins of the new constitution, persecuting the clergy of the religion which they professed, and bursting asunder all the compacts of political society, they were now busied in putting the last hand to the loosening of the great primary bond and relation of domestic charity. They were actually engaged in discussing the terms of a decree for holding out to divorces a facility, that made marriage hardly distinguishable from the state of insecure concubinage, which poets and metaphysicians have supposed to belong to man in his rudest condition of savage nature.

Little that was violent, was left for the convention to do, yet whatever remained, was done.—But before we go on to relate the proceedings of that body, it will be necessary to return to the history of the war, which France had declared, from the point of time, when after the repulse of her first attacks on the Netherlands, the combined sovereigns prepared to pass her frontiers.

CHAP. II.

Plan of the campaign as settled at Magdeburg. Dumourier appointed commander in chief. Combined armies enter France in two columns. Capture of Longwy. Foreſt of Argonne. Verdun captured. Council of war held by Dumourier. Scheme of Dumourier to ſeize the defiles of the foreſt of Argonne. Account of the defiles. Dumourier at Grandpré. General Clerfait attacks and carries the paſs at Croix-aux-bois. Dumourier compelled to retreat. Panic and flight of his army. He collects them and takes poſt at St. Menehould. The prince of Heſſe makes an unſucceſsful attack on the paſs at Iſlettes. Junction of Bournonville. The duke of Brunſwick encamps on the heights of Lahune. Kellerman, who had ſuperſeded marſhal Luckner in the command of the central army, arrives and miſtakes the ground intended for his encampment. He is attacked by the Pruſſians. Changes his poſition in the night. The duke of Brunſwick cuts off Dumourier's communication with Paris by Chalons and Rheims. Second unſucceſsful attempt of the Heſſians to gain the paſs of Iſlettes. Suſpenſion of hoſtilities. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the Pruſſian army. Probable motives for the propoſal of a truce. Negotiations. Conduct of the king of Pruſſia towards the emigrants. The retreat of the Pruſſians. Agreement for their unmoleſted retreat avowed at Verdun. Siege of Thionville. Bombardment of Liſle.

THE plan of the campaign againſt France had been ſettled at Magdeburg (as we * formerly had occaſion to obſerve), in the latter end of May, by the king of Pruſſia, the duke of Brunſwick, and the marquis de Bouillé. The latter, who had been invited for the purpoſe of aſſiſting at this conference, pointed out Champagne, as the moſt vulnerable part of the French frontier; and recommended beginning with the attack of Longwy, Verdun, and Sedan, three towns which could oppoſe but a ſlight reſiſtance, though the only barriers of that part of France. After the conqueſt of theſe, the allied army might march by the way of Rethel and Rheims, through an excellent country, ſtrait to Paris, without encountering any obſtacles. But ſhould they fail in obtaining this laſt object, they might eaſily gain poſſeſſion of Meziers and Montmedy, and take up their winter quarters in a ſtrong military poſition between the Meuſe and the Chiers. This was fully approved. It was alſo reſolved, that only one half of the emigrants ſhould enter France with the allied armies, and that the remainder ſhould be divided between the corps of obſervation which were to be left on the Upper Rhine and in Flanders. The plan ſeems to have been judiciouſly laid, but whether from neceſſity, from unſteadineſs in the councils of the king of Pruſſia, or from ſome leſs pardonable cauſe, ſeveral conſiderable variations much for the worſe appear to have taken place in the progreſs of the campaign.

The title of commander in chief of the French army, was meanwhile conferred on Dumourier, who, after the reſignation of his miniſterial office, had accepted an appointment under marſhal Luckner, and had been left encamped at Maulde, when Luckner

* See A. R. for 1792. part I. p. 417.

Luckner had changed positions with La Fayette. This wily politician foresaw the approaching storm, and failed not to profit by it: solely affecting the character of a mere soldier, whose duty it was to fight the battles of his country, without regard to the internal commotions that convulsed her, by the most artful flattery he conciliated the ruling party, and gained the confidence of men, who, a few weeks before, would have sent him to Orleans as a traitor. His personal enmity likewise to La Fayette, weighed not a little in his favour. Luckner, who had been suspected, and perhaps with some degree of reason, of favouring the projects of La Fayette, perceived his danger in time; and submitting without reserve, was continued in the command of his army, although the appellation of commander in chief was given to Dumourier, who remained with the army of La Fayette.

Aug. 21. The period of the threatened invasion at length arrived; and the troops of their Imperial and Prussian majesties, to the amount of about eighty thousand, entered France in two columns, on the sides of the Electorate of Treves and Luxembourg, the duke of Brunswick at the head of one column and general Clerfait at the head of the other. Previous to this step, however, the two declarations, which have already been mentioned, were issued by the duke of Brunswick. To the allied forces were attached two considerable corps of emigrants; one under the command of count d'Artois, the other under that of the prince of Condé. General Clerfait immediately undertook the siege of Longwy, which was not of long duration; for after the batteries had played upon the town only a few hours, the garrison, at the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants, agreed to a capitulation. So exasperated was the national assembly at this faint resistance, that it ordered the commandant to be tried by a court martial, and decreed, that, on the recapture of the town, the houses of the inhabitants concerned in the surrender should be razed to the ground, and the magistrates tried for high treason. As a terror likewise in future, it was ordained, that every citizen of a besieged place, who should propose a surrender, should be instantly put to death. After his success at Longwy, Clerfait passed by Montmedy without investing it, and advanced to Stenay. The duke of Brunswick at the same time marched towards Verdun.

The route of the allies was so directed, as to intercept the communication between the two French armies; the consequence of that extraordinary arrangement, which had transported La Fayette to Sedan, and Luckner to Metz. When Dumourier assumed the command at Sedan, he found himself at the head of an army consisting of not more than twenty-three thousand men, badly encamped, dispirited by their situation, suspicious of their officers, undisciplined at best, but then nearly disorganized by the recent revolt of his predecessor, and bearing no very good will to their new commander, whom some among them openly exclaimed against as being the cause of the war. On the very day that he took possession of his command, he learned that the king of Prussia was marching against Verdun. This town, which was full of stores, was garrisoned only by two battalions; general Galbaud was therefore immediately dispatched, with two battalions

talions more, to throw himself into it; but he was unable to advance further than Dun, from whence with great difficulty turning off to the right, through the forest of Argonne, he retired to St. Menehould, where he found two battalions which had formed a part of the garrison of Longwy.

To give battle under the present circumstances, appeared to be little less than inevitable ruin; yet something seemed necessary to be attempted in order to arrest the progress of the allies before they reached the fertile districts of Champagne, where their operations would be easy, and their supplies certain. In this situation, general Dumourier thought proper to call a council of war, to which he stated the present situation of affairs, the probable reliance to be placed on the future succours; and the relative advantages and disadvantages of the opposed armies; and he concluded, by desiring the members to propose those plans which they thought most effectual to stop the further progress of the enemy. This end, in the opinion of some of the council, was to be attained by a sudden irruption into the low countries, which, it was said, were unprepared for any attack, and would of course fall an easy conquest. But this was thought too hazardous an experiment. General Dillon advised, that after leaving some battalions in the retrenched camp at Sedan, the rest of the army should march by the way of St. Menehould to Chalons, or if that was lost, to Rheims, and take a station behind the Marne, to defend the passage of that river. This opinion was supported with such powerful arguments, that the rest of the council declared their agreement with him. General Dumourier, however, after more mature consideration, disapproved of this plan, as highly dangerous. To carry it into execution he must abandon a country extremely favourable for defensive war, reduce Chalons to ashes, give up Rheims and Soissons, and allow the enemy to enter a rich country, through which they might choose their route to Paris; the Marne too was fordable both above and below Chalons, and there was no defensive position, which, in case of defeat, he could take between the latter place and the capital. One only step remained for him to take, and on that he resolved. This was to defend the defiles of the forest of Argonne.

This forest is a belt of wood, extending from within a league of Sedan to Passavant, a few miles beyond St. Menehould; in all a line of about thirteen leagues. The breadth varies, being in some places from three to four leagues, in others not exceeding half a league. It separates a very rich and fruitful country from the wildest desert in France, alike deficient in water, wood, and pasturage. The interior of the forest is so completely intersected with mountains, rivers, lakes, and marshes, that it is impossible for an army to penetrate by more than five passes. In the possession of these important passes he hoped to anticipate the enemy.

While Dumourier was arranging this defensive system, the duke of Brunswick appeared before Verdun, which he summoned to surrender in the name of his most Christian Majesty, offering the garrison liberty to retire, with their arms and baggage, to any station which they might choose. His offer was accepted, and the town delivered into his possession. Previous however to the surrender, when the Aug. 31.

question

queſtion was debated in council, the commandant of the place, finding it impoſſible to prevent a capitulation, reſolved not to ſurvive the diſgrace; but inſtantly drawing a piſtol from his pocket, ſhot himſelf on the ſpot*.

The duke and Clerfait were both, at this period, nearer the defiles of the foreſt than Dumourier at Sedan. The French general, therefore, felt an extreme difficulty in forming a plan to get poſſeſſion of them. Had he gone round the back of the foreſt by Vouziers and St. Menehould, filing off to the left, he feared that Clerfait, who was neareſt to him, would have diſcovered his ſcheme, and occupied the paſſes before him. Another mode preſented itſelf, of traverſing the plain between the foreſt and the Meuſe, (on the banks of which Stenay is ſituated) ſkirting the wood as much as poſſible, in order to keep at a diſtance from the Auſtrian poſts. But here likewiſe he apprehended his intentions would become manifeſt. He reſolved at laſt upon a plan as bold as it was fortunate. Conceiving, from the circumſtance of Clerfait's not marching againſt him, and only maintaining a very ſmall advanced guard on the foreſt ſide of the Meuſe, that the Auſtrian general headed no more than a corps of obſervation to cover the ſiege of Stenay, he determined to attack him with a part of his troops, while the remainder marched on in front of the enemy, apparently to ſupport the attack, but in reality to ſecure the paſſes. With this view he formed his army into three diviſions. A ſtrong detachment proceeded againſt Clerfait, and commencing a ſmart action, ſufficiently engaged his attention, while the main body, conducted by Dumourier in perſon, marched unoppoſed through the plain, and a powerful eſcort protected the baggage and artillery along the ſkirts of the foreſt. By this manœuvre he effectually deceived the Auſtrians, and was enabled to execute his project.

Dumourier, who was not till now informed of Galbaud's retreat to St. Menehould, ordered him to advance immediately with four battalions, ſome cannon, and all the volunteers of the country to Iſlettes, the moſt important paſs in the foreſt; to fortify it as ſtrongly as poſſible, with abbatis and entrenchments; and not to abandon it on any conſideration whatever. No time was loſt in the performance of this order; but on the firſt apearance of a detachment of Pruſſians and emigrants in the neighbourhood, his troops became panic-ſtruck, and fled back to St. Menehould. The enemy, however, diſappearing, he repoſſeſſed the poſt. The five paſſes of the foreſt are named Chêne-populeux, Croix-aux-bois, Grandpré, Chalade, and les Iſlettes. The paſs of Grandpré Dumourier now occupied with the main body of his army. The vanguard under general Arthur Dillon, was ſtationed at Iſlettes and Chalade, in conjunction with general Galbaud's detachment already on the ſpot. Croix-aux-bois was but a ſhort diſtance from Grandpré, and protected by a diviſion of the main army. At Chêne-popu-

* An attack upon Sedan was now propoſed by the duke of Brunſwick, but over-ruled through the influence of the king of Pruſſia, and it was reſolved that the army ſhould croſs the Meuſe, though the ſeaſon was far advanced, and ſeveral fortified places would by this movement be left on the rear of the army. In this the duke was compelled to acquieſce, though not without feeling infinite diſguſt at a plan which to his judgment ſeemed at beſt raſh, if not impracticable.

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leux, only a small corps was stationed; that pass appearing the least likely to be forced. The most important stations were those of Islettes and Grandpré; the former commanding the great road, which leads from Verdun to Chalons and Paris; the latter, that which leads from Stenay to Rheims. Both these stations, had their importance been known, might have been easily occupied by the generals of the allied armies; which would have scarcely left them an obstacle to encounter on their march to Paris.

After Dumourier had disposed his troops according to his wishes, the different divisions of the allies formed a junction, general Clerfait presenting himself before Croix-aux-bois, the duke of Brunswick with the king of Prussia (who accompanied his army the whole campaign) before Grandpré, and the Landgrave of Hesse with a body of Hessians before Islettes.

Sept. 13. The first attack of the allies was on the corps posted at Croix-aux-bois, which after a slight resistance fell back to Grandpré. Dumourier had too much neglected this pass, but now quickly perceived his error, and detaching a considerable force to retake it, before the Imperialists could entrench themselves, with great difficulty recovered the post. In this action the prince De Ligne was slain. The good fortune of Dumourier, however, was of short duration. The Imperialists returned to the charge with a stronger column, and getting possession of the heights above the French, dislodged them a second time from their station, and compelled them to retire to Vouzieres, in which situation they were completely precluded from co-operating with the grand army.

Despairing of any further success in this quarter, deprived of the assistance of two divisions of his army, and perceiving, that Clerfait had assumed a position at Croix-aux-bois, which commanded his camp, Dumourier found himself compelled to retreat from Grandpré; particularly as he received intelligence at the same time, that the emigrants had made themselves masters of the pass of Chêne-populeux. His sole hope now was fixed on the defiles of Islettes and Chalade, for the support of which he proposed to fall back and encamp at St. Menehould. Nor was his retention of this post of little consequence; for it enabled him still to block up the best and nearest passage through the forest from Verdun to Paris. He commenced his retreat in the night, with so much silence and secrecy, that the allies did not immediately discover his movements. On the subsequent morning, however, after he conceived himself in perfect security, fifteen hundred Prussian hussars advancing on his rear, and perceiving some confusion in the main column of his army, suddenly charged and put the whole column to the rout. In his dispatch to the minister of war, Dumourier terms this affair not an engagement, but the actual flight of ten thousand men before fifteen hundred. Had this handful of Prussians been opportunely supported, the whole army must have been completely annihilated. Even as it was, Dumourier had nearly lost all his baggage and artillery. More than two thousand men belonging to different corps, precipitated themselves through Rhetel, Rheims, Chalons, and Vintry, with incredible celerity; for no troops, as Dumourier himself remarks, fly either quicker or faster than the French. After having

ing collected with some
Sept. 17. difficulty the dispersed fugitives, he encamped at St. Menehould.

On the same day that Dumourier arrived at St. Menehould, while the impression of the flight remained strong on the minds of the French troops, the prince of Hesse, who occupied Clermont and Varennes, proceeded up the gorge of the former place to attack the post at Islettes. The corps encamped at Coté de Bienne, to guard this pass, was commanded by general Money (an Englishman) under the French general Arthur Dillon. The attack of the Hessians continued about two hours, when general Money obliged them to retire with loss.

For some time past, Dumourier had been in constant expectation of being joined by Bournonville from the camp at Maulde, and by the army of the center. Bournonville, at length arrived at St. Menehould,
with a welcome reinforce-
Sept. 19. ment of ten thousand men; and on the same day intelligence was received, that Kellerman with the army of the centre, consisting of fifteen thousand troops, almost wholly composed of the line, was within two leagues of his rear. Marshal Luckner had been some time superseded in the command of this army by Kellerman; and was then stationed at Chalons to superintend the troops, which were assembling there from all quarters, under an apprehension that the Prussians would finally succeed in forcing the passes of Argonne. When Kellerman quitted Metz, he had with him twenty thousand men; but he judged it expedient to leave five thousand of them for the protection of Ligny and Bar-le-duc (through which places, on account of the enemy's position, he was obliged to make a circuit) and with the remainder proceeded to join Dumourier.

The duke of Brunswick, now in possession of Grandpré, had already marched through the forest, and encamped in the neighbourhood of St. Menehould, on the heights of La Lune, the very day that the preceding junctions were effected,

On the subsequent morning, Kellerman arrived at the ground (the heights of Valmy) which he understood was intended for his camp; but he appears to have been mistaken, as Dumourier had pointed out to him for this purpose another situation considerably to the left, and only meant, that the heights of Valmy, in case of an action (which he thought likely to take place) should be his field of battle. Scarcely, however, was he arrived there, encumbered with his baggage, and preparing to erect his tents, when the Prussians instantly commenced a vigorous cannonade on his crowded army. Dumourier, perceiving the danger of his colleague, exerted himself to the utmost in his support; but could not prevent the Prussians from occupying the heights of Gizaucourt, and establishing a battery there, which completely blocked the position at Valmy. The duke manœuvred to the left with the hope of surrounding Kellerman, which he would have certainly effected had he not been checked in the attempt by a column of Dumourier's army, opportunely posted at this critical juncture. The day was passed in a long but ineffectual cannonade. During the night Kellerman quitted his position, and marched unmolested to the spot originally designed for his camp. The duke of Brunswick,

however, apparently gained a considerable advantage by the retreat of Kellerman, as he was enabled the next day to occupy the heights of Valmy and Gizaucourt, and cut off Dumourier's communication with Paris by Chalons and Rheims.

Two days after the preceding engagement, a second attempt was made by the prince of Heſſe to force the paſs of Iſlettes; but ſo ſtrongly were the French intrenched, that he found it impoſſible to diſlodge them from this poſt.

Sept. 22. On the very day of this attack, the duke of Brunſwick, under the pretext of ſettling a cartel for an exchange of priſoners, propoſed a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in the front of the reſpective camps, which propoſal was acceded to on the part of general Dumourier. The garriſons left by the French in Sedan and Montmedi, had been unuſually active in cutting off the convoys from Luxembourg and Treves, which were compelled to take a circuitous route by Longwy, Verdun, and Grandpré. So ſterile likewiſe was the ſoil of Champagne-pouilleux, where the allies were then encamped, that the failure of their convoys began to be ſeverely felt in their armies. But an extreme ſcarcity of proviſions formed not their only calamity. Such had been the imprudence of the Pruſſians on their march through France, in devouring without precaution, the grapes and melons of Lorraine (fruits unknown in their own country) that it occaſioned the appearance of an alarming malady, which daily ſwept them off by hundreds. In this very critical ſituation, oppoſed to an army over which he now deſpaired of gaining any conſiderable advantage, which was receiving daily reinforcements, already equal, and with a proſpect of ſpeedily becoming far ſuperior to him in numbers, at the head of columns exhauſted by long and fatiguing marches, during inceſſant rains, hourly diminiſhing with diſeaſe, and emaciated by famine, the duke of Brunſwick felt himſelf under the prompt neceſſity of propoſing an armiſtice, by which, if nothing more could be effected, he at leaſt hoped to find time for the arrangement of his retreat.

The king of Pruſſia ſeems at firſt to have placed much dependence on the ſupport which he hoped to derive from the Royaliſts of the country, and to have flattered himſelf, that, being received with open arms by the moſt numerous and reſpectable party in the nation, he ſhould ſpeedily become the reſtorer of monarchy, and the ſaviour of France. The eaſy captures of Longwy and Verdun encouraged perhaps theſe pleaſing dreams. But ſubſequent events ſoon convinced him, that he had ſoothed himſelf with a falſe expectation; and that the glory which he affected, could not be acquired with ſo much facility as he at firſt imagined, by merely marching into the country, and endeavouring to terrify the refractory into ſubmiſſion. He appears not once to have had a real intention of riſking a general action. No reſource, therefore, was now left to him, but that of opening a negotiation, by which he might hope to bring over the French commander to his views, and thus terminate the campaign at once; or at leaſt to make ſome ſtipulations which might ſerve as a pretext for a retreat. Such principally appear to have been the political reaſons, as the diſtreſſes of the army

were

were the military ones for propoſal of a truce.

During the continuance of the negotiation, which laſted from the 22d to the 28th of September, ſeveral conferences took place, of which but few particulars have tranſpired; nor are we at all informed, what next was done by the commiſſioners of the convention, who were the whole time preſent with the armies. On the firſt day of the truce, colonel Manſtein, adjutant general to the king of Pruſſia, dined with Dumourier, and * according to the ſhort account of the conference, ſince publiſhed by the latter, laboured to draw him off from the cauſe which he had eſpouſed, telling him, that it was in his power to terminate the diſorders of France, and that by ſo doing he would render the utmoſt ſervice, not only to his native country, but to all Europe. The converſation afterward was ſaid to have become very amicable, when colonel Manſtein took an opportunity of explaining himſelf with more preciſion.

Dumourier however remained inflexible; and met the artifice of the Pruſſian with a ſimilar artifice; contending, on the other hand, that the true policy of the king of Pruſſia was to withdraw from his alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, and attach himſelf to the new republic of France. His ideas on this ſubject were afterward committed to writing, and in the form of a memoir preſented to the king, more perhaps with an intention of gratifying his majeſty's private feelings, than of affording any real baſis for an effective negotiation. The whole compoſition was replete with the groſſeſt and moſt palpable flattery. No particular notice ſeemed to be taken of this paper. On the morning however of the 28th, a Pruſſian aid-de-camp was diſpatched from the duke of Brunſwick to the French general with a manifeſto intended for public circulation, in which their imperial and royal majeſties inſiſted upon the liberation of the French king, with all his family, the eſtabliſhment of the royal dignity in France, and the proviſion of ſuch meaſures as ſhould effectually protect that dignity from the riſk of future inſults. Theſe propoſitions were made in ſo high and imperative a tone, and enforced by ſuch harſh menaces, that Dumourier inſtantly gave orders for the recommencement of hoſtilities, complaining that they did not at all enter into the ſpirit of what had paſſed between himſelf and colonel Manſtein, and were even contradictory to the converſation with which the duke of Brunſwick had honoured lieutenant general Thouvenot. A part of the latter converſation was made public, in which the duke was ſaid to have thus expreſſed himſelf: "We know, that we have no right to prevent a nation from giving itſelf laws, and from tracing out its internal government. We do not wiſh it. We are only intereſted for the fate of the king. Aſſure us that a place will be aſſigned him, in the new order of things, under any denomination whatever, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia will return to his own ſtates and become your ally." But colonel Manſtein is reported to have ſpoken in ſtill ſtronger language, and literally to have ſaid, "Make him your king under the ſtricteſt limits by which a king was ever circumſcribed. Do not content

* Vie de Dumouriez, vol. iii. chap. 2.

yourself with tying him up, like the king of England, to do nothing of himself; make him a king of Marhattas—make him a stadtholder—make him the principal tax-gatherer in the country—give him only a place; that is all we ask, and then we shall have a pretext for retiring." It is proper, however, to remark, that general Dumourier, in the account of his own life lately published, records no such singular expressions as coming from colonel Manstein, although he alludes to the conferences which he held with that officer.

The only ostensible effect of the negotiations seems to have been an agreement for an exchange of prisoners; but here the unfortunate emigrants were excluded, and many of them they abandoned to inevitable destruction. For some time, indeed, previous to the truce, the king of Prussia had treated them with a studied coldness and incivility, proportioned to the difficulties that occurred in the campaign; but the ill success of his negotiations on this occasion put him so completely out of humour with them, that he scarcely kept himself within decent bounds. The impression which the sovereign's conduct made on the army is easy to be conceived. The meanest soldiers in the Prussian infantry prided themselves on behaving toward that respectable corps, composed in a great degree of the high-spirited nobility of France, with an insolence and scorn which could not but prove mortifying in the extreme. During the whole campaign, a complete difference of opinion on the conduct of it, seems to have subsisted between the king of Prussia and the emigrant princes; the princes thinking that something more than mere manifestoes was requisite to subdue the dominant factions, who had now all the energy of the executive power at their disposal, much wished for a general action, the event of which might have induced the royalists to declare themselves. Nor were many favourable opportunities wanting to their wishes, could they have carried their point. But Frederick William, recollecting the mode in which he so easily terminated the disorders of Holland in the year 1787, and vain perhaps of his skill in military evolutions, adopted an opposite plan; and manœuvring from day to day, until he found himself out-manœuvred by the French general, chose rather to lose more men by famine and disease, than would probably under any event have fallen in the field by the sword of the enemy. Even after he had determined upon retiring from France, the princes were said to have offered to maintain themselves in the country alone, if he would but favour them with a train of artillery: their proposal, however, was rejected.

After the recommencement of hostilities the duke of Brunswick raised his camp at La Lune, and began his retreat toward the frontiers. He had for some days previously been sending off his baggage to the pass at Grandpré. The commissioners of the convention, who visited the spot of the encampment after it had been abandoned, reported, that they found there above three hundred horses half eaten (so great had been the scarcity of provisions in the Prussian army); that the ditches were all filled with blood from the nature of the disorder then raging, and that the dead bodies were so numerous in every part, Sep. 30.

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as to give it the appearance of one extenſive burial ground. It was likewiſe ſaid, that an epidemic malady, in conſequence perhaps of the putrid effluvia around it, had began to prevail in the camp. The total loſs of men on this unfortunate expedition by diſeaſe and famine has never been accurately known; the general ſuppoſition is, that it amounted to full one-third of the army.

The French, at the period of the retreat, were confeſſedly ſuperior in point of numbers to the allies, According to the account of * Carra (one of the commiſſioners of the convention) they amounted in all to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, including probably the reinforcements at Chalons. Yet the duke of Brunſwick was permitted to repaſs the defile of Grandpré without the leaſt moleſtation by very ſlow and tedious marches, encumbered with ſick and baggage. For a day or two after the commencement of the retreat, Dumourier and Kellerman remained quietly in their camps at St. Menehould, ſending out only ſmall detachments after him. Kellerman then made a retrograde motion toward Chalons, inſtead of puſhing for Lorraine; and afterward, a ſecond time, reoccupied his camp at St. Menehould.

Several days elapſed before any movement of conſequence took place in the French armies, when Kellerman finally quitted St. Menehould, and filed off by the paſs of Iſlettes through the gorge of Clermont, on his route towards Verdun. Dillon had previouſly followed the Heſſians, decamping from their poſitions in this quarter, and was already in the neighbourhood of Verdun, when Oct. 11. Kellerman joined him. The main body of Dumourier's army was then marched under the command of Bournonville, towards Liſle, which city had been lately inveſted by a party of Auſtrians from the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Teſchen. By theſe tardy arrangements, the Imperialiſts were ſuffered to proceed without loſs, by Stenay and Longwy to Luxemburgh, while the Pruſſians turned off to Verdun, purſued only by a few light troops of the enemy.

The king of Pruſſia was in perſon at Verdun, when it was ſummoned to ſurrender to the French general. On the very firſt ſummons, the town was given up without any attempt at reſiſtance, the Pruſſians retiring and taking the route towards Longwy. Their rear guard conſiſting of about 12,000 men, was overtaken near Pillon, incapable of making any expedition, from the enfeebled ſtate of the artillery horſes, and the miry condition of the roads. General La Marche, the leader of the diviſion, which firſt come up with it, commenced an immediate cannonade, conceiving that the main body of Kellerman's army was at the ſame moment ſufficiently advanced to cut off its retreat towards Longwy; the cannonade, however, ſoon ceaſed on the appearance of the duke of Brunſwick, who aſſured the French general, that, according to an agreement previouſly made with Kellerman and the commiſſioners of the convention, the Pruſſians were to be permitted to retire from France unmoleſted, ſurrendering their con-

* In his letter to the convention.

queſts of Verdun and Longwy. From this period all hoſtilities terminated, until the duke had completely evacuated the country, the French armies purpoſely halting, that he might do it more at his leiſure.

It has been conjectured, with ſome degree of probability, that an arrangement for the unmoleſted retreat of the Pruſſians, exiſted before the recapture of Verdun, ſomething of this kind having actually taken place during the negotiations before St. Menehould; but Dumourier poſitively contradicts ſuch a ſurmiſe, although it muſt be remarked, that he takes not the leaſt notice of the agreement avowed at Verdun. When general Money,* in a confidential converſation which he had with Carra the commiſſioner, reprobated the meaſures that had been taken, Carra replied, that they wiſhed much to gain the friendſhip of the king of Pruſſia, and hoped by this lenity effectually to do ſo; for that nothing appeared more deſirable, than an alliance with Pruſſia, in order to cruſh the houſe of Auſtria.†

During the calamitous retreat of the combined armies, ſome acts of wanton cruelty toward the diſtreſſed Pruſſians occurred, which admit of no extenuation. A large party of the ſick having been taken priſoners by general Bournonville, he was importuned by his troops to bury them in the mud; but poſſeſſing either more feeling, or more prudence, than thoſe he commanded, and not wiſhing to burthen himſelf with men in ſuch a ſituation, he preferred ſending them to their homes. Many were the famiſhed wretches, who, wandering into the villages to procure food, were ſeized and butchered without mercy. Several deſerters likewiſe, who had quitted the Pruſſian army in conſequence of a decree of the national aſſembly, which offered a penſion for life to every man deſerting from the enemy, were either cut to pieces by the troops, or ſhot by the inhabitants; four unhappy men of the latter deſcription had been fortunate enough (as they conceived) to reach Rhetel, and to be received according to the decree: yet in defiance of the magiſtrates and a general officer (whoſe interference had nearly coſt him his life) two French battalions, which happened to be on the ſpot, immediately after dragged them into the ſtreet and maſſacred them.

On the entrance of the combined armies into France, Thionville was inveſted; but not ſurrendering on the firſt ſummons, the duke of Brunſwick paſſed on, leaving the Imperialiſts and a corps of emigrants to beſiege it, who were detained there during the whole campaign. The ſituation of Thionville is ſuch, that its environs may be eaſily inundated on the approach of an enemy; a circumſtance of which the garriſon ſpeedily availed itſelf. The beſieging army too, having advanced againſt the town with the hope of

* Money's hiſtory of the campaign in 1792, p. 144.

† This idea receives additional ſtrength from the authority of Segur, who, in his Memoirs of Frederick William the Second, aſſerts in forcible terms his belief, that a ſecret convention was entered into between the French general and the king of Pruſſia, by which the latter agreed to abandon the coalition, on condition that the French ſhould not attempt to penetrate into the empire; but ſhould limit their operations to the ſide of the Netherlands. This convention, however, the executive council, on the rapid ſucceſs of Cuſtine, refuſed to ratify.

its immediate surrender, was but ill provided with artillery. After the place had been invested for some days, it was resolved to commence the siege in form, and orders were dispatched to Luxemburgh for cannon; but when they arrived, they were too few in number for the intended purpose. The first works of the besiegers were soon destroyed in a sally. Nor was another attempt to carry the place by four large floating batteries more successful. These were suffered to fall down the Moselle, until they came opposite the town, when a fire was opened against them so heavy and well directed, that they all speedily sunk, and every person on board perished.

No impression could afterward be made upon the garrison; nor was the place to be starved into a surrender, as it was well supplied with provisions. If we may credit a letter, which was read in the convention, the utmost gaiety prevailed during the whole period; and not unfrequently, while the batteries of the town were firing on the enemy, the wives and daughters of the citizens danced and sung around them. Very different, however, were the feelings of the emigrants, who formed a part of the besieging army. One of these unhappy men has recorded * what passed in his own mind on this occasion. Walking with a companion on the woody summit of a high hill, about three or four miles from Thionville, which commanded a view of the subjacent plain, he could not, help sighing bitterly, when he reflected, that two years had not elapsed since he had been in garrison in the very town against which he was then in arms, since all its environs had been familiar to him, and the spot itself on which he then stood, the scene of the most agreeable amusements. His acquaintance and friends, the companions of those amusements, he remarked, were besieged in Thionville, while he was armed against them. "Alas!" exclaimed his comrade, "what must "my reflections be?—the command- "ant of artillery in the place is my "own brother!"

In the Netherlands, the weakness of both parties incapacitated them from undertaking any enterprise of moment. General Dumourier, however, having been obliged to require Bournonville to join him with twelve battalions, the camp of Maulde was broken up, and the remaining troops had orders to take possession of the camp of Bruille, a very strong position near that of Maulde. In performing this movement they were attacked by the Austrians, and completely routed, with the loss of their tents, equipages, and cannon. The fugitives took refuge in the neighbouring fortified towns: some of them even fled as far as Bouchain. Pursuing their victory, the Austrians took possession of St. Amand and Orchies. About a fortnight after this engagement, the arch-duke Albert appeared before Lisle, with twenty-five thousand men, and a formidable train of artillery. For the purpose of a regular siege his army was too weak, but he hoped to be able to reduce the place by a vigorous bombardment, which, on the refusal of the garrison to surrender, was begun and unremittingly sustained for the space of a whole week, until the town was in many parts reduced to a heap Sep. 29.

* Promenade, &c. precedé de quelques details sur le campagne du duc de Brunswick.

of ruins. But on the approach of Bournonville with a corps of several thousand men, the Imperialists raised the siege, and retired within their own frontiers. Had they been successful, and established a strong garrison at Lisle, the subsequent enterprise of the French against the Netherlands, must have been long postponed, if not totally abandoned, as to retake Lisle would have employed more than a hundred thousand men for six months. Nor would this have been the worst effect resulting from it. If the commissioners, sent by the convention, may be credited, more than one city would have availed itself of the example of Lisle, to escape from the horrors of a siege and bombardment, and the seat of war would by this means have been firmly fixed on the frontiers of France; a frontier which would abundantly furnish the enemy with all the means of subsistence.

Thus terminated in disappointment and disgrace, an expedition from which nothing less had been predicted than the re-establishment of the altar and the throne in all their former splendour. The hopes of exiles have for ages been proverbial; nor was the belief of ages contradicted on the present occasion. The order for marching toward France was received by the emigrants with the loudest acclamations, and when they arrived at the limits of that country which had long sheltered them, they bade it adieu in the firm persuasion, that they should never be compelled to visit it again. Neither the fatigue of a march through dusty roads, under a burning sun, nor the privations they suffered, could damp their spirits or even excite a single murmur; nothing was heard among them but felicitations, and songs expressive either of attachment to the king and queen, or contempt for their enemies. Of their ultimate and easy success they did not allow themselves to doubt. Even the order to retreat did not for some time destroy this delusion; and when at last they were convinced that the great object of the campaign was to be abandoned, they flattered themselves that they should, at least, take up their winter quarters on their native soil. This lingering hope was soon crushed, and the discontent and dejection they then felt, could only be equalled by the confidence and exultation they had before expressed. Nor was the behaviour of the Prussians, after the evacuation of Champaigne, at all calculated to reconcile them to their fate. None of that "balm of "hurt minds," which even a generous enemy bestows on those who have fallen into his power, was administered by these barbarians to their unfortunate allies. Those men who had shared with them the fatigues and the dangers of the field, and whose only crime was loyalty, were treated with a cruelty and insolence which ought never to be shewn, even to the meanest and most culpable of mankind. Stripped, in many cases, of their horses and arms, ill-supplied with, or even refused, their needful sustenance, and outlawed, as it were, by their very comrades, the emigrants found themselves reduced to a state of the utmost necessity and despair. Such conduct would have blighted the fairest laurels of victory; but it heaped accumulated disgrace on the heads of those who, wanting the courage to vanquish their enemies, had not even the decency to respect the misfortunes of their friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Dumourier sets off for Paris. His cold reception there. Goes to the Convention, and the Jacobin club. Resolves to make but a short stay at Paris. Plan of the campaign settled. State of the Republican force. Dumourier leaves Paris. Arrives at Valenciennes. He visits the Jacobin club, receives the red cap, and makes a revolutionary speech. Order of the executive council that the troops should not go into winter quarters before the enemy had been driven over the Rhine. Dumourier promises to enter Liege by the thirtieth. He addresses a proclamation to the Belgic people. Instructions to the generals under him. Position of the Austrians. The rebel Belgians attack an Austrian post, and are defeated with considerable loss. Position of the Austrians. Preparations to attack them. Battle of Jemappe. Austrians defeated. Reflections on the battle. Mons surrenders. Measures taken there. Ath, Tournay, Bruges, Nieuport, and Ostend, captured. Engagement at Anderlecht. Dumourier enters Brussels. Mechlin taken. Duke of Saxe-Teschen proposes a suspension of arms. It is refused. Action near Tirlemont. Antwerp and its citadel surrender. Engagement near Liege. Dumourier enters that place. Operations of general Valence. Charleroi taken. Siege of Namur. Storming of fort Vilette. Surrender of the place. Valence joins Dumourier. Liege in a state of confusion. Dumourier proposes to seize Maestricht and Juliers. Is refused permission by the executive council. Ruremonde taken. The Austrians driven from Aix-la-Chapelle. General Clairfait retires behind the Erft. Disagreement between Dumourier and Paché. Distressed situation of the French army. Great desertion from it. Intention of Dumourier to go into winter quarters. Opposed by the executive council. He prevails at last. The army sent into cantonments. Their distribution. Situation of the opposed armies on the Upper Rhine. The French resolve to attack the Austrians. Engagement before Spire. 3,000 Austrians taken. Capture of Spire, and the magazines there. Contributions levied on the clergy. Disorderly conduct of the army. Arts used to work upon the populace and the prisoners. Capture of Worms. Custine marches towards Mentz. It is summoned. State of defence. It surrenders. Treachery the cause of the surrender. Jacobin club established. Deputations received from the Jacobins of various cities, offering to betray them into the hands of Custine. Want of troops the reason for not accepting these offers. Frankfort taken possession of. Contributions levied. Proclamation against the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Plan of Custine for extending his conquests. Not adopted. Action at Limburg. Efforts made to provision Mentz. Position of the French and Prussian armies at the close of November. Operations of the French on the side of the Alps. Insolent conduct toward the king of Sardinia. Report to the assembly, notifying the orders given to attack Savoy. All Savoy over-run by general Montesquieu. Nice taken by Anselm. Oneglia destroyed. Jacobin clubs established in Savoy. Plans of the revolutionists on Geneva and Switzerland. Pretext for attacking Geneva.

Geneva. Its want of foundation. The real reasons. The Cantons resolve to defend Geneva. Berne sends succours. A treaty concluded. Annulled; and a second made. The terms.

FLUSHED with victory, and expecting to be hailed as the saviour of his country, Dumourier, after delegating to Kellerman the pursuit of the harassed and dispirited enemy, departed for the capital. In this expectation he was, probably, not a little encouraged by the reception he met with from the inhabitants of the frontier, who, having so lately trembled for their lives and fortunes, now vied with each other in marks of gratitude and respect to their deliverer. His arrival at Paris, however, Oct. 11. soon put an end to the delusion, and taught him that ingratitude was a vice as predominant in the new republic as ever it had been in those of ancient times. No festivals, no triumphal processions, no popular acclamations, honours which he seems to have looked forward to, awaited his return. By the citizens, it is true, he was received with sufficient kindness; but the convention scarcely approved the promotions he had ordered, while some of its members were even ready to make his having quitted the army without leave an article of accusation against him. Those laurels which he had gathered in Champagne, were regarded by the leaders of the factions with a jealous and malignant eye, as indicative of a power which might, at some future time, be employed in precipitating them from that eminence, to which they had so lately, and by so many crimes ascended. The Girondists considered him, at best, as a suspicious friend; the Jacobins as a certain enemy. To prolong his stay, under such circumstances, could only be productive of mortification, and the general, therefore, resolved to hasten his departure for the army, where he would enjoy that respect and consideration to which he thought himself entitled, by his abilities, and his services.

On the following day he accordingly appeared at the bar of the convention, where he made a short speech, in which the praises of his army were mingled with the usual common-place invectives against privileged orders, tyrants, and arbitrary power. But, however grateful this language might be to his auditors, they certainly felt a stronger interest in the conclusion of his speech, which informed them that his stay at Paris would not be prolonged beyond four days, which were to be spent in concerting with the ministers his future operations. This pleasing intelligence restored him, for the moment, to favour; he was applauded, and allowed the honours of the sitting.

His next visit was made to the Jacobin club. Here his reception, though not directly hostile, was ill calculated to soothe his wounded vanity. The president Danton, indeed, paid him some compliments on his services; but Collot d'Herbois, in a speech obliquely blaming that of the president, took care to inform the general that he had only done his duty, and that, whatever glory had been gained, he must consent to share it with his companions in arms. This flattering and conciliatory speech was long and loudly applauded.

During

During the short stay of Dumourier at Paris, a general plan of the approaching campaign was formed for the whole extent of the French frontier. That part of it which related to the Low Countries was to be carried into execution by Dumourier himself. With the main army he proposed to push forward to Mons, and thence to Brussels; while, on the right, Valence should besiege Namur, and, on the left, La Bourdonnaye take possession of Ghent and Mechlin. The citadel of Antwerp was then to be besieged by the latter general. Small detachments, from the frontier garrisons, were to seize upon Bruges and Ostend, which were not expected to offer any resistance. By these movements the duke of Saxe Teschen would, it was imagined, be driven with his small force over the Meuse, where he would be pursued by Dumourier, on the surrender of Namur and Antwerp, or perhaps of either of them, to the French arms.

At this moment the republican armies were in a state sufficiently formidable to excite the inquietude of their enemies. The army, which under Kellerman, Dillon, and Chazot, pursued the retreating Prussians, was more than sixty thousand strong. Bournonville had led to the relief of Lisle a corps of twenty-two thousand. The camp of Maubeuge contained eighteen thousand, commanded by lieutenant-general d'Harville; while La Bourdonnaye had at his orders, including the garrisons of Lisle, Dunkirk, and Valenciennes, a body of thirty thousand effective men. These numbers, large as they are, may perhaps be considered as rather under than over stated. Nor was the immense disparity of numbers the only auxiliary on the side of the French. The armies of the new government, animated by all the pride of past victories, and not a little by the hope of plunder, looked forward with confidence to the future, while their adversaries, baffled, harassed, and exhausted, saw in their late ill successes only an omen of new defeats and disasters. In other quarters also, the situation of the republican forces was equally advantageous.

The plan of the campaign being settled, and the necessary measures taken to carry it into execution, Dumourier departed to join his army on the frontiers. The day after his arrival at Valenciennes, he visited the Jacobin club of that city, from which he appears to have met with a better welcome than from the parent society. He was addressed, in an inflated harangue, by the president, who presented him with the red cap, as a peculiar mark of distinction, and a worthy recompence for the labours he had undergone. Nor was the general backward in acknowledging this testimony of regard; his reply was short, but conceived in the true revolutionary spirit. Alluding to his having once before * received the same honour, he took occasion to claim the merit of having caused war to be declared; a war, as he chose to assert, indispensably necessary for the purpose of unmasking the treasons of which the French were to have been the victims. But the heaviest yoke which the nation had borne, and from which its energy had now delivered it, was, in his opinion, that of royalty. He Oct. 21.

* See Ann. Reg. 1792, part i. p. 278, and La Vie de Dumouriez, tom ii. p. 155.

con-

concluded with a promise never to exchange the bonnet of liberty, except for the crown of flowers, which would be merited by the conquerors of Brabant.

Rendered confident by success, and hoping, perhaps, to stimulate their troops to more vigorous exertion, the executive council now issued an order, that the French armies should not enter into winter quarters before the enemy had been completely driven beyond the Rhine, and a barrier thus formed against all future invasion of the new republic. Nor did Dumourier on his part throw any damp on their sanguine hopes. Relying, as he well might, on his great superiority of numbers, he ventured to promise the convention, that by the fifteenth of next month, he would be in possession of Brussels, and by the thirtieth, of Liege.

Previous, however, to his entering the Low Countries, he thought it necessary to prepare the minds of the inhabitants for the furtherance of his views. With this purpose he addressed to the Belgic people a proclamation, flattering their former exertions in the cause of liberty, and stimulating them to new ones. It promised them the assistance of France, and declared that their laws and property should be respected, and no attempt made to interfere in their establishment of a new constitution, provided they recognized the sovereignty of the people, and refused to live under the authority of a despot. On these conditions they might consider the French as their supporters, friends, and brothers. But, in order to influence no less their fears than their hopes, it was intimated, in sufficiently intelligible terms, that it would be prudent in them to join their arms to those of the French, and drive the enemy from their cities, as, otherwise, those cities might be exposed to destruction, and themselves to the misfortune of being confounded with the Germans. This menace, thrown out against all who should persist in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, was soon brought forward with more force, and strength of colouring, in a paper of instructions, which Dumourier transmitted, with the manifesto, to the generals serving under him. They were ordered to notify to "any village, town, "city, or province, so degraded by "slavery, as not to seize with en-"thusiasm" the "celestial gift" offered by the French, that they should be treated as the vile slaves of Austria; that the towns should be reduced to ashes, and such contributions levied as would make the march of the French be long remembered. A hope was, nevertheless, expressed, that such rigour would be unnecessary. With perfect consistency these sanguinary instructions concluded by ordering, that every emigrant taken in arms should be tried in the space of twenty-four hours, and suffer by the hands of the executioner of the nearest place.

While the French were thus preparing for aggression the Austrians were not backward in adopting such measures of defence as were permitted by the smallness of their force. In order to cover Mons, the duke of Saxe Teschen took a strong position behind the rivulet of Quievrain; his left supported by the wood of Sart, his right by the river Haisne, and the marsh of St. Ghuislain. Intermediate posts observed the motions of the garrison of Condé, and kept up the communication with general Latour, who occupied, with a small

a ſmall body of troops, the camp of Trinity, and the town of Tournay. Still further to the right detached corps were poſted at Lannoy, Roubaix, Turcoing, and Warneton. This line of defence, though well choſen, preſented nothing formidable to the enemy, whoſe ſuperiority in numbers was ſuch as enabled him, without difficulty, to break through it, in whatever quarter he might think proper.

Every thing being now arranged for an attack upon the whole extent of the Auſtrian line, Dumourier reſolved to begin the campaign. The firſt encounter which took place was not of propitious omen. The Nov. 3. corps of Belgic infantry, conſiſting of men whoſe principles had compelled them to take refuge in France, and who now eagerly looked forward to revenge, was poſted at Montreuil, and, conſidering its ſituation there as too confined, took the reſolution of attacking a neighbouring Auſtrian poſt in the village of Thulin. They ſucceeded in obtaining poſſeſſion of the village; but, attempting to purſue their advantage, they were ſuddenly enveloped by the Auſtrian huſſars, and four companies of theſe traitors were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners. It was with great difficulty and loſs that a regiment of French cavalry covered the retreat of the routed Belgians *. In their hurry to retire, they abandoned not only the captured village, but alſo the poſts held by themſelves before the ſkirmiſh.

Fearing that, if it were not retrieved, this check might diſcourage his troops, Dumourier ordered an attack to be made the next morning, by a large force, on the villages which had been ſo haſtily evacuated. They were recaptured without difficulty, the Auſtrians retiring from them after a ſlight ſkirmiſh at Boſſu.

The time was now come when the fate of the Netherlands was to be committed to the deciſion of the ſword. Anxious to make up for their want of numbers by the ſtrength of their poſition, the Auſtrians poſted themſelves in an advantageous ſituation near Mons. In front of that city, and at ſome diſtance from it, riſes a chain of heights, which, taking a ſemicircular direction, embraces under different names more than one half of the place. On a part of this chain the Auſtrians reſolved to make a ſtand. Their line extended from Jemappe on the right, to Berthaumont on the left: their center was at Cueſmes. The ground is broken and embarraſſed. The village of Jemappe is ſeated on an eminence, which, riſing by ſteps, in an amphitheatrical form, is covered with wood. From the right of this village a line of redoubts extended to the heights of Cueſmes, on which five large works of the ſame kind were erected. The whole was defended by a powerful artillery, amounting, it has been ſaid, to nearly a hundred pieces of cannon, of various calibres. Behind Jemappe ſome ſquadrons of cavalry were ſtationed, to ſally forth upon the French columns, ſhould they be thrown into diſorder. In front of that place, but on lower ground, the village of Quaregnon was alſo occupied by the Auſtrians. The force by which theſe poſts were to be maintained did not conſiſt of more than 15,000 men.

In this poſition, Dumourier re-

* A full pardon had, a conſiderable time before this event, been offered to theſe men, and rejected in the moſt inſolent language.

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folved to give battle to the Auſtrian army. The whole of the 5th was ſpent in preparations, and in a feint attack upon Quaregnon, to occupy the attention of the Auſtrians, and prevent them from making their retreat through Mons. General D'Harville was at the ſame time ordered to advance to the heights of Ciply, on the left of the enemy's line, to menace them in that quarter, take advantage of any confuſion which might appear among them, and, in the event of a victory, cut off their retreat by rapidly gaining the road to Bruſſels. On the left of the French line, twelve battalions, under the command of generals Ferrand, Blottefieres, and Rozieres, were deſtined for the attack of Quaregnon and Jemappe. The center conſiſted of eighteen battalions, at the head of which was lieutenant-general Chartres, ſon of the duke of Orleans. Bournonville commanded the right wing. The cavalry was alſo divided into three corps, and placed ſo as to ſupport the body of infantry by which Jemappe was to be carried. A formidable artillery, equal in number to that of the enemy, was diſtributed along the whole front of the French army.

Nov. 6. At ſeven in the morning a very heavy cannonade was opened on both ſides. Bournonville was ordered to commence the engagement, directing his march on Cueſmes. Quaregnon was, nearly at the ſame time, attacked on the left. After a conſiderable reſiſtance it was forced. The troops were then ordered to advance toward Jemappe, and endeavour to penetrate into it by the front and right flank. Here they were oppoſed with great vigour and ſucceſs, and compelled to confine themſelves to Quaregnon. At eleven o'clock, however, colonel Thouvenot, who had juſt been diſpatched from the center to haſten the operations of the left, put the columns in motion, advanced at their head, and with great gallantry carried the various redoubts by which Jemappe was covered.

As ſoon as intelligence of this ſucceſs was received, Dumourier ordered the columns of the center to commence their attack. Theſe columns were compoſed of troops of an inferior order. They puſhed on at firſt to the charge with ſufficient courage, but, obſerving the cavalry of the enemy preparing to ruſh upon them, they gave way. The confuſion was great. Three columns remained expoſed to a heavy fire of grape, within half muſquet ſhot. Dumourier now almoſt began to deſpair of victory. All had perhaps been loſt, had not lieutenant-general de Chartres, gallantly ſeconded by Baptiſte Renard, exerted himſelf at this critical moment, with the moſt determined courage. Baptiſte ſucceeded in rallying, and bringing back to the charge, the brigade of general Drouet, and ſeven ſquadrons of cavalry, while de Chartres formed into one large body the battalions which had ſo long been expoſed to the fire of the enemy. The loſs, however, was immenſe. De Chartres now led toward Jemappe the body of troops which he had drawn together. After a long conteſt three lines of redoubts were carried, and the French penetrated into the village. Here the combat was renewed, and continued with much fury, till Thouvenot advancing from the other end of the place, put the Auſtrians between two fires, and compelled them to a retreat, in effecting which, more than four hundred

hundred of them were drowned in the Haiſne.

The attack on the right was meanwhile carried on but ſlowly. Five large redoubts, the fire of which his artillery was unable to ſilence, effectually checked the progreſs of Bournonville. While de Chartres rallied the center, Dumourier haſtened to this diviſion, which he found in a very diſadvantageous ſituation. A great part of it was expoſed to the cannon of the redoubts, and had in front a numerous body of Auſtrian infantry and cavalry preparing to march againſt it. The French cavalry alſo was on the point of taking flight; and, to add to the confuſion, general D' Harville, miſtaking them for enemies, kept up a cannonade on their rear from the heights of Ciply. Dumourier, on his arrival, ſucceeded in reſtoring courage to the troops. A charge made by the Auſtrian cavalry was repulſed with great ſlaughter. Animated by this ſucceſs, the French attacked the redoubts, which they at laſt entered by the rear; thoſe who defended them were put to the ſword.

The whole of their intrenchments being thus forced, the Imperialiſts retired to Mons. In this engagement they are ſaid to have loſt above four thouſand men. Dumourier ſtates his own loſs at two thouſand killed and wounded; while others, and with a greater appearance of truth, raiſe it to more than ſix times that number. Of one hundred pieces of cannon, by which the intrenchments were defended, only thirteen fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Thus terminated the famous battle of Jemappe. Among the revolutioniſts of all countries it was a ſubject of much exultation. It was triumphantly compared with the moſt celebrated victories of ancient or modern times, and Dumourier advanced to an equality with Turenne, Marlborough, and Eugene. Yet, if it be conſidered in a military point of view, more cauſe will be found for cenſure than for praiſe. The greateſt maſters in the ſcience of war, have always been averſe from giving battle wantonly. In the preſent inſtance there did not exiſt one of the eſtabliſhed reaſons for coming to an engagement. Every purpoſe which could be obtained by the moſt ſplendid victory, might have been equally obtained without the effuſion of human blood. So inferior was the force of the Auſtrians, that, by advancing upon their flanks *, the French would have compelled them to retire, or, if retreat had been delayed, would have captured their whole army. Dumourier appears to have ſought the reputation of being equally ſucceſsful in regular engagements as in the defence of poſitions: but he would have done well to remember a maxim of the imperial general Galas, that endeavouring to acquire a military character, by merely ſquandering the blood of others, is a miſerable ſpecies of ambition.

On the cloſe of the engagement general Dumourier occupied the height of Cueſmes with the whole of his infantry, and ſent detachments to thoſe of Berthaumont and Palizel. Some troops were alſo diſpatched to

* Dumourier has anticipated this objection, and has given a ſort of oblique reply to it: but his reply appears to be wholly unſatisfactory. La Vie de Dumouries, tom. iii. c. xii. p. 382.

haraſs

haraſs the retreat of the Auſtrians towards Bruſſels, but, not being properly ſupported, were compelled to retire. Mons was immediately ſummoned; and, as the firſt ſummons was diſregarded, it was followed by two others, conceived in the moſt ſanguinary terms. In the courſe of the night the Auſtrian commander evacuated the place, and retired without ſuffering any loſs.

Mons next morning opened its gates to the conqueror. He was received with loud acclamation by the partizans of French principles. The army was now found to be in want both of money and proviſions. By this untoward circumſtance a ſtop was put to its progreſs for four days. To remedy the firſt of theſe wants, a forced loan was demanded from the clergy, to the amount of one year of their revenue. They were, however, kindly aſſured, that the repayment of this loan ſhould be guaranteed by the Belgic nation.

General Berneron, who was charged to act with one diviſion on the left of Dumourier, puſhed forward in the mean time, unmoleſted, to Ath, whence he detached parties to Leſſines, Grammont, and Ninove. In all theſe places much proviſion and ammunition was found.

The attack upon Tournay had been confided to La Bourdonnaye, who diſplayed a moſt criminal inertneſs in the performance of his duty. It was not till after he had received ſeveral orders, that he put himſelf in motion toward that place, into which it was with ſome difficulty he could be prevailed upon to enter. The Auſtrian general, profiting of his antagoniſt's ſlowneſs, had, meanwhile, effected his retreat in full ſecurity. Thinking, perhaps, to atone by robbery for tardineſs, La Bourdonnaye, on his entrance into the town, ſeized the public treaſure, and demanded contributions. This conduct, ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of the French, was inſtantly diſavowed by Dumourier. As ſoon as the event of the battle of Jemappe was known, Bruges, Nieuport, and Oſtend, ſubmitted to a detachment of 1,800 men, from the garriſon of Dunkirk.

Having made the neceſſary preparations, Dumourier again moved forward with his army. It marched in two columns by Enghein and Braine-le-Comte. No reſiſtance was made by the Auſtrians, till they reached the heights of Anderlecht, near Bruſſels. Here a partial engagement took place, which ended in their retreat. From this place a ſummons was ſent to the governor, and another to the magiſtracy, of Bruſſels. Next morning the city opened its gates. The government had previouſly retired to Ruremonde. Such was the ſituation of the Auſtrian army at this period, that, on his entering Bruſſels, Dumourier found a double line of deſerters ranged in the ſtreets; their number amounted to more than four thouſand. Nov. 11. Dec. 14.

A garriſon, conſiſting of ſix battalions of infantry, and a regiment of dragoons, was put into the place. The command was given to Moreton, a man of mean talents, of whom Dumourier was glad to diſembarraſs himſelf. As the army was in great want, a ſum of three hundred thouſand livres was borrowed from a banker, and another of eighty thouſand florins from the public cheſt of the city.

In

In Bruſſels, as in the other towns which had yielded to the French arms, the people were called upon to elect new magiſtrates. A Jacobin club was alſo eſtabliſhed. Conſiderable property belonging to emigrants was found in various places, and confiſcated for the uſe of the nation. The principal part, however, of this plunder was ſeized upon by a crowd of Jacobins, who haſtened from Paris, at the call of Lacroix and Danton, commiſſioners from the convention to the army.

From Bruſſels a detachment was ſent, under general Stengel, to take poſſeſſion of Mechlin. This ſervice was effected without oppoſition, and was of great importance. The garriſon, conſiſting of 1,300 men, was allowed to join the Auſtrian army. In Mechlin was found more than 1,800,000 pounds of powder, 16,000 muſquets, thirty pieces of artillery, large magazines of forage and proviſion, and an extenſive foundry of cannon, with two thouſand quintals of metal.

During his ſtay at Bruſſels, Dumourier received, from the duke of Saxe-Teſchen, a propoſal for a ſuſpenſion of arms. This propoſition was grounded on the advanced ſeaſon of the year, and the injury which the country would ſuffer from the movements of two hoſtile armies. The French general did not deign to ſend a written anſwer. He replied, verbally, that he would inform the convention of the propoſal, and, in the interim, continue his operations. Indeed he ſeems, both in the preſent inſtance, and in the ſummons ſent to the governor of Mons, to have imagined that, in his quality of commander of the republican armies, he was abſolved from an obſervance of all the common rules of politeneſs and urbanity.

The Imperial army ſtill continued to retire, though ſlowly, and in good order. Having made a ſtay of four days, the French general quitted Bruſſels. The day after his departure he paſſed through Louvain, and encamped upon the Pellenberg. D'Harville, who marched on his right, paſſed the Dyle at Corbeck, and took a poſition near the wood of Merendael. The advanced guards were at Bauterſem, and along the courſe of the Welpe. Nov. 19.

At this moment the Auſtrian army was poſted behind Tirlemont. A ſtrong rear guard, commanded by general Staray, held the heights of Cumptich, in front of that town. From this ſituation Dumourier reſolved to diſlodge him. Accordingly, on the morning of the 21ſt, he concentred his army near Bauterſem. D'Harville was ordered to move on the right, by Meldaert to Hougarde, while a diviſion of the army advanced on the left, by Gladbeck to Oplinter. Next morning Dumourier in perſon attacked the Auſtrians in front of Tirlemont. The combat was long and obſtinately diſputed. It was not finally ended till three in the afternoon, when the Auſtrians retired unmoleſted, with the loſs of three or four hundred men killed and wounded. Their loſs in deſerters was much greater. The victorious general encamped on the ground from which his enemy had been driven. At Tirlemont four days more were ſpent in ſecuring ſupplies for the army.

During this period La Bourdonnaye had advanced to Antwerp, the gates of which were opened to him. The ſiege Dec. 18.

of the citadel was commenced, but so slowly did La Bourdonnaye proceed that it was found necessary to replace him by general Miranda. On the arrival of the new commander the siege was pushed with such vigour, that on the 29th the garrison laid down its arms and surrendered prisoners of war. It consisted of 1,300 men. Fifty-one cannon and fifty mortars were found in the place. In consequence of orders from Dumourier, Miranda now marched with his army toward Ruremonde.

Having obtained the necessary supplies, Dumourier, on the 26th, advanced from Tirlemont to St. Tron. Defeated, but not discouraged, the Imperialists passed through Liege, and encamped on the heights of the Chartreuse, leaving general Staray, with a strong rear guard, before the city, in the position of Roucoux and Varoux. This spot was already made famous, by a battle, fought in the year 1746, between the French and the allies. It was once more to be stained with blood. General Staray had considerably strengthened his post by several large and well-constructed redoubts. A combat took place, which lasted the whole day, and ended to the disadvantage of the French. As the situation could not, however, be maintained against the whole French army, the Imperial general withdrew his force over the Meuse in the course of the night. The whole of the Austrian army retired to Herve, leaving the city of Liege to its fate. Dumourier made his entry the next morning, and was hailed as their deliverer by the revolutionary party, which was by no means inconsiderable in point of numbers.

While the army under Dumourier was thus marching from conquest to conquest, that on his right, commanded by Valence, was not inactive. After a fatiguing march from Givet, through almost impassable roads, the latter general took possession of Charleroi, which was abandoned on his approach by the Austrian garrison. At this place he received an order to join the main army, as it was imagined that the duke of Saxe-Teschen would endeavour to make a stand behind the canal of Vilvorden. He accordingly advanced to Nivelle, but, the Austrians continuing to retire, his assistance became unnecessary. The siege of Namur was, therefore, resolved upon. On the 19th, Valence arrived before that place, and next day batteries were raised. The town itself not being in a state of defence, the commander agreed to evacuate it, and retire into the citadel. Trenches were opened against this as soon as heavy artillery could be procured. In a few days the besieged were driven from forts Camus and Casotte. The Austrians having established themselves in a strong position, near Namur, for the purpose of cutting off the French convoys sent from Givet, it was found necessary to dislodge them. After an engagement, which lasted a considerable time, the Austrians, convinced of their inability to impede the siege, abandoned their posts and retired towards Huy. Namur was now left to its fate. On the 30th of November, about midnight, a French corps, led on by General Leveneur, attacked fort Vilette, a strong work, which much impeded the progress of the besiegers. It was entered with great gallantry. Though this redoubt was Nov. 15.

completely

completely countermined, the aſſailants ſuſtained but an inconſiderable loſs. Three hundred Auſtrians were taken priſoners. As the whole exterior line of forts was now in the enemy's poſſeſſion, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garriſon remained priſoners of war. At the commencement of the ſiege, it conſiſted of 2,600 men; but of this number more than ſix hundred deſerted to the French, before the ſurrender. After the capture of Namur, the army of Valence marched to join that of Dumourier at Liege.

Dec. 2.

In this city, meanwhile, all was tumult and diſorder. A Jacobin club was formed, which in violence was not at all inferior to the mother ſociety of Paris, from which miſſionaries had been diſpatched to enlighten the Liegeois. It has been already mentioned, that the revolutionary ſpirit had ſpread widely in Liege. But the partizans of democracy were not, by any means, agreed in their plans. While thoſe in the city loudly called for a new conſtitution, and an independent government, thoſe in the ſuburb of Outremeuſe as loudly demanded an union with France. Dumourier, from motives of policy, was decidedly againſt this latter opinion; but it was ardently ſeconded by the commiſſioners Danton and Lacroix, who ſtimulated the populace, already ſufficiently prone to criminal actions, to every kind of exceſs. They even reproached them with not having yet begun to cut off heads. Some aſſaſſinations were indeed committed, but not in ſufficient number, it appears, to ſatisfy the thirſt of blood which was felt by theſe humane commiſſioners. Such were the firſt bitter fruits of French liberty in the territory of Liege.

Having thus far puſhed his conqueſts, Dumourier began to think of ſecuring them. To effect this he caſt his eyes upon the fortreſſes of Juliers and Maeſtricht. The firſt, it is true, belonged to the elector palatine, and the ſecond to the Dutch; both neutral powers. But as Maeſtricht, at leaſt, was neceſſary for his purpoſe, he determined to apply to the executive council for permiſſion to attack that place. He accompanied his demand with ſeven reaſons, which might be urged in a manifeſto.

In the beginning of December Miranda had taken poſſeſſion of Ruremonde, whence he had detached a corps under La Marliere, to raiſe contributions in the duchy of Cleves; a ſervice which this latter general executed in a very inefficient manner. Anticipating a favourable anſwer from the executive council, Dumourier recalled Miranda to aſſiſt him in the projected ſiege of Maeſtricht. He was ordered to ſend his heavy artillery to Tongres; and to extend his quarters along the Meuſe from that place to Ruremonde. The expected anſwer at length arrived; but it was not ſuch as Dumourier had flattered himſelf with the hope of receiving. He was poſitively ordered to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality.

The Auſtrians were now poſted at Aix-la-Chapelle, Herve, and Henri-la-Chapelle. As the proximity of this ſituation was found diſadvantageous, Dumourier reſolved to puſh the enemy further toward the Rhine. After a vigorous reſiſtance, the French ſucceeded in diſlodging their antagoniſts, and gaining poſ- Dec. 8

ſeſſion of Aix-la-Chapelle. Clairfait retired behind the Erſt, a ſmall river, which riſing in the country of Juliers, falls into the Rhine a little above Duſſeldorf; and here he concluded a retreat, during which he had diſplayed, in ſpite of every diſadvantage, all the talents of a conſummate general.

At this period Dumourier had to contend with an enemy far more formidable than the Auſtrians. This was no other than Pache, the Miniſter of War, and his faction. From nearly the time of his entrance into the Low Countries, the general had been in a ſtate of hoſtility with the miniſter. Charges of peculation being at length brought againſt Malus, D'Eſpagnac, and Petit Jean, commiſſaries of Dumourier, the convention reſolved to diſplace them, and eſtabliſh a committee, to which ſhould be intruſted the charge of making contracts for the army. The cauſe of the commiſſaries was eſpouſed by the general; but in vain. The only reply was an order to arreſt and ſend them to Paris, while a Jacobin prieſt, named Ronſin, was diſpatched to fill the place of Malus, or rather, perhaps, to watch the conduct of Dumourier. Irritated at this order, which he found himſelf under the neceſſity of obeying, the general wrote a letter Dec. 11. to the preſident of the convention, demanding leave to appear at the bar as the defender of Malus, and concluding with a ſevere attack upon the miniſter. His remonſtrances alſo to Pache were frequent, and made in terms of great aſperity. They were, nevertheleſs, diſregarded: nor did a threat of reſigning the command meet with more attention. The committee eſtabliſhed for making contracts, inſtead of attending to the ſubſiſtence of the troops, occupied itſelf in buying up the grain of the Low Countries, and tranſporting it to Paris. The ſoldiers remained wholly neglected.

Notwithſtanding, therefore, its numerous ſucceſſes, and the facility with which it had over-run the Netherlands, the victorious army now found itſelf in an embarraſſing ſituation. In the midſt of winter, without ſhoes, without clothing, without proviſion, without money, it ſuffered ſtill greater evils than the defeated enemy. The ſeaſon was rigorous, yet the troops had neither ſtraw nor firewood. To obtain the latter they deſtroyed the fruit trees, and even demoliſhed houſes. Want and nakedneſs gave birth to diſeaſe, and the hoſpitals began to be crowded. Forage too was not to be procured for the cavalry. This, in the hope of payment, had been for a time ſupplied by the peaſants. It was now withheld. Ronſin, the commiſſary of the army, ordered it to be ſeized by force; and, in carrying this order into execution, the French detachments committed the greateſt exceſſes. Driven to deſperation, by this conduct, the peaſants oppoſed force to force; and whenever they fell in with weak parties of their enemies, put them to death without mercy. Diſguſted at the privations they ſuffered, whole battalions of ſoldiers deſerted their colours, and either returned into France, or ſpread themſelves among the principal cities of the Netherlands. Nor were even the officers backward in following this example. More than ten thouſand men were, in this manner, loſt to the army, in the courſe of fifteen days.

Finding it impoſſible to keep the

field any longer, under these circumstances, and foreseeing that to attempt it would end in the total ruin of his army, Dumourier took the resolution of sending his troops into winter quarters. This project was disapproved of by the executive council; he was ordered to put himself in motion, and drive the enemy from the country situated between the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine. The object of this movement was to extricate Custine, whose situation now begun to be critical. Dumourier replied by once more stating the distressed situation of his army, which rendered such a measure impossible; and in conclusion declared that he would resign, if the council still persisted in urging a plan which could terminate only in ruin. His firmness prevailed. The troops were allowed to be sent into cantonments, till they should be, in some measure, recovered from their losses and fatigue.

In taking this step no time was lost by Dumourier. The banks of the Roer, to Aldenhoven, were occupied by general Stengel. A corps under Miaczinski extended to Dalem and Foron, while another was placed in Eupen and St. Cornelius Munster. Valence's advanced guard was distributed between Stavelo and Limburg, while his main body was cantoned in two lines, from Huy to Liege and St. Tron. That of Miranda stretched from Tongres to Ruremonde. Liege, Robermont, Herve, and the adjacent villages formed the quarters of the army of the center. Should an attack be made upon these cantonments by the enemy, the various scattered corps were ordered to direct their march upon Aix-la-Chapelle, which was garrisoned by twelve battalions under the command of general Dampierre. In this situation the French armies awaited the succours of which they stood so much in need. Thus terminated the winter campaign of Dumourier. Those hostile armies which in September had made France tremble to her center, were now driven in one quarter to the Rhine, and in another beyond it, and had left the new republic at full liberty to pursue her disorganizing projects.

Dec. 12.

Turning our view from the Netherlands to the German empire, the same success will be found attending the French arms in both quarters. Weakened by repeated detachments, the Austrian forces on the Upper Rhine, were, even before the retreat of the combined powers from Champagne, rendered unable to oppose the republican army, then commanded by Biron. Offensive operations were, therefore, resolved upon by the French. Custine having assembled a considerable body of troops near Landau, marched to attack Spire, where immense magazines had been collected. On his arrival at that place, he found the Imperialists posted in front of it; their force consisted of 4,000 men. The position they had chosen was of the most untenable kind. It was commanded, both in front and flank, in such a manner, that the cannon of the assailants produced the most terrible effect, while that opposed to them was wholly useless. An attack was immediately made; and with the success which might naturally be expected. After a show of resistance, the Germans were driven into the

Sep. 29.

town; the gates of which were broken open by hatchets. A ſhort ſtand was made by them in the ſtreets, but they were ſoon driven through the place; and their retreat being cut off, they laid down their arms to the number of three thouſand men. This brilliant ſucceſs was gained by the French almoſt without loſs. The whole of the magazines fell into their hands.

A heavy contribution was immediately laid upon the clergy of Spire, under pretence of their being ardent friends of the emigrants. The troops, who on their entrance into the town had, by the exertions of Cuſtine, been reſtrained from pillage, now thought proper to aſſert their ſhare of the ſpoil. Several battalions accordingly began the work of plunder, and it was not till after it had, with ſome ſhort intervals, continued more than twenty-four hours, that a ſtop could be put to it by the general. As ſuch a proceeding was not calculated to inſpire a love of French liberty, Cuſtine determined to make an example of the offenders. The ringleaders were inſtantly ſhot, and diſcipline was again eſtabliſhed.

To conciliate the lower order of people, and thus ſmooth the way for the progreſs of democratic principles, a ſum of money was next diſtributed among the meaner inhabitants of Spire. Other arts were alſo uſed for the ſame purpoſe. That the troops who had been taken in the late engagement might, with greater eaſe, be converted into miſſionaries of diſorder, their officers were ſent home: when this was done every lure which could work upon vulgar minds was uſed to excite in their breaſts a ſpirit of diſaffection againſt their lawful ſovereign. They were treated with an affected kindneſs, feaſted by the Jacobins of Straſburgh, conducted to a meeting of traitors from their own country, and loaded with patriotic writings. Nor were theſe arts unſucceſsful. A great part of the priſoners mounted the tri-coloured cockade, and gave their ſanction to an inflammatory addreſs, which was intended for diſtribution in the circles of the empire. Such of theſe new converts as could moſt be relied on were allowed to return home.

Worms was the next place which fell into the hands of the French. It ſurrendered, without any reſiſtance. Large contributions were levied on the city, where alſo conſiderable ſtores were found.

Theſe ſucceſſes, though of much importance, were ſoon followed by another of ſtill greater. After the capture of Worms, Cuſtine encamped in the advantageous poſition of Edetheim, where he remained fourteen days, no leſs to make preparation for his future enterprizes, than to give repoſe to his army. Every thing being, at length, in readineſs, he decamped with twenty-two thouſand men, and directed Oct. 16. his march toward Mentz. The army was divided into two columns: the left taking its route by Turkheim, Neulingen, and Altzey; the right by the banks of the Rhine. In its paſſage the latter diviſion ſeized upon the flying bridge of Oppenheim, an object of conſiderable importance to the future operations of the French.

Both diviſions of the army reached Mentz on the night of the 18th,

18th, after a rapid march, which had been rendered more laborious by almoſt continued rain. The place was inveſted early the next morning. An imperious ſummons was ſent to the governor, and a letter to the magiſtrates, in which they were told that if they rejected the offers of fraternity then made, their city would be expoſed to all the horrors of a bombardment and aſſault.

All was confuſion and alarm in the city. The neceſſary meaſures for its defence had, till within a few days, been entirely neglected. Hopes had been alſo entertained that from the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon, an attack could not be made. The elector, however, and the members of the government, had prudently retired before the arrival of the French. On the morning of the inveſtment, the garriſon conſiſted of four thouſand men, including ſuch of the loyal citizens as had taken up arms.

A ſingle battery had not yet been raiſed againſt the city, when the governor conſented to capitu-

Oct. 21. late. The terms were ſoon agreed upon; the garriſon was allowed to retire with its arms, baggage, and four pieces of cannon, under condition of not ſerving againſt the republic, till the expiration of twelve months.

Thus, with the loſs of only one man, did the French obtain poſſeſſion of a principal key of the empire. Its fall excited in Germany no leſs ſurpriſe than conſternation. The garriſon, though neither numerous nor well appointed enough to withſtand a regular attack, was of ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt all the efforts of an army which, both from its numbers and equipment, was manifeſtly rather calculated for the purpoſe of predatory incurſion than of ſolid conqueſt. The French army had not a ſingle battering cannon; its whole train of artillery conſiſted of a few light field pieces. But it was not upon force that Cuſtine had relied for the reduction of Mentz. He was invited to that place by a Jacobin club, which had for ſome time exiſted there under the name of a reading ſociety. The engineer of the place, Eikenmayer, was alſo in the intereſt of the French. By exaggerating, to double its amount, the force of the beſiegers, and by holding out the horrors of an immediate aſſault, while at the ſame time he left the batteries without ammunition, he ſucceeded in determining the council of war to ſurrender. One Auſtrian captain alone had the courage to ſpeak of defence, but his opinion was over-ruled.

The day after his entry Cuſtine harangued the members of the city council, promiſed that perſons and property ſhould receive protection, and deſired the members to uſe their influence, by inducing the inhabitants to fraternize with the French. His promiſe reſpecting private property was, however, badly obſerved; the houſes of the nobility being treated in the ſame manner as thoſe of the elector. As, in obtaining poſſeſſion of Mentz, one great object had been the diffuſion of revolutionary principles in Germany, a Jacobin club was directly eſtabliſhed. Its ſittings were held in one of the moſt ſplendid apartments of the electoral palace. An inflammatory proclamation was, in a ſhort time, addreſſed by the club to the Ger-

man people; and propoſals were made by ſome for an union with France, and by others for the eſtabliſhment of a republic under its auſpices. Cuſtine at this period received deputations from the Jacobins of various towns, and among others, from thoſe of Coblentz and Manheim, offering to betray thoſe places into his hands. The want of troops fortunately prevented him from accepting theſe advantageous offers. But ſo great was his anger at being compelled to refuſe them, that, in a letter of unqualified ſeverity, he denounced Kellerman to the convention, for his tardineſs in marching toward the Rhine, and ſeizing upon Treves and Coblentz.

The ſame day on which he entered Mentz, Cuſtine detached a part of his army to take poſſeſſion of the free imperial city of Frankfort. This ſervice was effected without any oppoſition. A contribution to the amount of two millions of florins was demanded from the city, under the eſtabliſhed pretence of its having favoured the emigrants. This ſum was afterward, on the ſolicitation of the magiſtrates, reduced one half, but was again raiſed to its original amount, on a charge that the poorer ſort of the people had, contrary to the intentions of the general, been compelled to furniſh the heavieſt part of the demand. A garriſon was put into Frankfort, and meaſures taken to render it defenſible.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel was now drawing his troops together to make head againſt the invaders. At once to intimidate this prince, and to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſaffection among his ſubjects, Cuſtine cauſed a proclamation to be placarded in Frankfort, and the whole of the adjacent territory. In this proclamation, more violent than any by which it had been preceded, the landgrave was denominated a tyrant, a monſter, and a tiger, and was threatened with being delivered up to the French by his own ſoldiers.

Proud of his conqueſts, and looking forward to future ſucceſs, yet conſcious that, if not reinforced, he was too weak to proceed, or even to maintain what he had conquered, Cuſtine, on the 2d of November, again importuned the miniſter of war for aſſiſtance. He deſired that the army of the Moſelle might march to attack Treves and Trarbach, while, on his ſide, he advanced to Coblentz, after having ſecured Rhinfeld. The two armies united were then to beſiege Ehrenbreitſtein: that fortreſs once taken, a ſure road would be opened into the heart of the empire. Dumourier, at the ſame time, was to hold the Auſtrians in check on the ſide of Namur. Theſe movements, he was of opinion, would compel the enemy to abandon the Netherlands. This plan was diſapproved of by Dumourier, and war, therefore, not carried into execution.

During the whole of November no event of importance took place. The Pruſſians, who began to aſſemble near Coblentz, were too much weakened by the fatigues they had undergone to enter upon any operation of magnitude, while Cuſtine, on his ſide, had too ſmall a force, and was too much occupied in fortifying Mentz and Caſſel, to allow him to advance further into the country. An action, indeed, of little conſequence, took place near Limburg, in which the Pruſſians were worſted, with ſome loſs. About the middle of November

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the army of Biron received orders to join Custine. Every effort was in the mean time made to provision Mentz for a long siege. Forage and corn was brought in from the surrounding districts in such quantities that sufficient store-room could not be found, and much was consequently wasted, by its being trodden under foot, or left to rot in the open air.

At this period the French occupied Frankfort on their right, and Mentz on their left. Their head quarters were at Konigstein, from which place they sometimes pushed forward parties as far as the Lahn. Behind this river the Prussians had taken up their quarters, till they should once more be in a state to resume offensive operations. Such was the situation of the opposed armies, till the conclusion of the month of November.

While the French were thus carrying the terror of their arms into the Netherlands, and the empire, they shewed themselves no less formidable on the side of the Alps. It has been already seen* that early in the year the idea of an attack upon the king of Sardinia was for the moment relinquished; rather, perhaps, from motives of prudence than of justice. The same irritating conduct as before, was, nevertheless, still pursued on the part of France. Daily invectives were made, and various unfounded charges brought forward, against that sovereign; and no sooner did the revolutionary government recover from the panic, occasioned by the progress of the combined armies, than it resolved to invade his territories. A considerable French force had for some time been collecting on the borders of Savoy, under the command of general Montesquieu.

At length the minister of foreign affairs made a report to the assembly, declaring that orders had been given the French troops to enter the dominions of Victor Amadeus. Some of the reasons urged by this report, in justification of the step which had been taken, were notoriously false, others were trifling; and not even the shadow of a proof was brought in support of any one charge. It was, indeed, avowed, with a sort of shameless candour, that his Sardinian majesty had declared his intention of remaining neuter, but that it was not the interest of France to respect, what was denominated "an apparent and perfidious neutrality." Sep. 15.

Accordingly, without any previous declaration of war, † the army of general Montesquieu entered the duchy of Savoy. The Piedmontese had begun to erect three redoubts to cover the defile of Chaperillan. These, as also all the neighbouring posts, were abandoned on the approach of the enemy. Montmelian opened its gates on the following day. Chamberry was the next place which submitted, and the whole duchy of Savoy was, in a few days, over-run by the French. The feeble Piedmontese corps retired towards Conflans. Previous to this success the assembly had decreed the removal of Montesquieu from the command, on suspicion of his being a partizan of la Fayette. This decree was now revoked. Sep. 21.

* See Annual Register, 1792, part i. pp. 400-401.

† See the Letter of the King of Sardinia, A. R. vol. 1792, part II. pp. 336.*

On the side of Piedmont the French were not less successful. Preparations had been made at Nice to resist the invaders. But, on the approach of general Anselm, the Sardinians, in the most precipitate manner, abandoned not only that place, but also Villa Franca, and the fort of Montalbano. An immense quantity of cannon, ammunition, and military stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

No sooner had the French army obtained possession of Nice, than the soldiers gave themselves up to the perpetration of the greatest enormities. From the cottage of the labourer to the palace of the noble nothing was held sacred. In every part of the conquered territory, property was pillaged, dwellings ruined, the male inhabitants insulted or murdered, and the female violated, with every circumstance of horror, by these disseminators of liberty and equality. A proclamation against these abominable excesses was issued by general Anselm, but without the smallest effect. The sufferers now appealed to the Convention, which, after a delay of nearly two months, condescended to dispatch three commissioners to the army of the Var, for the purpose of enquiring into its conduct, and making some pecuniary satisfaction to the unhappy victims of French barbarity.

Toward the latter end of October a detachment was sent to attack Oneglia. The citizens of this place, inspired with a hatred of the invaders, by a perfect knowledge of what had passed at Nice, and forgetting their inability to make any effectual resistance, unfortunately fired into the boat which carried the summons to surrender. This act of temerity was immediately punished by plundering and burning the town. Several priests, found in the convents, were inhumanly massacred.

During this time the usual revolutionary engines were put in action in Savoy. Jacobin clubs were established, speeches were made, and writings distributed, to induce the Savoyards either to form a department of France, or a republic under its protection. Currency was also given to French assignats.

Successful in this quarter, the revolutionists now turned their views towards Geneva and Switzerland. On Geneva they had, for a considerable time, cast a longing eye. Even as early as the division of France into departments, they had conceived the idea of making that city, and the bordering territories, a part of their system; nor was this favourite scheme ever for an instant relinquished.* Their malignant activity comprehended in this plan not only Geneva but Switzerland, into which the possession of Geneva would give them an easy entrance. Claviere, in particular, pressed the execution of this project. He had been banished from Geneva, in the year 1784, and now entertained the most virulent hatred against the government of his country.

No sooner, therefore, did the French find themselves in quiet possession of Savoy, than orders were sent general Montesquieu to lead his army against Geneva. "Tyrants," it has been said by an illustrious character, "seldom want "pretexts: fraud is the ready mi-

* See Ann. Reg. vol. 1792, part i. pp. 240-41.

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"niſter of injuſtice." This was amply proved in the preſent inſtance. Alarmed at the progreſs of the French, and having beſide obtained ſome intimation of their deſigns upon Geneva, the magiſtrates of that city reſolved to call upon their allies of Zurich and Berne, for the contingent of 1,600 troops, which, by the treaty of 1584, they were, under the preſent circumſtances, authorized to demand, for the purpoſe of maintaining their neutrality. This was immediately made the pretext for an attack on Geneva. The true reaſons appear in the letters of Servan to the French general: they are ſuch as might be expected from the quarter whence they came. This honeſt miniſter of war ſeems to conſider it as a ſufficient excuſe for attacking a neutral city, that it contains twenty thouſand muſquets, which are wanted by the French, and that, by eſtabliſhing in it a revolutionary government, it may be made the bulwark of France.

The French army had, in the interim, reached the neighbourhood of Geneva, and commenced its operations by plundering the villas and property of the citizens. Preparations were made to beſiege the city. But the ſuccours required by the magiſtrates, had, now fortunately entered the place, with orders to defend it to the laſt extremity. An army was alſo ſent to the threatened frontier, by the canton of Berne; and its commander, M. Muralt, was inſtructed to inform the enemy that, although the Berneſe had no wiſh to depart from their neutrality, they were determined to defend Geneva againſt all attacks. The Geneveſe, at the ſame time, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the conduct which was obſerved toward them. Even general Monteſquieu, much to his honour, felt a ſtrong reluctance in puſhing to extremity the iniquitious orders which he had received.

This unexpected reſiſtance, in a great meaſure, diſconcerted the plans of the republican leaders. It was alſo diſcovered, in addition, that the fortified places of the departments bordering on Switzerland, the weakeſt frontier of France, were in a very indifferent ſtate of defence. Negotiation was, therefore, thought more adviſable than force.

A treaty was, accordingly, concluded, by which the Geneveſe engaged, that the Oct. 22. Swiſs troops ſhould wholly retire, by the firſt of December; while, on his part, the French general agreed that the main body of his army ſhould not approach nearer than within ten leagues of the city. The treaties made with the cantons by Geneva were expreſsly reſerved.

This treaty being diſapproved of by the executive council, a new one was ſigned on the 2d of November. In this, the diſtance to which the French troops ſhould retire was left undecided; and the article on the reſervation of treaties was reworded in ſuch a manner as to leave room for the French government to violate it at pleaſure.

Thus was Geneva, for the preſent, reſcued from the hands of the revolutioniſts, to whom its eſcape was a ſubject of bitter regret. It will, however, be ſeen hereafter, that they returned to the purſuit of their object with unabated vigour, and that, as might naturally be expected, no treaty was found ſtrong enough to bind men who, in executing their ſchemes of blood, had already trampled upon all laws, both human and divine.

CHAP. IV.

Civil history resumed. The Convention. Its composition and character. Hostility between parties. Superior force and boldness of the Jacobins. Girondists now profess themselves the friends of peace and order. Proceedings of the Convention to be considered in two separate divisions. Convention begins its sittings. Petion chosen president. Proposition of Manual for honours to be paid to the president. It is rejected. Constitutions, not ratified by the people, declared not valid. Collot d'Herbois moves the abolition of royalty, and is seconded by Gregoire. It is decreed by acclamation. Illumination ordered by the commune. Dissatisfaction of the respectable class of citizens. Decree, ordering all legal and municipal bodies, and all justices of peace to be renewed. Tallien proposes to admit any citizen to the office of judge. Fears of the Girondists from the force at the command of their adversaries. They resolve to obtain a force from the departments, to guard the Convention. Letter of Roland intimating the necessity of the measure. Motion made by the Girondists in consequence. Opposed by the Jacobins. A commission decreed to report on the project. Repeal of the decree demanded next day. A contest takes place between the two parties, through the imprudence of Merlin. Robespierre denounced as aspiring to the dictatorship. Danton endeavours to turn the debate. Robespierre defends himself. Commune and Jacobins attacked by Vergniaud and others. Marat boldly avows his having proposed a dictatorship. Vergniaud attacks him with the utmost vehemence. Weakness of Vergniaud's new morality. Marat near being sent to prison. Succeeds in exculpating himself. The French Republic declared to be one and indivisible. Roland chosen a deputy, resigns his place as minister. Danton speaks slightingly of him. Roland's election found to be invalid. He resolves to keep his place. Pensions of priests diminished. Harsh measures against the emigrants. Bankers ordered to give an account of emigrant property in their hands. Death decreed against emigrants in arms, and foreigners who had quitted the service of France. All emigrants perpetually banished. Decree proposed, offering a reward for the duke of Saxe-Teschen's head. Entrenchments round Paris ordered to be discontinued. Fears of the Jacobins respecting the departmental force. Address of the section of the Temple against it. Report of the committee in favour of the measure. Project of a decree. Impudent address of the forty-eight sections, and address from the men of the 14th of July against the proposed force. Counter addresses in favour of it. Weakness of conduct in the Girondists. They abandon the plan. Insolent conduct of the commune. Report of Roland on the state of Paris. It attacks Robespierre. He defends himself. Is denounced by Louvet. Loses his courage. He quits the tribune, and Louvet makes a long and severe speech against him. Robespierre demands to be heard in his defence on the 5th of November. Barbaroux against the Jacobins. He proposes several decrees. Is unsuccessful. Robespierre's defence. Violent struggle between the parties. Want of vigour in the Girondists. Order of the day passed to. Reception of Robespierre by the Jacobins. Pamphlet of Petion. Compte rendu of Petion. Situation of the king and royal family. Commission of twenty-four appointed to examine papers, &c.

Petitions

Petitions and motions against the king. Valaze's report on the king. Bazire's report on the state of Paris. Mailhe's report on the king. Attempt to send away the federates. Decree for the discussion on the king's trial. Debates on the trial. Roland discovers the iron chest. Papers found in it. Discussion of king's trial continued. Report on Papers found in the iron chest. The convention finally establishes itself the judge of the king.

FROM the triumphant progress of the French armies, the attention must now be directed, for a while, toward the views and proceedings of those men who, by successful bloodshed and treason, had overturned the throne, and gained entire possession of the government in France. The progress of the legislative assembly, that compound of weakness and of criminality, has already been traced. That body was now to be worthily succeeded by another, which pursuing, without fear or remorse, the iniquitous conduct of its predecessor, and leaving untried no mode of guilt that imagination could suggest, or impiety execute, soon outrun all of flagitious enormity that had ever been recorded in the annals of the civilized world.

The composition of this new assembly was, in reality, such as to authorize the worst fears which could be entertained of the event by the friends of liberty and justice. Here was to be found none of that calm reflection, foreseeing wisdom, and inflexible impartiality, by which the law-giver should ever be distinguished. Many members, void of talents and vigour, were only fitted to become the passive instruments of resolute vice; some were old men, untaught by experience, or experienced only in disgraceful arts; while others were young and rash adventurers, without knowledge, or possessing only that half knowledge which is more dangerous even than total ignorance. Characters of weight, from their connection and property, seemed to have been purposely excluded, that room might be made for a set of bold and needy intriguers, open to corruption, and willing to sacrifice, to their own advantage, the interests and welfare of the state. The elections too had, in many instances, been conducted under the influence of the Jacobins, who, by terrifying the indolent and timid part of the community, had succeeded in returning their own partizans. To the most violent part of the old legislature, therefore, was now added a number of persons of still greater violence, whose only title to the seats they held, was their readiness to embark, without hesitation, in projects of the most desperate kind. Such, and so qualified, were the men, into whose impure hands was now committed the sole and unlimited authority over a rich, numerous, and powerful people.

In the very bosom of the convention the seeds of animosity and perpetual warfare were profusely sown. The contest between the Jacobins and Girondists, which had commenced on the downfal of the throne, was now to be carried on with greater fury, and more inveterate hatred than ever. The former were numerically weaker than their antagonists; but this deficiency of numbers was more than counterbalanced by various advantages. More vigilant and more daring than those by whom they were opposed,

poſed, they let ſlip no opportunity of which they could profit. On their ſide too was all the merit, ſuch as it was, of conſiſtency in principle. They never, for a moment, had abandoned the cauſe of robbery, proſcription, and maſſacre. Sitting in the midſt of Paris, they were ſeconded by all the licentious and deſperate part of its population, a very large part, which found, in the continuance of anarchy, at once the enjoyment of power, and the means of ſubſiſtence. The Girondiſts, on the contrary, having attained the object of their ambition, were anxious to ſecure the ſpoil. They now conſidered tumults and conſpiracies as dangerous weapons, which could be employed only againſt themſelves. Theſe men who, in purſuing their nefarious deſigns, had reſorted to the vileſt means, and, by teaching a contempt of eſtabliſhed laws, had looſened the holdings of ſociety, now changed their tone, and became the preachers of tranquillity and ſubordination. They now diſcovered that there could be no happineſs in an eternal repetition of violent convulſions; that a revolution was a ſtate of fever not beneficial to the public health; that a continued exerciſe of the ſacred right of inſurrection could only produce pillage and maſſacre; and that a religious reſpect ought to be ſhewn to the laws, to the magiſtrates, to property, and to individual ſafety *. By ſuch doctrines theſe uſurpers hoped to ſecure to themſelves that obedience which they had taught the multitude to refuſe to a legitimate and beneficent ſovereign. It will however be ſeen that their endeavours ſerved to no other purpoſe than that of haſtening their own ruin. Their fate affords a ſtriking and awful inſtance of the retributory juſtice of Heaven, which condemned them to be victims of the ſame arts by which they had firſt undermined, and finally deſtroyed, the monarch and the government of their country.

Under ſuch auſpices the convention began its ſittings. Its proceedings, till the period when it declared war againſt England, will more clearly be underſtood by arranging them in two ſeparate diviſions: the firſt tracing the various ſtruggles of the contending parties, and the ſufferings of the king till his untimely death; the ſecond expoſing the exterior policy of the dominant factions in France, and the repeated acts of inſult and aggreſſion, by which the whole of their conduct toward foreign powers was ſtrongly and deciſively marked.

This new legiſlature met, for the firſt time, on the 20th of September. The whole of the ſitting was ſpent in examining the returns of the members, and in chooſing a preſident and ſecretaries. To the office of preſident, Petion was almoſt unanimouſly elected. The ſecretaries, ſix in number, were alſo choſen from among the party of the Gironde.

Sep. 21. The next morning, the deputies of the late aſſembly came in a body to the hall of the Convention. M. Francois de Neufchateau, in a ſhort ſpeech, de-

* Theſe are the words of Briſſot himſelf. See his pamphlets entitled "J. P. Briſſot a ſes Commettans," & "J. P. Briſſot, a tous les Republicains de France, ſur le Societé des Jacobins de Paris." The ſame language was alſo held by other members of his party.

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clared the resolution of his colleagues to act as a guard to the Convention, and his hopes that the people would receive liberty, laws, and peace, from the labours of their new representatives. This harangue, made rather in the spirit of compliment than of prophecy, was heard with great applause. Manuel conscious of the imposing effect of exterior splendor, now proposed that the president of the Convention should reside in the national palace, and receive other honours suitable to the dignity with which he was invested. This proposal excited much dissatisfaction, and was negatived after a short debate. Two decrees were next voted, the one affirming the invalidity of constitutions not ratified by the people in person, the second declaring life and property under the safeguard of the nation. The latter decree was suggested by Danton. It was then ordered that the taxes should be collected as usual, and that such laws and authorities as had not been suspended or abrogated should remain in force.

In the debates which took place on these subjects royalty had been incidentally treated, by several speakers, as a proscribed dignity, but no direct motion had been made against it. The task of attacking it formally was, at last, undertaken by Collot d'Herbois, who concisely but strongly urged the necessity of its immediate abolition. They could not, he told them, defer this for an instant, without being unfaithful to the wishes of the nation. He was seconded, in a most inveterate speech, by Gregoire, who demanded a solemn law against regal government, as necessary to give complete confidence to the friends of liberty. The whole assembly started up, and decreed by acclamation, the law thus abruptly demanded. In vain did Quinette remind them that the people, not the Convention, were judges of royalty; and even the jacobin Bazire declare that the question ought to be discussed, and that it was terrible to see those who were charged with the dearest interests of the country form their resolutions in a moment of enthusiasm. They were told in answer, by Gregoire and Ducos, that discussion was useless where all had but one opinion; that kings held the same place in the moral order as monsters in the physical; and that the light which had been thrown on this point, by the insurrection of the 10th of August, had left no room for controversy and explanation. This mode of argument appearing quite conclusive, the proposition was put to the vote, and carried in the affirmative. "The National Convention decrees that royalty is abolished in France." Such were the terms of the law by which a form of government, established for ages, was swept away in a moment, by these masters in the art of demolition; and thus, without any regard to the opinions, the character, and the manners of its inhabitants, was France converted into a republic, or more properly speaking, into a monstrous anarchy, under the dominion of the lowest and vilest of mankind. As soon as the Convention was a little recovered from its tumult of joy, one hundred and fifty chasseurs, who were departing for the frontiers, were admitted into the hall. Being informed, by the president, of the vote which had just been unanimously passed, they desired to testify their satisfaction by a donative of two days pay. The offer

offer was accepted, and they were allowed to march through the assembly. As soon as the commune was apprized of this decree, it hastened to give it all possible effect. Emissaries were instantly dispatched to every part of the capital. A general illumination was ordered, and the order was obeyed, but in such a manner as to shew that obedience was rather the result of fear inspired by past events, than of any affection for the new order of things. The citizens of the suburbs of St. Antoine and Marceau were, it is true, delighted with a change which promised a continuance of riot and pillage; but the more respectable citizens of Paris, in general, sufficiently expressed, by a guarded and sullen silence, their unfavourable opinion of the hasty proceedings which had this day taken place.

Having thus destroyed the monarchy, its destroyers thought it necessary to rid themselves of all those who might be presumed to have some attachment to it, and who, from their situations, had great influence over the people. It was accordingly decreed, the next day, that all the municipal, judicial, and administrative bodies, as well as all the justices of peace should be renewed. Tallien, in strict conformity with his principles, proposed that every citizen should be declared capable of performing the functions of a judge. This was warmly opposed by several members, who painted in striking colours, the inconvenience, and even iniquity, of suffering the tribunals to be filled by persons entirely ignorant of the laws. Much vehement altercation took place during the debate. The Jacobins, finally, prevailed so far as to have the amendment referred to the decision of a committee.

Scarcely had the Girondists taken their seats in the convention, before they discovered that, far from enjoying freedom of opinion, or even personal safety, they were exposed to the most imminent danger, from a formidable and relentless faction. The armed force, the civil authorities, and the mob of Paris were in the hands of their rivals, who behaved with that audacity and contempt which is inspired by the consciousness of superior power. To remove this serious evil, they formed a plan for obtaining from the departments a guard for the assembly, of sufficient strength to counterbalance the force which their enemies possessed. This guard, composed of persons agreeing in opinion with themselves, would, they hoped, be equally proof against the efforts of seduction and violence. The first intimation of this design was given by Roland, in a report, which he had been ordered to make on the state of his department. In this report, which like his former compositions, displayed an affectation of courage that always marks the coward, he, in managed terms, attacked the conduct of Paris, and insinuating that the convention was not perfectly safe, suggested the propriety of its being surrounded by a body of troops paid for the sole purpose of insuring its freedom and security. The blow thus struck was followed up the next day. Kersaint rose, and Sep. 24. in a concise speech of indignant severity, reprobated the system of blood which was established, and called for its abolition. It was high time, he exclaimed, to raise scaffolds for those who assassinated, and those who prompted to assassination. He, therefore, moved the appointment of commissioners to examine into the state of

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the kingdom and the capital, and to report the meaſures proper to be taken for aſſuring public tranquillity and avenging the rights of man. The Jacobins immediately took the alarm, and contended with the utmoſt fury, that his motion was uſeleſs and inconvenient. It was ſupported by Vergniaud and Lanjuinais, the latter of whom boldly aſſerted that Paris was ſunk in the ſtupor of fear. They were followed by Buzot, who, in a ſpeech of ſtill more vehemence, arraigned the Pariſian deputies, enforced the motion, and inſiſted on the formation of a conventional guard. A diviſion being called for, the Girondiſts were victorious. It was decreed that a commiſſion of ſix members ſhould be formed, which ſhould be charged with the taſk of giving an account of the ſtate of Paris and of the republic; of drawing up the project of a law againſt thoſe who ſtimulated others to aſſaſſination; and alſo of ſtating the readieſt means by which an armed force might be raiſed in the departments, for the defence of the convention.

This triumph of their adverſaries was ſeen with much diſcontent by the oppoſite faction. The ſitting was hardly commenced on the next day, when the repeal of the decree was loudly demanded by ſeveral members. The imprudence of one of them brought on a conteſt of conſiderable importance. Merlin, a furious Jacobin, but evidently not in the ſecrets of his party, took occaſion to declaim at once againſt the departmental force, and againſt ſuch as aſpired to the dictatorſhip; and he called upon Laſource, who he ſaid had aſſerted to him the exiſtence of ſuch perſons, to point them out, that he might poignard them on the ſpot. Laſource in reply declared that he had not ſpoken of a dictator, but of a dictatorial party; and after avowing the fears he entertained from the deſpotiſm of Paris, threatened thoſe to whom he had before alluded, with a full diſcloſure of their plots, as ſoon as he had obtained a complete and ſatisfactory view of them. He did not, however, name any perſon; but Rebecqui, deputy from Marſeilles, boldly denounced Robeſpierre as chief of the party. Danton, fearing that the debate would be puſhed further than was pleaſant to his friends, endeavoured to divert the attention of the aſſembly by a vague ſpeech, defending his own conduct, diſclaiming any intimacy with Marat, and concluding with a propoſition, aimed at the Girondiſts, that the pain of death ſhould be decreed againſt all who endeavoured to deſtroy the unity and indiviſibility of the republic. The debate was, notwithſtanding, brought back to the ſubject by Buzot, who inſiſted that this deſirable unity could only be maintained by the formation of a departmental force. Robeſpierre now thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to come forward. He aſcended the tribune, and entered into a detailed vindication of his principles and conduct, during which he was repeatedly interrupted by ſeveral deputies, who called upon him to diſcontinue his own praiſes, and declare plainly whether he had aſpired to the dictatorſhip or not. Theſe interruptions he noticed in terms of aſperity; animadverting at the ſame time upon the injuſtice of thoſe who wiſhed to deprive him of the only means by which he could defend himſelf from groundleſs and indefinite accuſations. After denying

ing the charges made againſt him, he retorted upon his adverſaries, by taxing them with the deſign of ſplitting France into a number of ſmall republics, which would ſoon be the prey of civil fury or hoſtile armies. He concluded by ſupporting the motion of Danton. The Girondiſts, nevertheleſs, were determined that the buſineſs ſhould not end here. Vergniaud roſe and affirmed, that Panis, one of the Pariſian deputies, had mentioned Robeſpierre to him as the virtuous man who ought to be dictator of France; and Rebecqui atteſted that he had himſelf heard it at the ſame time. The commune was alſo forcibly attacked by Boileau, Cambon, and ſeveral others, who called the attention of the aſſembly to many acts of uſurpation committed by that encroaching and inſolent body. The truth of what had been urged againſt him by Vergniaud, was denied by Panis, but in ſuch an equivocal and diſconcerted manner as to leave little doubt of Vergniaud's correctneſs. But that boldneſs which was wanting in Panis was poſſeſſed by Marat. He ſprung forward to the tribune, and in ſpite of the cries, clamours, and execrations of a great part of the members, perſiſted in being heard. His perſeverance ſucceeded. To the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, he avowed that the project of chooſing a dictator was his own, that the meaſure was a deſirable one, and that it was ſo much the worſe for them if their minds were not ſufficiently elevated to comprehend its merit. This declaration was not calculated to ſoften his opponents. Vergniaud, with a bitterneſs which was abundantly juſtified by its object, depicting Marat as a man all dropping with calumny, gall, and blood, called down the indignation of his hearers upon the circular letter which the commune had diſpatched to the municipalities for the purpoſe of inducing them to maſſacre their priſoners; and among the ſignatures of which, that of Marat held a conſpicuous place. It appeared, notwithſtanding, that his indignation was rather excited by perſonal fears than by a love of juſtice; for, while he mentioned with horror a denunciation made to the mob, at that critical period, againſt himſelf and ſome of his friends, he could talk of throwing a veil over partial diſorders, could ſee only reſiſtance to oppreſſion, in the ſignal vengeance taken by the people on its enemies, and could attribute to the victims as a crime the very exceſſes of their barbarous deſtroyers. In ſupport of Vergniaud, a moſt inflammatory extract was read by Boileau from one of Marat's papers. The anger of the convention was now at its height. From various parts it was demanded, that a decree of accuſation ſhould be paſſed againſt Marat, and that he ſhould be ſent to priſon. Not in the ſmalleſt degree intimidated by his ſituation he coolly requeſted to be heard. In his defence, he urged that the paper which had been read was ten days old, and he produced a more modern one to prove that he now treated the aſſembly with proper reſpect. His proof was admitted; and the order of the day was paſſed to, on the motion of Tallien. Previous to his leaving the tribune Marat drew a piſtol from his pocket, and, putting it to his forehead, told his auditors, that with that weapon he would have blown out his brains, had his enemies ſucceeded in obtaining a decree againſt him. When the tumult had ſubſided,

fided, a short discussion took place, on the resumed proposition of Danton, and the French republic was finally declared to be one and indivisible. Such was the termination of the first violent contest between the two parties, and it was of sinister omen to that of the Girondists, whose want of courage and vigour was but too obvious. The advantage, and it was not inconsiderable, was wholly on the side of the Jacobins.

A circumstance at this moment occurred, which inspired the Jacobins with a hope of being freed from the attacks of Roland. The department of the Somme having elected him one of its representatives, he embraced the offer, and sent to the convention a letter, full as usual of his own praises, desiring to resign his share of the administration, and pointing out Pache as a person every way fitted to become his successor. When this letter was read, a short debate took place, on the proposition of a member, that Roland should be invited to retain his situation in the ministry. This was put an end to by the previous question. His friends, unwilling to lose his services, returned to the charge a few days after. The question was again got rid of by the order of the day. Danton, in the course of this second debate, plainly shewed his dislike of the minister, accused him of want of courage, and sarcastically desired that, if Roland were invited to remain in office, the invitation might be extended to his wife, as the share she took in her husband's department was well known. An end was at last put to the contest by Roland himself. Finding that his election was not valid, a circumstance previously known and relied on by his enemies, he resolved to continue in place. His letter announcing his resolution, was strongly expressive of mortified vanity striving to assume an air of unconcern. The vexation he felt was, in spite of his efforts to conceal it, plainly shewn by the manner in which he noticed the insinuations against him, and by an attempt which he made to wound the Jacobins, through his implied censure of the conduct of Paris, and his recommendation of a departmental force. This letter was heard with great satisfaction by his partizans, and was ordered to be immediately printed and sent to all the municipalities, and other administrative bodies.

But, whatever hostility there might be, on some points, between the members of the convention, there was one in which they all agreed with the most perfect cordiality. This was in manifesting a relentless spirit of persecution against the ministers of the gospel, and their own expatriated countrymen. The alms which had been bestowed on the former, out of the plunder of their own possessions, were seen by the convention with a grudging eye; and an opportunity was soon found of reducing them to a still smaller amount. On the motion of Cambon, it was decreed, that for the future the pensions to unofficiating priests should not in any case exceed the sum of 1,000 livres yearly, and should no longer be paid in advance, as had till now been customary. Small as this sum was, Simon, a renegade Savoyard, proposed to reduce it to one half; while Cambon, with an air of satisfaction, reminded the convention that the payments were rendered less onerous to the treasury by the deportation of a very considerable number of priests. In addition to the step

thus taken, it was also resolved, that the committee of finance should make a report on the suppression, with some exceptions, of the pensions granted to the clergy by the constituent assembly.

The measures against the emigrants were pursued, at various intervals, with equal inveteracy. A pecuniary succour having been demanded by a village on the frontiers, which had been destroyed for obstinately refusing to furnish contributions to the enemy, a discussion arose on the emigrants, which terminated by a decree ordering all bankers, merchants, notaries, and others who held in their hands property belonging to the emigrants, to make a declaration of it immediately to the municipality, and a full payment of the sum to the national treasury within fifteen days. By a second law, passed shortly after, emigrants taken in arms were condemned to suffer death, in twenty-four hours, and the belligerent powers were made responsible for any acts of reprisal which might be committed by those against whom the decree was pointed. In flagrant violation of all the principles of justice, such foreigners as had quitted the service of France, since the 14th of July 1789, and entered into that of her present enemies, were also subjected to the same punishment as persons born in the limits of the republic. Still proceeding in this inequitable spirit, a third decree, superior in wrong, even to its predecessors, was passed on the 23d of October. It was notorious that not any hostile designs against their country, but a dread of massacre and pillage, had driven numberless citizens to seek a refuge in other states. Many of these were anxiously looking toward their native land. But, had they been allowed to return, their property, which had been sequestrated, must have been restored, and this fund of plunder was too valuable to be given up by those into whose hands it had fallen. Buzot, therefore, after stigmatizing these unfortunate men as cowards, unworthy of enjoying liberty, and hinting at the utility of which their riches would be to the republic, moved against them a decree of perpetual banishment, with the penalty of death should they ever venture to return. His motion, applauded from all sides, was instantly converted into a law. Various other decrees, of less moment, but in the same system, were afterwards from time to time passed against the emigrants.

The same contempt of morality which, in the legislative assembly, had inspired the idea of raising a regiment of tyrannicides, was now shewn by a member of the convention. No sooner was it announced that the Austrians were preparing to raise the siege of Lisle, than Gossuin brought forward the project of a decree respecting that city, by one article of which it was proposed to assassinate the duke of Saxe Teschen, and to give a reward of one hundred thousand livres to whoever would bring in the head of that prince. This article was warmly supported by Jean de Bry, as "honourable to the "French nation." After lamenting the fate of his former plan, he insisted that if the present were rejected, the convention should, at least, declare that it would never listen to any proposals of peace, until the duke of Saxe Teschen had been delivered up to it for the purpose of being punished. But this offensive article was strongly opposed by Lecointre-

Lecointre-Puyravaux and another member, as no leſs immoral than dangerous and impolitic. The former boldly urged that it would diſhonour the republic in the eyes of Europe, leſſen the number of neutral powers, and increaſe the liſt of its enemies. This oppoſition, which did credit to thoſe by whom it was made, was finally ſucceſsful. The project was referred to a committee, and nothing more was afterwards heard of it.

Thoſe intrenchments which, in the firſt moments of fear, inſpired by the combined armies, had been commenced to cover Paris, were ſtill continued. The utility of theſe immenſe works, extending over a circumference of eighteen miles, began to be doubted. Much confuſion and diſorder had alſo been manifeſted by thoſe employed on their formation, and much money had been laviſhed in paying perſons who had laboured very little, if at all. Already eight hundred thouſand livres had been expended, and a further aſſiſtance of two millions two hundred thouſand more was neceſſary to complete the whole. The military commiſſion for ſuperintending the works was, therefore, ordered to make a report on the ſubject. The Jacobins ſeem to have conſidered theſe fortifications as a means of defence in caſe of a rupture with the departments; and were in conſequence averſe from their diſcontinuance. But, in the report of the commiſſion, the employment thus given to the poor, the ſafety afforded to the capital, and the benefit of ſuch a military ſchool, were urged as reaſons in favour of purſuing the original plan. The project was, however, oppoſed by Kerſaint, and, being feebly defended, was put an end to by the previous queſtion.

The Jacobins, meanwhile, entertained the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for their power from the departmental force which their antagoniſts were anxious to obtain. Their emiſſaries were, accordingly, buſy in perſuading the ſections to oppoſe the meaſure. In purſuance of theſe manœuvres, the ſection of the Temple preſented, on the 6th of October, a petition upon the ſubject. It was conceived in tolerably reſpectful terms. But, though not directly attacking the plan of a conventional guard, this petition was obviouſly unfavourable to it. The aſſembly was conjured to leave ſatellites to tyrants. The confidence, affection and ſtrength of the people, it was told, ought to be its only ſafeguard and rampart. The order of the day was moved on this petition by ſome of the members, but Laſource having ſuggeſted the propriety of ſending it to the committee of ſix, his opinion was adopted. Convinced that the longer their ſcheme was deferred, the more powerful would be the influence and the oppoſition of their enemies, the Girondiſts reſolved to puſh it forward without delay. Two days after the ſection of the Temple had appeared at the bar, Buzot made a report in the name of the committee of ſix. It was of no great length, but was affectedly argumentative in manner, and declamatory in ſtyle. Praiſe of the metropolis was mingled with much indirect cenſure, and the Jacobins, though not mentioned by name, were contemptuouſly alluded to, as reptiles finally to be cruſhed by the hand of the law. The fear that the armed force, now wiſhed for, would be converted into a ſort of pretorian guard, was conſidered as too ridiculous to merit any atten-

tion. The report terminated by propoſing, that 4,470 men, one-third to conſiſt of cavalry, ſhould be furniſhed by the departments for the guard of the convention, by which body the commander ſhould be choſen. This plan was ordered to be printed, and the diſcuſſion of it was adjourned for a few days. It was not, however, brought on at the time appointed. The fears of the Jacobins were ſoon after heightened by the news that ſeveral battalions from the departments were at the gates of Paris, and they urgently demanded in the convention that the queſtion of the propoſed force ſhould be finally debated upon. Either from fear of their opponents, or from ſome motives of policy, which are not obvious, the Girondiſts did not appear inclined, at this moment, to enter into a conſideration of the ſubject; they aſſerted, nevertheleſs, their readineſs to refute all objections which might be made, whenever the buſineſs was definitively brought forward. Having failed in this attempt, the Jacobins reſolved to proceed in a more formidable manner. For this purpoſe they had recourſe to their uſual arts in the ſections, and among the lower claſſes of the people. A petition, as it was called, but in reality a menacing and libellous addreſs, was, accordingly, in a ſhort time, preſented at the bar by men calling themſelves commiſſioners from the forty-eight ſections of Paris. The orator of the deputation begun by reminding his hearers that they were only delegates of the people, and aſſerting that the departmental force was deſigned to put them on a level with tyrants. This was more than the deputies could patiently bear; violent murmurs aroſe, and the ſpeaker was called to order; others demanded that the commiſſioners ſhould produce their authorities. In anſwer to this demand, they drew from their pockets a number of papers which they waved over their heads. This boldneſs was applauded, with tranſport, by their friends in the galleries. With a commendable firmneſs, Guadet, the preſident, warned theſe riotous ſpectators that if they perſiſted in ſuch diſorderly conduct, he would inſtruct the ſoldiers on duty to turn them out of the aſſembly. By this threat ſilence was reſtored; and on the motion of Laſource, the petition was ſuffered to be read. It proceeded in the ſame ſtrain with which it had opened. The convention was hardily told that Paris had conſidered the project, had found it odious in itſelf, and dangerous in its execution. What audacious being, it was aſked, had conjectured that the people would conſent to ſuch a decree? "Paris," ſaid this daring addreſs, "has made the revolution, Paris "has given liberty to the reſt of "France, and Paris will know how "to maintain it." The deciſion of the aſſembly was, in concluſion, demanded, and with ſuch an air of arrogance, as clearly ſhewed the deſign of theſe petitioners to be ſatisfied with nothing ſhort of a complete ſubmiſſion to their own tyrannical and ſanguinary influence. The reply of the preſident was not without ſpirit. He told the commiſſioners that the ſovereignty of the people reſided in the whole body of repreſentatives, that the convention would defend the rights of the republic, and that, while it would always hear with pleaſure the counſel given by good citizens, it would receive no orders that were not given by the whole of the

the French nation. His resolute behaviour was not imitated by the rest of his party. Instead of marking with instant and severe reprobation this flagrant attempt to intimidate, they contented themselves, at the suggestion of Gensonnè, with passing to the order of the day, and thus assured an intire impunity to all future acts of insult and violence which might be exercised against them.

That no effort might be left untried, another petition was, in a day or two, brought up from a part of the citizens of the suburbs of Saint Antoine, who styled themselves the men of the 14th of July. Decent, and even flattering, in its language, it was, nevertheless, plainly intended to prejudice the assembly against the project of the Girondists. It recommended confidence and union, drew an indistinct but artful picture of the evils which might arise from a law ill understood by the people, and concluded with a request, quite natural from those by whom it was made, that the martial law might be abolished, and the red flag reduced to ashes, on the altar of the country, in every department. Their wish respecting the martial law was referred to the committee of legislation, and the petition was ordered to be printed and sent to the various divisions of the French republic. Measures were directly taken by the Girondists to counteract the effect of the petition which had been read in the name of the forty-eight sections. From some of the sections addresses were obtained, disavowing the principles and the language of that obnoxious composition, and a vigorous one was presented from the department of Calvados. This latter not only insisted on the establishment of a guard, but declared the resolution of the addressers to send one, and threatened the Parisians with punishment if they continued to pursue their present system of tyranny. Several members demanded that this address should be printed, and posted up throughout Paris, but the convention passed to the order of the day. A petition was also brought forward from the Marseillese federates who were just arrived in the capital, and expressed their determination to join in guarding the national representatives. But the want of consistency and vigour in the Girondiste faction, rendered of no effect every effort which could be made in their favour, and ensured the ultimate triumph of their enemies. Instead of strenuously urging to its completion the plan which they had formed, they were discouraged by the resistance it had met with, and, regardless of their credit and safety, meanly and unwisely suffered it to lapse into a total oblivion. The discussion of the subject was never entered upon; and they were thus not only left without the support for which they had hoped, but also more exposed to the incessant and inveterate attacks of the Jacobins than they had ever been before. Their weakness was made obvious, and their vigilant adversaries did not fail to turn it to their own advantage.

The insolence of the commune, meanwhile, grew, from day to day, more open and unbearable. A decree had been passed by the legislative assembly for the renewal of the municipality, but it was evaded under the most frivolous pretences; and this conduct was defended by Tallien and others of his party in the convention. Accounts of the national property in its hands had been

required from the commune. This requisition was unattended to. An order had been issued by the legislature that the election of the mayor should be made by ballot, but, as this was unfavourable to the views of the Jacobins, they demanded that the votes should be given openly; and when the convention passed to the order of the day on this demand, they resolved to carry on the election in their own manner. Various other laws were passed, relative to this usurping authority, with as little effect; and repeated denunciations, which were always treated by its partizans as factious and unjust were made against it in the convention. In one of the debates which took place, on an occasion of this kind, it was avowed by Buzot, that the national representation had committed a great fault, in not taking the police of the capital into its own hands, from the moment in which it commenced its sittings. Nor were these infractions of the laws, the only cause of complaint afforded by the commune. Under the pretence of supporting the credit of an establishment called the Maison des Secours, with a part of the funds of which one of the officers was said to have absconded, it frequently solicited and obtained from the convention pecuniary succours to a very considerable amount. Tired of voting large sums of money, which they had every reason to believe were employed in paying the agents of the opposite party, the Girondists began to combat these continued demands. They also insisted upon the commune delivering an account of the real situation in which the funds of the Maison des Secours now were. After much debate this was decreed. As, from the explanations which had been attempted to be given at the bar by some of the members of the commune, there appeared to be much confusion in the municipal bodies of Paris, Kersaint adroitly seized the opportunity of requiring that, in three days, the minister of the home department should make a report on the state of the public authorities of that city since the 10th of August, on the obstacles thrown in the way of executing the laws there, and also on the means by which those obstacles might be removed. His motion was opposed, but without effect. The report was ordered to be made.

This circumstance gave rise to a furious contest between the two parties, which, had the Girondists acted in concert, and with decision, would most probably have proved fatal to the Jacobins. At the time appointed, the minister, in obedience to the decree, came forward with a long memorial, accompanied by documents, and drawn up with considerable ability. He dwelt with great force on the despotic acts, the contemptuous conduct, and the plundering spirit of the commune, and he more than insinuated its complicity in the massacres of September, and its wish to act over again the same horrid scenes. His picture of the metropolis was boldly sketched. "A department wise, but with little "strength; a commune active and "despotical; a people excellent, "but of which the sound part is in- "timidated or under restraint, while "the other is worked on by flatter- "ers and enflamed by calumny; a "confusion of powers; a disdain of "the legal authorities; and a pub- "lic force weakened or nullified "from its being ill commanded." "This," said he, "is Paris." To remedy these inconveniences, he recommended

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recommended vigorous measures, which had, he intimated, been too long delayed. But the part of his memorial which awakened all the indignation of the assembly, was that in which he denounced an intention which had been expressed of assassinating the principal members of the Gironde party, renewing the scenes of blood, and elevating Robespierre to the dictatorship. Nor did Roland fail to remind his hearers that he also was included in the proscribed list. This denunciation was supported by the letter of a person to whom language to this effect had been held. When the memorial was concluded, several members instantly moved that it should be printed. Robespierre then rose, and insisted upon being heard, no less against the report in general than on the insinuations which were personal to himself. In vain the president, and many of the deputies, endeavoured to silence him. He persisted in being heard. With a pointed asperity, and not without justice, he animadverted upon the partiality of hearing vague accusations, and atrocious calumnies, in perfect silence, while those who strove to defend themselves from them, were incessantly and scandalously interrupted. Growing warm as he proceeded, "Is there one," he cried, "who "dares to accuse me positively, and "face to face?" At these words an exclamation of "I do," was heard from the end of the hall. It was from Louvet, who, starting from his seat, and coming opposite the tribune, fixed his eyes on the orator, at the same time adding, "Yes, "Robespierre, it is I who accuse "you." Rebecqui and Barbaroux also rose directly, and expressed their readiness to undertake the task of crimination. This unexpected acceptance of the challenge, for a while, wholly disconcerted Robespierre. Louvet ascended the tribune, while his astonished opponent shrunk to one side of it. The friends of the latter exerted themselves to restore his courage, and were in a great measure successful. Resuming his speech, he charged his enemies with slanderous intentions; insinuated that they employed the treasures of the public, and the influence of their situation, in spreading calumnies against the patriots; and warmly opposing the proposition for sending the report of the minister to the departments, he concluded with a demand, that both his accuser and himself should be heard by the convention. Far, however, as the contest had been pushed, both parties seemed unwilling to proceed to extremities. Attempts were made by members on each side, to draw the attention of the assembly from the subject, while others strove to get entirely rid of the question by the order of the day. These attempts were ineffectual. It was decided that Louvet should be heard. His attack was artful, bold, and eloquent. Deficient in legal proof, he promised that, from the whole of the proceedings of the adverse faction, for a considerable period, he would draw forth proof, morally irresistible, of the plans formed for producing a state of anarchy, and subverting the national representation. He accordingly entered, at considerable length, into this part of his subject. But it was against Robespierre, as the chief mover of the faction, that he poured forth all the torrent of his indignation. Reserving to himself and his friends all the glory arising from the overthrow of the

the throne, he laboured to fix upon Robespierre all the odium of the horrid scenes which had been acted, subsequently to the 10th of August, and, after taking a review of the political conduct of his antagonist, on various occasions, he wound up the whole by a recapitulation of what he had urged against him in the course of his harangue. In this recapitulation, he, in the strongest terms, charged Robespierre with having calumniated the purest patriots, at the epoch of the massacres, when a calumny was almost equivalent to a sentence of proscription; with having slighted, reviled, and persecuted the representatives of the people, while he held himself up as an object of idolatry, and stimulated his partizans to point him out as the only man capable of saving France; with having tyrannized, by the means of intrigue and terror, over the electoral assembly of Paris; and, finally, with having evidently aspired to obtain for himself the possession of the supreme power. He demanded, therefore, that the conduct of Robespierre, and others of his party, should be referred to the committee of general safety, and that a decree of impeachment should instantly be passed against Marat, whom he considered as a self-convicted criminal; whose very presence was a disgrace to the assembly, and an insult to the French people. In addition to these measures, he also declared it to be indispensably necessary, that the law against those who promoted assassination should be discussed without delay, and that the minister of the interior should be authorized, under controul of the convention, to call out the whole of the public force in the department, whenever the peace of the capital was disturbed by any commotion. The effect of this speech was, perhaps, greater than had been hoped by the orator himself. It was received with the most rapturous applause, and excited the strongest indignation against the accused deputy, who seemed to be abandoned even by his friends in the galleries. The printing of it was immediately ordered. Robespierre ascended the tribune as soon as Louvet had quitted it; but there appeared a general disinclination to allow him a hearing. Some proposed to adjourn the discussion till the next day, when he should be compelled to answer at the bar. Louvet, on the contrary, with much policy, strongly pressed for his being directly heard. Conscious, however, that in the present temper of the assembly his defence would have little weight, and feeling all the importance of gaining time, Robespierre declined entering, at the present moment, into a refutation of his accuser's speech. He requested that the convention would allow him to make his reply on the 5th of November; an interval of a week. This request, the end of which was sufficiently obvious, was, with a striking disregard of prudence, acceded to; and an opportunity was thus afforded to his adherents, of practising in his favour all those means of intrigue and intimidation which they had at command, and with the value of which, on such occasions, they were but too well acquainted.

The next day a long debate, of much asperity, took place on the subject of the commune. In the course of it another attack was made upon Robespierre. This discussion was brought on by a letter from Roland, stating that he had ordered

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the ſtoppage, at the poſt-office, of ſeveral packets addreſſed to the adminiſtrative bodies by the commune, and containing that inſolent addreſs which had excited ſo much indignation when it was preſented to the aſſembly. This conduct of the miniſter was warmly animadverted upon by the Jacobins, as a groſs and ſcandalous violation of the freedom of correſpondence. He was defended, with equal warmth, by his friends, as having merely performed an act of duty. But the exertions of Barrere, whoſe apparent impartiality gave weight to his ſentiments, were the moſt ſucceſsful in giving the ſcale a momentary preponderance on the ſide of the Girondiſts. In an able ſpeech he, on the one hand, exculpated the miniſter, and adviſed the convention to paſs to the order of the day on the accuſations made againſt him by the Jacobins; while, on the other, he reprobated the daring and illegal behaviour of the commune, and recommended the inſtant ſuſpenſion of that formidable body. His propoſition for the order of the day was adopted. Barbaroux, however, did not conſider the propoſed ſuſpenſion as a meaſure of ſufficient vigour. Adroitly ſeizing the opportunity which was afforded him, of entering at large into the great queſtion between the adverſe parties, he made a ſpeech of uncommon animation againſt the commune, the Jacobins, and more particularly againſt Robeſpierre. To the miniſter influence of theſe enemies to order, he attributed all the commotions in the interior, and all the diſguſt of the newly eſtabliſhed government which was expreſſed by other nations; and he conjured the convention once for all to aſſert its dignity, by putting an end to the plots of thoſe who, while they continually, without any title, arrogated to themſelves the honour of the 10th of Auguſt, were, in reality, the baſeſt of mankind, the bane of their country, and the moſt inveterate foes to the eſtabliſhment of liberty. Unlike many of his party, he did not content himſelf with declamation alone. He followed up his ſpeech by no leſs than four projects of decrees. By theſe decrees it was propoſed to remove for ever the legiſlative body, with its dependent eſtabliſhments, from any place in which it had been vilified; to proceed to the formation of a conventional guard; to declare the convention a court of juſtice for the trial of the conſpirators; to caſhier the municipality and the council general of the commune; and to enact that, from the preſent moment, the ſections of Paris ſhould ceaſe to be in a ſtate of permanence. Theſe ſtrong and deciſive meaſures, which ſtruck directly at the root of the evil, were not ſeconded by the timid and impolitic friends of the ſpeaker. Some were ſilent, while others feebly ſupported the leſs vigorous propoſition of Barrere. Petion, bold only againſt his ſovereign, made a ſhort ſpeech oppoſing the motion. Inſtead, therefore, of acting with that firmneſs which was called for by its ſituation, the aſſembly reſorted to the miſerable and inefficient farce of ordering the council general to ſend ten of its members to the bar, for the purpoſe of explanation. This order was obeyed. Chaumette, with ſeveral others, made his appearance, and, profeſſing largely the reſpect entertained for the laws by the majority of the commune, aſſerted the entire innocence of his colleagues

on the present occasion. On this clear and satisfactory exposition of the affair, the convention, after granting to the spokesman and his companions the honours of the sitting, thought proper to put a stop to all further enquiry, by passing to the order of the day. This new instance of the impunity granted to disobedience, and granted at such a period, was not lost upon those who, from inclination no less than interest, were in the daily practice of setting at open defiance the insufficient and trembling authority of the new legislature.

On the day appointed, Robespierre came forward, to defend himself from the accusations brought against him Nov. 5. by Louvet. He had fully regained his courage. In the interval which had taken place, since the attack upon him, he had rallied round him his partizans, who saw their safety connected with his own; and he now, perhaps, felt a perfect conviction of the real weakness of the opposite party. He appeared, in consequence, with the audacity of a man who knows that he is secure of triumph. His friends in the convention were all present, and the galleries were filled with his admirers: of these latter auxiliaries a very large portion was drawn from the female inhabitants of Paris, among whom Robespierre was a peculiar favourite.

His speech was long, displayed much talent, and was well adapted to catch the attention, and engage the belief of the vulgar. Minutely going over the charges urged by Louvet, he turned a part of them into ridicule, as grossly absurd and improbable, gave a favourable aspect to some, and wholly denied the truth of others. Any connection with Marat he disclaimed, though in such a manner as could give no offence to that furious demagogue. Into a vindication, or rather a panegyric, of the Jacobin club and the commune he diffusely and warmly entered. But his hardiness did not stop at this point. He undertook also to justify the massacres of September; and he affirmed, with a degree of shameless intrepidity which was truly astonishing, that, however some persons might, for their own purposes, have exaggerated the number of the victims, it was certain that not more than one innocent person had perished by the popular vengeance. Nor did he forget to remind the assembly that Louvet, in one of his papers, had declared the council general to be worthy of honour, for having on that occasion saved the country, by ordering the tocsin to be sounded. The tone in which, throughout the whole of his harangue, he spoke of his adversaries, was that of contemptuous irony, blended with sarcasms upon their continual pretension to superior virtue, and with artful insinuations against the purity of their designs. But the chief object of his indignation was Roland, whose egotism and affected austerity he lashed with pointed satire, and whom he described as a man unqualified by nature either for the performance of great actions, or the commission of great crimes. In allusion, likewise, to that minister, and to others of his party, he expressed his conviction, that if ever, in imitation of the Romans, the French should erect a temple to Fear, the priests of that deity ought to be chosen from among those who were incessantly expatiating to the convention on their courage and their

their dangers. After indulging for some time, in a similar strain, he closed his defence, by declaring, in a style of pretended forbearance, but of real menace, that, having no wish but for the welfare of the republic, he was willing to bury the past in oblivion, and to renounce the power which he possessed of repelling, by denunciations truly formidable, the calumnies of his accusers. He then quitted the tribune, amidst tumultuous applauses from a part of the assembly, and the whole of the spectators in the galleries. A decree, to order the printing of his speech, was instantly moved by his friends, and carried without opposition.

The decisive moment was arrived, in which the Girondists ought to have strained every nerve to bring to a successful termination the contest in which they were engaged. Any thing short of a complete victory was to them certain ruin. By yielding at such a moment, they were sure to be deserted for the future, by all those who, having no opinion of their own, are at all times ready to adopt that of the most vigorous party, and who, insignificant in themselves, are of the highest importance as instruments in the hands of daring and wicked men. Nor was it to be expected that the Jacobins, always violent, would be taught moderation by a knowledge of their superior strength, or ever consent to forgive that faction which alone stood in their way to power, and by which their very existence had been put to imminent hazard. The safety of the Girondists, therefore, could only be ensured by making the war against their antagonists, a war of political extermination. Regardless of this truth, they gave, by the course which they pursued, a fresh instance of their cowardice and incapacity. Instead of following up, with their united force, the blow which had been struck by Louvet, the greater number of them appeared to tremble at his boldness. He was seconded by none but Barbaroux, Buzot, Lanjuinais, and a few others; while Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, and a very large proportion of the party, resolved to declare for the order of the day, and believed, or affected to believe, that, by their succeeding in this measure, Robespierre would be so thoroughly disgraced as to deprive him of all influence whatever.

Accordingly when Louvet, as soon as Robespierre had left the tribune, took his place in it to refute the speech of the latter, his voice was drowned by continued cries from all quarters for the order of the day. In vain did he remind them that he ought in justice to be allowed a hearing. He was told by several members that he might, if he pleased, reply in his paper, the Sentinel. The assembly, too, on the question being put to the vote, decided that he should not be heard. Barbaroux now joined his friend, and strenuously insisted upon being admitted to denounce Robespierre. He also was unsuccessful. Stung with indignation, he presented himself at the bar, and claimed the liberty of speech as a citizen, since he was refused it as a deputy. He was not more fortunate in this attempt. Some laughed, some murmured, and others demanded that his behaviour should be censured. Silence was at length obtained for

Barrere

Barrere, who, in a ſpeech by no means flattering to the vanity of Roberſpierre, moved that the aſſembly ſhould decree that it paſſed to the order of the day, on the ground that it ought ſolely to occupy itſelf upon the intereſts of the republic. The preamble of this decree was attacked by Roberſpierre as inſulting and injurious to him; and the order of the day, unclogged by any thing offenſive to his feelings, was finally carried by a very large majority. The conflict thus terminated, gave little room for hope, and much for apprehenſion, to the partizans of the Girondiſt faction. Louvet, with a foreſight honourable to his underſtanding, immediately predicted that, ſooner or later, baniſhment or the ſcaffold would inevitably be the fate of himſelf and his friends.

In the evening, Roberſpierre made his appearance at the Jacobin ſociety, where he was received with the moſt enthuſiaſtic delight. Every tongue was laviſh in ſounding his praiſe, and in pouring forth the bittereſt execrations upon the heads of his enemies. His defence was ordered to be printed, and ſent to all the affiliated ſocieties, with a ſolemn declaration of the club in his favour; and it was reſolved that the names of Louvet, Barbaroux, Rebecqui, and ſeveral of their friends, ſhould be expunged from the liſt of the members. That of Briſſot had already been eraſed. The attachment of the ſociety was alſo further diſplayed by the appointment of a numerous patrole to guard the houſes of Roberſpierre and Danton, under a pretext that it was the intention of the federates to murder thoſe patriotic deputies.

Baffled in his late attempt, through the timidity or want of policy of his colleagues, and anticipating the moſt fatal conſequences from the event, Louvet, nevertheleſs, reſolved to ſpare no exertion in ſupport of the cauſe which he had eſpouſed. Perhaps, in ſpite of his fears, he ſtill cheriſhed a lingering hope that he might yet inſpire, in thoſe with whom he was connected, the ſame active and determined ſpirit which animated himſelf. The ſpeech which he had been prevented from delivering in the aſſembly, he ſhortly after publiſhed, under a title well contrived for catching the popular attention, and throwing an odium upon thoſe to whom it was applied. It was addreſſed "To Maximilian Roberſpierre, and to his royaliſts." By the care of Roland, who perfectly agreed in the ſentiments and apprehenſions of the author, a very large number of this pamphlet was circulated in the departments, where it had a conſiderable effect; nor is it improbable that, for ſome time, it delayed the fall of the Girondiſts.

Petion alſo gave to the public a ſpeech, which he had prepared for the occaſion, but of which he had, by the order of the day, been precluded from making uſe. It was a compound of vanity and cowardice, fitted only to excite contempt of its author, whoſe dread of Roberſpierre was made ſufficiently apparent by the guarded manner in which he touched upon his conduct. He appeared, indeed, through the whole compoſition, to be afraid of ſpeaking in a decided manner, on any ſubject which might offend the Jacobin party. An effort was almoſt uniformly made to render cenſure palatable, by a large admixture of expreſſed or implied praiſe. With reſpect to the 10th of Auguſt, the

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important confeſſion eſcaped from him, that the plan of the inſurrection which then took place, had been, for a long period, maturing by the federates, and their ſecret directory. The publication of this ſpeech was preceded by that of a letter to the Jacobin club, which was firſt poſted up in the ſtreets, and afterwards added to the ſpeech itſelf. A part of this letter drew upon Petion the vengeance of Robeſpierre, who, in a maſterly reply, fraught with exquiſite irony and keen ſatire, ſucceeded in ſtripping him of the little popularity which he ſtill retained, and expoſing him to univerſal deriſion. Hoping, perhaps, to recover ſome of his credit, Petion next iſſued from the preſs a long expoſition and panegyric of his conduct during his mayoralty. This piece, remarkable only for its groſs egotiſm and contempt of truth, its indecent attacks upon the king, and the deciſive evidence which it afforded of the plots that had been carried on againſt the late government, was little noticed by the Pariſians, and produced no effect in favour of its author.

During this warfare of the factions, the king and the royal family were daily expoſed to the moſt painful and ſcandalous indignities. The palace of the Luxemburgh had, on the ſuſpenſion of Lewis the XVIth, been aſſigned by the legiſlative aſſembly for the reſidence of the illuſtrious captives; but the commune, on its own authority, and under pretence of ſafety, had ordered them to be transferred to the Temple, an ancient and gloomy place, wholly deſtitute of every comfort and convenience. In this dreary abode, where, with the exception of the faithful Clery, who had devoted himſelf to their ſervice, no perſon attached to them was ſuffered to enter, they were guarded by wretches of the moſt brutal and abandoned natures. Every art which a malignant cruelty could ſuggeſt was put in practice, to make impriſonment ſtill more irkſome. Even the common neceſſaries of life were often withheld, and ſcarcely ever granted without much inſolence, and after long delay. Threatening and indecent inſcriptions were ſcrawled upon the walls, and ballads of the ſame deſcription ſung, to wound the feelings of fallen greatneſs. Theſe inſults were borne by the three royal victims with an unſhaken magnanimity which was truly admirable. Not a murmur, nor a complaint, which might have gratified the malice of their perſecutors, ever eſcaped from them. Their hours were employed in the education of the dauphin, and his ſiſter, in reading by turns to each other, and in ſtudy, to which latter occupation a part of every morning and evening was dedicated by his majeſty. A ſhort airing was allowed them in the garden, but this was always embittered by the abominable behaviour of thoſe around them. Such was the melancholy ſituation of thoſe who, but a few years before, had been looked up to with a reſpect, little ſhort of idolatry, by a numerous and poliſhed people.

The convention had not ſat many days before a deputation, from the committee of inſpection eſtabliſhed by the commune, came forward to announce that the commune was in poſſeſſion of a number of documents, criminating not only Lewis the XVIth, but alſo ſome of the members of the new legiſlature. The latter part of this

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this information was heard with great diſguſt and impatience, and its veracity was indignantly denied by ſeveral ſpeakers. A commiſſion conſiſting of twenty-four perſons was, at the cloſe of the debate, appointed to examine and report upon the various papers relative to the king.

As this commiſſion did not appear to the Jacobins to carry on its reſearches with ſufficient rapidity, the uſual means were employed to ſtimulate it to greater activity. Petitions were poured in from ſeveral quarters, and ſanguinary propoſitions were frequently made againſt the priſoners in the Temple. Bourbotte and Merlin particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their outrageous zeal in the latter occupation.

A report on the documents which had, with ſo much pains, been got together, to blacken the character of Lewis the XVIth, was at length brought up, from the commiſſion of twenty-four, by M. Valazé. In this report, which M. Valazé himſelf, with unintentional truth, declared to be a very imperfect one, the want of proofs was attempted to be ſupplied by abuſive epithets laviſhed upon his majeſty, and by numerous apoſtrophes to him, which the reporter, perhaps, imagined to be eloquent, but which were, in reality, only calculated to excite laughter or diſguſt. Some of the charges related entirely to the miniſters, ſome were in themſelves ridiculous, and others were grounded on ſuppoſition, or on evidence of the moſt unſatisfactory nature. It required, indeed, a ſort of ſiniſter courage to come gravely forward with articles of accuſation like thoſe which were now read to the aſſembly. But M. Valazé appears to have determined that in the performance of his taſk he would not be impeded by any ſcruples of conſcience, or any regard to the dictates of truth. After having treated the king as a tyrant, a traitor, a deceiver, and a monopolizer of ſugar and coffee, he did not heſitate to aſſert, that previous to the 10th of Auguſt the court had entertained deſigns againſt the people, and had provided arms and ammunition; and that, on the day of the inſurrection, the friends of Lewis were the aggreſſors. Theſe laſt aſſertions he undertook to prove by a mode of reaſoning truly ſingular. Some perſons had, he ſaid, depoſed, on the 31ſt of July, that two veſſels were then lying in the Seine, laden with bullets, bombs, and other military ſtores, and that no one appeared as the owner of the veſſels. He, therefore, concluded that they muſt belong to the king, and that their cargoes had been provided for criminal purpoſes.*

This report did not appear to give much ſatisfaction to his own party. Aſhamed, perhaps, of its weakneſs, Barbaroux and Rabaud exerted themſelves to prevent it from being printed;

* It is proper alſo to notice, that the part of the Seine where M. Valazé ſtates theſe veſſels to have been moored is at ſo great a diſtance from the Thuilleries as in itſelf to demonſtrate the abſurdity of his accuſation. Had the military ſtores been intended for the uſe of the court, it is highly improbable that they would have been far removed from the ſpot where it was moſt likely there would be an occaſion for them. If there is any truth in the ſtory of the two veſſels, the moſt rational conjecture will be that their cargoes had been provided for the uſe of thoſe who were then plotting to overturn the government.

ed; and Petion, while he apologized in some measure for its insufficiency, declared that many documents existed, of much greater consequence than those which had been produced. It was, notwithstanding, finally ordered to be printed. As soon as it was made public, M. M. Bertrand and Septeuil lost no time in sending to the convention a full reply to such parts of it as appeared to be worthy of notice. Their refutation of the charges was complete, but was productive of no effect.

While the commission of twenty-four was thus busily employed in heaping calumnies upon the deposed sovereign, the committee of general safety was not less active in performing a task of equal honour. It was occupied in preparing a defence of those monsters who, by the massacres of September, had fixed an indelible stain on the French nation. In this committee the Jacobins appear to have had a decided preponderance, and they gladly embraced an opportunity of revenging themselves upon their adversaries, for the severity with which their friends had been treated in the memorial presented to the convention by the minister of the home department. No sooner, therefore, was the short debate on the labours of the commission of twenty-four concluded, than Bazire ascended the tribune, and, in the name of the committee, read a paper which, under the title of a report on the state of Paris, was, in truth, a justification of the massacres, and an attack upon the Girondists. On the state of Paris, its ostensible subject, nothing was to be found but a bold assertion that the inhabitants of the capital were now perfectly tranquil, and would certainly remain so, if they were not prevented by the imprudent conduct of some of the federates, who had been artfully irritated against them. Nearly the remainder of this composition was taken up by panegyrics upon the conduct of the Parisians during the whole course of the revolution; insinuations and invectives against the Girondists, who, though not named, were plainly indicated; and apologies for the assassins of the prisoners. The assassins, it was said, could only, at worst, be considered as "brothers "misled by a false zeal, and soured by "long suffering," who ought not to be treated harshly. The orator, however, was not satisfied with giving this indirect approbation, for he hinted, with sufficient plainness, that those who had been massacred deserved their fate, and were such as it would have been imprudent to spare. He concluded by assuring his hearers that every thing promised calm and serene days, and that the whole secret of the public tranquillity merely consisted in the convention making known to all France the just confidence which it felt in the people of Paris.

This report was so much to the taste of a part of the assembly, and of all the spectators in the galleries, that it was received with long and repeated acclamations. But it was heard with very different sensations by the opposite party. The Jacobins loudly demanded that it should be printed and sent to the departments. This was as strenuously resisted by their opponents, who, at the same time, exclaimed that the committee ought to be renewed. A scene of uproar took place, in which the spectators and the members were equally active. During this scene, St. Andre, while he recommended confidence and unity, attacked the

Girondiſts for their wiſh to obtain an armed force from the departments, and for the fears which they continually expreſſed. He was anſwered with much ability and eloquence by Buzot and Laſource, who treated the report, and the party by which it had been made, with great and merited ſeverity. They were victorious. On the queſtion being put as to the printing of the report, it was carried in the negative.

The proceedings againſt the king were followed up the next day by a voluminous report from the committee of legiſlation, of which M. Mailhé was the organ. It profeſſed to be the reſult of long and profound meditation, and to give a full and deciſive anſwer to many queſtions of great importance, and, among others, to thoſe which demanded whether the king could be brought to trial, and before what tribunal he ought to be tried. Aſſuming the guilt of the king, the reporter, from a ſeries of clumſy ſophiſms and falſe deductions, contended that the inviolability conferred on the ſovereign by the conſtitution was of no force againſt the nation itſelf, repreſented by the convention, and that he ought, therefore, to be put upon his trial. The ſecond point was decided with as little regard to truth and juſtice. The national convention M. Mailhé declared was the only competent juriſdiction; and he did not bluſh to add that Lewis the XVIth could not deſire a more impartial tribunal, or one the purity of which was more free from ſuſpicion. Againſt any reference of the ſentence to the primary aſſemblies he ſpoke in the moſt unqualified manner. In many parts of this report the moſt indecent and undiſguiſed attacks were made upon all crowned heads, and their approaching downfal was predicted in a ſtrain of the utmoſt confidence and exultation. M. Mailhé ended by propoſing a decree of nine articles, aſſerting the right of the convention to try the king, and fixing the forms and the period of the trial.

This report met with general approbation. It was ordered to be printed without delay, ſent to the armies, municipalities, and departments, and ten copies of it to be given to each member of the convention. In the hope, perhaps, that other nations might be induced to benefit by its principles, a tranſlation of it was likewiſe ordered to be made into all foreign languages. The diſcuſſion of the ſubject was adjourned for five days. Manuel then moved that all perſons who ſpoke in favour of Lewis ſhould be put under the ſafeguard of the law; but the aſſembly got rid of his motion by the order of the day.

Though the Jacobins had entirely at their diſpoſal the mob and the armed force of Paris, there was one obſtacle which ſtood in the way of their projects, and which they earneſtly wiſhed to remove. This obſtacle was found in the battalions of federates, then in the capital, among whom was a battalion of Marſeilleſe. While theſe men remained near the convention, ſome degree of protection was afforded to their friends. Bazire, in his report, had ſufficiently ſhewn the diſſatisfaction which they excited in his party; and Tureau, though without ſucceſs, had on the following day again brought the ſubject forward in a manner which, from its imprudent warmth, was well calculated to awaken the ſuſpicions of

the Girondiſts. The arts of ſeduction had hitherto been tried upon theſe troops without effect, and any attempt to drive them away by compulſory means was conſidered as dangerous, at leaſt, if not impracticable. The Pariſian mob was only courageous againſt an unarmed enemy, and would, of courſe, not eaſily be perſuaded to act againſt men who had weapons in their hands, and inclination to uſe them. To have failed in the uſe of violent meaſures would have been the ruin of thoſe by whom they had been uſed. A plan was conſequently laid with much art, by which it was hoped that the federates might, without difficulty, be conſigned to the frontiers. Cuſtine having written to demand reinforcements, Pache, the miniſter of war, who, after deceiving Roland as to his principles, had attached himſelf to the Jacobins, laid the demand before the military committee, at the ſame time intimating that a part of the required ſuccours might immediately be obtained by employing the federates then in the capital. The propoſition was accordingly made to the aſſembly by Letourneur, as ſpokeſman of the committee. But though great care had been taken to keep out of ſight the real motives of this meaſure, they were inſtantly diſcovered by thoſe againſt whom the blow was intended. Buzot, Barbaroux, Cambon, ſtrenuouſly reſiſted the inſidious project. Even Barrere, not yet entirely alienated by the weakneſs of the Girondiſts, eſpouſed their ſide of the queſtion. This combined oppoſition was victorious, and the plan was rejected.

The mutual accuſations and menaces of the two parties were now, for a time, ſuſpended, by the diſcuſſion relative to the proceſs of Lewis the XVIth. This diſcuſſion commenced on the 13th of November. The firſt queſtion which the convention reſolved to decide was that momentous one, whether the king could be brought to trial. The opinion of each member was given at conſiderable length, and every ſpeech was filled with the moſt inveterate abuſe of the dethroned ſovereign. Even thoſe who concluded in a manner favourable to him ſeemed to conſider it as neceſſary to adopt the prevailing violence of language. The blackeſt calumnies, the groſſeſt ſophiſms, and the moſt fanciful and abſurd reaſonings were employed, by the enemies of Lewis, to render him an object of hate, deprive him of the privileges beſtowed by the law, and complete his deſtruction. Every thing that appeared like doubt or delay was odious in their eyes. St. Juſt, Gregoire, and Robert, were among the foremoſt in this infamous career. Condorcet alſo, with a malignant aſſiduity, laboured, by metaphyſical ſubtleties, and logical perverſion, to accelerate the ruin of the monarch. Some, however, had the courage to contend that, as the conſtitution had made the king inviolable, it would be an act of the moſt flagrant injuſtice to try him. This doctrine was ſtrongly urged by Lanjuinais, Morriſon, Fauchet, Lefort, Camus, Baraillon, and others.

In the midſt of theſe debates a new ſtimulus was applied to the proceedings of the aſſembly by M. Roland. He brought to the bar a collection of papers, which he conſidered as capable of throwing much light, as well on the 10th of Auguſt, as on the Nov. 20.

whole revolution, and on thoſe who had played the moſt diſtinguiſhed parts in the courſe of that event. The manner in which theſe papers were obtained gives room for much ſuſpicion of their authenticity, or, at leaſt, of their freedom from ſurreptitious admixture. The diſcovery was made by the means of a locksmith of Verſailles, named Gamin, who informed M. Roland that he had been employed by his majeſty to fix an iron cheſt in the wall of an apartment in the Thuilleries.* From this ſource the documents now produced were drawn. While preſenting to the convention theſe "good things," as he himſelf called them, the miniſter did not eſcape animadverſion, for having proceeded in ſearch of them without giving any notice to the commiſſioners, then on duty in the palace; and this neglect was ultimately made a ſerious article

* The king, on his trial, diſclaimed any knowledge of the iron cheſt. At the time when it was ſaid to be diſcovered, the palace had been in the hands of his enemies between three and four months. Gamin alſo, who made the diſcovery to Roland, was a conſummate villain, utterly unworthy of credit. This is amply proved by his ſubſequent conduct. On the 27th of April 1794, this abandoned wretch preſented a petition to the national convention, in which, after expatiating on the meritorious diſcovery he had made to Roland, he ſtated that, on the laſt day of his being employed to fix the cheſt in the Thuilleries, the king himſelf had given him a glaſs of wine, a few hours after taking which he had been ſeized with a violent cholic, which was ſucceeded by a dreadful malady that laſted fourteen months, deprived him for a year of the uſe of his limbs, and put it out of his power ever to provide for the wants of his family. There was, he added, no doubt that the king had put poiſon in this wine, with the intent of deſtroying the only perſon who was acquainted with the ſecret of the iron cheſt. He requeſted, therefore, that ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance might be given him. The convention, as a reward for this calumny, voted him a penſion of fifty pounds a year. The ſtory was, however, inveſtigated by ſeveral perſons, and, as might be expected from the very nature of it, was found to be a fabrication. It appeared, from the teſtimony of numerous witneſſes, that he had not had the ſlighteſt illneſs during the period mentioned in his petition. The falſehood of his ſtatement is, indeed, ſufficiently apparent from a mere compariſon of dates. According to his own account it was at the very beginning of May 1792 that he was employed in the palace. It was not till the latter end of November, an interval of nearly ſeven months, that he made the diſcloſure to Roland, and at this latter period he was in perfect health. Here then the whole ſtory of the poiſon falls to the ground at once, even were there not againſt it the direct proof that has before been mentioned, and the moral probability reſulting from the character of the king. It is manifeſt that any evidence given by ſuch a man muſt be conſidered as not entitled to the ſmalleſt degree of belief. Yet it is highly improbable that the ſcheme was contrived by Roland, ſince ſome of his friends were mentioned in the papers in a manner which, though it did not abſolutely criminate, was calculated to excite ſuſpicions againſt them, and expoſe them to the attacks of their adverſaries. It is more rational to conclude that the iron cheſt, though unknown to the king, really belonged to ſome of thoſe who were in his ſervice, or that it was placed by the Jacobin party in the ſituation where it was found. The commiſſioners appointed by the convention to ſearch for papers in the palace, were all furious Jacobins, and at the time the iron cheſt was opened, were on duty in the next room.

cle of accuſation againſt him. A committee of twelve perſons was directly formed to examine the papers.

Till the latter end of the month the convention was ſtill occupied in hearing the ſentiments of its members on the propoſed trial. The whole of the ſpeeches were in the ſame ſtrain of bold aſſertion, and virulent invective, that has already been noticed. But this warfare of abuſe againſt the unfortunate ſovereign was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the rage of the Jacobin faction. They ſaw, with regret, that much time was loſt, and they were, perhaps, not without fears that, if dilatory meaſures were purſued, their victim might, by ſome chance or other, be ſnatched from their fury. They redoubled, therefore, their clamours for an early deciſion. St. Andre exclaimed, that Lewis ought to be conſidered as already tried,—it was his puniſhment only that the convention had to deliberate upon; and Legendre, at the ſame time, obtained a decree, ordering the opinions of the deputies to be printed, without delay, and laid upon the table, that the proceſs might be brought to a ſpeedy termination.

On the 3d of December Ruhl, in the name of the committee, brought up a part of the report on the papers which had been preſented by Roland. It related, in a great meaſure, to Barrere and Merlin, who were ſpoken of, in ſome of theſe new documents, in ſuch a manner as to excite ſuſpicions of their patriotiſm. An explanation was, however, immediately given by theſe members, and it was conſidered by the convention as perfectly ſatisfactory. The remainder of the report was ſhortly after produced. The papers reported upon were numerous, but contained nothing on which a charge of guilt could, with the leaſt ſhadow of juſtice, be founded. They conſiſted chiefly of memorials, letters, and plans, which had been addreſſed to the king from various quarters, of which the ſuggeſtions had never been put in execution; and even theſe were manifeſtly of a defenſive nature. By one piece it was diſcovered that, toward the cloſe of his life, Mirabeau had ſhewn a diſpoſition to ſtrengthen the legal authority of the ſovereign. His aſhes were, in conſequence, ſoon after removed from the Pantheon. On the concluſion of the report, the convention ordered the arreſt of ſeveral perſons who were mentioned in the papers which had been read.

As ſoon as the convention had heard the firſt part of Ruhl's report, it reſumed Dec. 3. the diſcuſſion on the trial of the king. That important queſtion was this day finally ſettled. The deciſion was undoubtedly accelerated by the exertions of Roberſpierre, who particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. In his ſpeech, which diſplayed but too much talent, he treated with contempt the opinions of thoſe members who appealed to the conſtitution as the rule by which to act. He told them, and with truth, that by that conſtitution they ſtood clearly condemned as traitors, ſince it had expreſsly forbidden all that they had done againſt the authority of the ſovereign. But it was not by the conſtitution, it was by the laws of nature that a tyrant ought to be puniſhed, and puniſhment was all they had to think of, ſince the people had already paſſed judgment. To entertain a doubt of the king's guilt, he artfully reminded

them, was to put the revolution itſelf, and conſequently thoſe by whom it had been made, in a ſtate of accuſation. His ſpeech was attentively liſtened to, and produced a powerful effect. Roberſpierre had no ſooner finiſhed than Petion roſe, and at once put an end to the debates upon this point, by moving that Lewis the XVIth ſhould be tried by the convention. This iniquitous propoſal, by which the life of the king was to be delivered into the hands of thoſe who had, with the moſt ſcandalous publicity, declared themſelves his determined enemies, was inſtantly paſſed into a law, without any oppoſition. From a commencement like this it was eaſy to conjecture in what ſpirit the proceedings againſt the devoted monarch would be carried on, and in what manner they were likely to terminate.—The melancholy event, and the ſteps which led to it, will form the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Steps toward the trial of the King. Fury of the Jacobins againſt him. The Convention reſolves to ſet apart ſeveral hours every day to debate upon the King's trial. Pain of death decreed againſt whoever propoſes to reſtore royalty. Motion of Bourbotte againſt the King. Time and manner of carrying on the King's trial definitively ſettled. Painful ſituation of the royal family. They are deprived of all ſharp inſtruments by an order of the Commune. Lying report of Lindet upon the King. Strange conduct of Marat, in propoſing to eraſe from the act of impeachment a part of the articles. Clery obtains intelligence of the intentions of the Convention. King brought for the firſt time to the bar. Precautions taken by the Commune. Fears of the Jacobins. The King is interrogated. Examines the papers brought forward. Inſolent behaviour of Valazé. King demands counſel. Long debates upon the demand. It is granted. King ſeparated from his family. Tallien's open defiance of the Convention. The King allowed to ſee his children. Refuſes to accept the favour. Abominable order of the Commune reſpecting the King's counſel. It is diſapproved of by the Convention. Exertions made by the friends of Lewis. Danton ſcared out of the way. Scandalous conduct of the King's enemies in ſuppreſſing papers ſent for his defence. M. M. Target and Tronchet choſen by Lewis as his counſel. The former declines to act. Several perſons offer. M. de Malesherbes accepted. Interview between the King and M. de Maleſherbes. The King aſſiſts the counſel in drawing up his defence. Refuſes to admit in it any appeal to the paſſions. Motion of Manuel againſt the galleries. Attack of the Girondiſts on Orleans. They are foiled. Equanimity of the King. His determination not to make any attempt to excite pity. Makes his will. Is ordered finally to the bar of the Convention. Galleries filled with hired ruffians. Manuel attempts to get them turned out; but in vain. M. Deſeze reads the defence of the King. Abſtract of it. Addreſs of the King to the Convention. Serenity of the King during his paſſage from and to the Temple. Scandalous debates in the Convention after his departure. Courage of Lanjuinais. Combat between the two parties. Moderate letter of the King of Spain in favour of Lewis the XVI^th^. It is badly received. Fears of the Gironde party. They contend for referring the King's ſentence to the primary aſſemblies. Nominal appeal fixed for the 14th. That day ſpent in debates on the manner of putting the queſtions. Unfavourable mode adopted. King deprived of the benefit of the penal code, which required a majority of two thirds to condemn. The nominal appeal commenced. Deteſtable conduct of Orleans. It receives great diſapprobation. Generous conduct of Duchatel. Second letter of the King of Spain. Treated with contempt. Sentence of death pronounced by a majority of eleven. The counſel of Lewis demand the appeal to the people. It is refuſed. The King informed of the ſentence by M. de Maleſherbes. Notice given him of his execution. Delay of three days refuſed. M. Edgeworth choſen by him for his confeſſor. Affecting interview with his family. State of Paris the night preceding his execution. Fortitude and piety of the King on the fatal morning. Meſſage to the Queen. Two aſſaſſins placed in the coach with him. His behaviour at the ſcaffold. Addreſs to the people. His death. Brutal

conduct of some of the mob. He is buried in the common burying ground, and his body destroyed. Theatres not frequented that evening. Character of Lewis.

THE convention having thus, in violation of all the principles of justice, taken the trial of Lewis the XVIth into its own hands, the fate of that unhappy monarch might be considered as finally sealed. But this triumph was not enough to satisfy the inveterate malignity of his enemies. Those forms which were to be observed, even by the present mockery of law, appeared to these equitable judges insufferably tedious, and called forth the most violent expressions of hatred and impatience. "The shortest mode of judging kings," the Jacobins exclaimed, "the mode adopted by Scevola and "Brutus, was the best." This merciful opinion not being seconded by a majority, it was demanded, by Phelippeaux, that the sitting of the convention should continue, without adjournment, till the process of the king was concluded. This motion was clamorously applauded by the tribunes. It was, however, not on grounds of humanity but of policy, opposed by Petion, who moved a decree that the convention should, from ten in the morning till six in the evening, occupy itself exclusively upon the trial of Lewis, the laws against the emigrants, and those respecting provisions. Robespierre immediately rose; but the greatest part of the members refused to hear him. The mob in the tribunes took the side of their friend; and all the endeavours of the president to silence them were ineffectual. Robespierre finally obtained a hearing. His speech was full of insinuations against his adversaries, and was closed by a declaration, that in virtue of the right of insurrection, sentence of death ought instantly to be passed against the king. All delay he considered as abominable. But Buzot having intimated that Lewis had accomplices whom it was necessary to discover, and that none but those who were afraid of what he might say could possibly object to his being heard, the decree moved by Petion was put and carried. A law, inflicting the pain of death on whoever should propose, or attempt to re-establish royalty in France, was also passed in the same sitting. The debate on this subject, which arose out of that on the king's trial, and was blended with it, was conducted with great warmth and asperity.

Dec. 4.

Two days after, a new attempt was made by the Jacobins to hasten the decision of the assembly on the momentous affair which was before it. In a speech, the falsehood and virulence of which were equally conspicuous, Bourbotte proposed that the queen should be immediately accused; that, if it were thought necessary to bring Lewis to the bar, his appearance should not be delayed longer than the next day; that he should be considered as an enemy, and be merely interrogated concerning his accomplices; and that, on the morrow, sentence of death should be passed upon him, a sentence which this moderate speaker declared he had long ago been the first to demand, and which, had it been granted, would have spared the country a part of those convulsions by which it was now agitated. Manuel, however, maintained that the king ought to be heard. Various projects of decrees relative to the trial were then deliberated upon by the assembly. That presented by Quinette was finally adopted.

Dec. 6.

By this decree it was definitively settled that, by adding to the commission of twelve three members from

from each of as many committees, a commiſſion of twenty-one ſhould be formed, to which ſhould be entruſted the taſk of drawing up the act of accuſation, arranging the various papers on which it was grounded, and forming a ſeries of queſtions to be put to the king on his appearance at the bar. The act of accuſation was to be prepared in four days, and the day after it had been preſented to the convention, Lewis was to be ordered to appear, for the purpoſe of hearing it, and anſwering the paper of interrogatories. After a ſhort adjournment the defence of the king was to be heard; and on the following day, the convention was to proceed to the nominal appeal on the ſentence to be given: on this laſt head each member was to declare his opinion from the tribune. This final clauſe was artfully introduced for the purpoſe of intimidating thoſe who might perhaps be diſpoſed to ſhew ſome degree of favour to the accuſed, if they could do it without danger, but who, it was well known, would not have the courage to brave the reſentment of the Jacobins, and their no leſs ferocious auxiliaries, the rabble of Paris. Had the deciſion been taken in the way of ballot, it is highly probable that the puniſhment of death would never have been pronounced upon Lewis the XVIth.

The ſituation, meanwhile, of the royal family, grew every day more diſagreeable. The municipality of the 10th of Auguſt had, in the beginning of December, been replaced by another, under the title of the proviſional municipality. The members of this new body were, in many reſpects, worſe than their predeceſſors. Two additional officers were appointed to watch the king and queen; and the royal captives were more than ever ſubjected to all the vexations which could be inflicted by vulgar and malignant tyranny. No ſooner was the decree paſſed by which the time and mode of the king's trial were finally adjuſted, than the commune made an order that the perſons confined in the Temple Dec. 7. "ſhould be deprived of knives, "razors, ſciſſors, and all other ſharp "inſtruments, which are uſually "taken from criminals, and that "the ſtricteſt ſearch ſhould be made "for the ſame, as well on their per-"ſons as in their apartments." This order was moſt rigorouſly executed. It was not till after ſome debate among the commiſſioners, that their majeſties were even allowed the uſe of a knife and fork at dinner.

On the 10th, Lindet, in the name of the commiſſion of twenty-one, read a report on the affair which had been committed to their charge. This report was, in every point of view, a miſerable production. It conſiſted of a ſtring of aſſertions, ſome of which had not the ſhadow of a proof, while others were ſupported only by ſuch proofs as would have been treated with contempt or indignation in any regular court of juſtice. All the events of the revolution were noticed in chronological order; and all the miſchiefs ariſing from them were attributed to the criminal intentions of the king. The inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt was, with a flagrant diſregard of truth, ſaid to have been prompted by the court, that it might have an opportunity to maſſacre the citizens of the ſuburbs, by firing on their rear as they advanced toward the Thuilleries. This one charge

charge is sufficient to give an idea of the decency and veracity of the whole. To this mass of falsehoods, Marat proposed to add various articles of equal merit; but his proposition was not seconded.

The act of accusation was next morning read to the convention by Barbaroux, and several new charges inserted. Marat now made a demand, at once so moderate and so unexpected as to surprize all who heard him. He insisted that Lewis should be interrogated only on those facts which had taken place subsequent to his acceptance of the constitution, all crimes previous to that event being done away by the amnesty which had then been granted; and he invited the convention to reduce the articles in the impeachment to a smaller number, that the weakness of some might not lessen the effect of those which were of real magnitude. As this advice, if followed, would have led to nothing less than the annihilation of the whole process, and as even its discussion might produce effects disagreeable to them, his friends gathered round him, and by whispers and signs prevailed on him to say no more upon the subject. After some trivial observations it was decreed that the king should be allowed a seat, and that the spectators should be forbidden to give any marks either of disapprobation or applause.

The faithful Clery had, in the interval since the forms of the trial were arranged, made known to his master the intelligence he had obtained of the designs of the convention; and had also apprized him that, during the process, it was meant by the commune to separate him from his family: two circumstances of which his enemies had wished to keep him in total ignorance. The king was therefore in some measure prepared for what he was now to undergo.

Early in the morning of the 11th, the drums beat to arms throughout Paris. A troop of horse, with cannon, took post in the garden of the Temple. The commissioners on duty, when questioned as to these alarming appearances, refused to give any reply. About eleven, two municipal officers entered, and informed his majesty that they had orders to carry the dauphin to his mother. These orders they said were given by the commune. He was told also that the mayor of Paris was on the point of coming up. Forewarned as he had been of the separation from his family, the king was nevertheless deeply affected by his parting from the dauphin. Two hours elapsed before the mayor made his appearance, attended by Chaumette, Santerre, and several other persons. He informed his majesty that he was come to conduct him to the convention, in pursuance of a decree passed by that body. The decree was then read by a secretary. After animadverting, with some asperity, upon his being deprived of the dauphin's company sooner than was necessary, the king added, "I "am ready to follow you, not in "obedience to the convention, but "because my enemies have the "power in their hands."

Every measure that could be imagined by the commune had been taken to prevent any attempt being made in favour of Lewis during his passage to the hall of the convention. A spectator unacquainted with the cause of such warlike appearances, might have thought that Paris was a besieged city on the very

very eve of an assault. The guards at all the posts were doubled; bodies of reserve were placed in various parts; the greatest vigilance was directed to be shewn; orders were given to punish all who absented themselves from their duty; large divisions of horse and foot were appointed to escort and surround the king's carriage, and a formidable train of artillery was provided to second the whole. So fearful, in truth, were the Jacobins, of some effort being made in favour of the king, that, a few days before, a motion had been brought forward in the convention by Chabot, to prevent the king from being ordered to the bar either on a Sunday or Monday; as these days of indolence were, he said, most propitious to those who designed to excite tumultuary movements in the populace.

When the king arrived at the gate of the Feuillans, the president Barrere informed the convention that Lewis was ready to appear. In a short and inflated speech he advised them to preserve their dignity, and to remember that they had to act up to the majesty of the French people, who were on the point of giving a lesson to kings, and an example which would be of service toward the emancipating of nations. To the galleries he thought proper to address himself with a little more humility: they were not commanded but flattered into silence.

The king now entered, attended by generals Santerre and Wittenkof, and two municipal officers. He was dressed plainly, and his countenance had an expression at once modest and dignified. The president addressed him in a haughty tone, telling him that he stood accused by the nation, that the articles of impeachment were going to be read, and that he might be seated if he thought proper. The articles * were then read by one of the secretaries. After this was performed, Barrere interrogated him upon each charge separately. To these numerous and unexpected questions Lewis replied with a clearness and promptitude that could only be the effect of conscious innocence. To one charge in particular, he answered in so impressive a voice and manner, as to bring conviction to the minds of many. When Barrere, in an austere tone, accused him of having caused the blood of the French to be shed, he instantly, and emphatically exclaimed, "No, "Sir, it was not *I*." As soon as the interrogatory was over, the king demanded a copy of it, and of the documents upon which it was founded. He also claimed the right of chusing counsel for his defence.

The various papers were next brought forward, that the king might examine them. They were separately handed to him, by Valazé, who stood on his left, but a little before him. Either from that awe which greatness, though fallen, often inspires, or from an affectation of contempt, M. Valazé never once looked his captive sovereign in the face; but, giving the papers over his shoulder, enquired if Lewis had any knowledge of them. Of these papers, the number of which was considerable, a very small part, and that perfectly harmless in its contents, was recognized by the king. The whole being finished, he was ordered to retire.

A most scandalous scene took place

* See these articles at full length in the translation of the king's trial. Appendix to the Chronicle p. 85*

after

after the king had left the hall. Treilhard having moved that counsel should be allowed him, the Jacobins furiously opposed his motion, and insisted that it should be adjourned. This proposal was overruled by the majority. Foiled in this attempt, Marat, Tallien, Duhem, and others of the same party, renewed their efforts to prevent the motion from being carried. They even called for an immediate sentence "as a measure of general safety." The tumult soon rose to such a height, that the authority of the president was hardly sufficient to allay it. Quiet being at last restored, Petion succeeded in obtaining a decree by which the king was permitted to chuse counsel for his defence.

On the king's return to the Temple, he requested to see his family, but was answered by the officers that they had no orders upon the subject. This request he often renewed in the course of the evening. For a long time no reply was given. He was at length told that he must wait till it was permitted by the convention. That body, four days after, condescended to notice his demand. In the debate which then took place a circumstance occurred strongly shewing the subjection in which this assembly was designed to be held by the Jacobins of Paris. Tallien plainly told his colleagues that they might, if they pleased, pass a decree, but that, unless it met with the approbation of the municipality, it would not be obeyed. This open defiance excited great and merited indignation; yet, such was the influence of the speaker and his partizans, that a vote of censure against him was not obtained without much difficulty. It was finally decreed that the queen and madame Elizabeth should have no communication with the king during the trial; but that he might, if he chose, enjoy the company of his children. The seeming favour granted by a part of this decree was clogged with a condition which, it was well known, would render it of no effect. If the dauphin and his sister remained with the king, they were strictly forbidden to see either their mother or their aunt. This unfeeling restriction produced the effect which it was manifestly intended to have; for Lewis, knowing how much the queen would be affected by the sacrifice she must make, refused to avail himself of the permission granted by this illusory decree.

The convention had no sooner passed the law, which authorized the king to chuse persons for his defence, than the commune, faithful to its system of insult Dec. 12. and cruelty, issued an order, which, in its profligate iniquity, far outrun all those by which it had been preceded. It consisted of four articles. By the first, the king's separation from his family was reaffirmed. The remaining three commanded, that the king's counsel, after being strictly searched, "even to the most secret places," should put on fresh clothes, under the inspection of the commissioners; should then be shut up in the Temple till the trial was at an end, and finally, should take an oath not to divulge whatever they had heard. The convention was invited, in the name of public quiet, to approve these "measures of general safety" as they were impudently and falsely called. The convention, however, did not treat them as favourably as they had certainly been expected to do. Some were shocked at their atrocity, and others

others were fearful that such wanton barbarity would only tend to inspire the commiseration of the people towards the king. The order was, therefore, almost universally reprobated. Only two members, seconded by the spectators, had the hardiness to speak in its defence. But the cannibal vociferations of the galleries, for so they were justly called by one of the deputies, were this time without effect. It was resolved by the convention that a former decree, allowing the king to communicate freely with his counsel, should remain in force: but no formal censure was passed upon this order, which had been issued by the commune in open violation of that very decree.

The friends of the king were, during this time, not idle. As soon as it was known that the convention intended bringing him to trial, M. M. Cazales, Narbonne, Malouet, and Lally Tolendal, with a courage that was highly honourable to them, demanded passports, that they might appear at the bar as the defenders of their sovereign. This demand was not granted. The two latter gentlemen, however, published, and widely distributed, their intended pleadings in the king's favour. The same step was also taken by M. Neckar. M. Aubier, a person much beloved by Lewis, was not behindhand in intrepidity with those already mentioned. He quitted an asylum which he had found in the Palatinate, and, going to the advanced posts of Dumourier's army, desired to be taken before the convention, as a prisoner, that he might there make an important declaration. As his evidence would have disclosed a circumstance unfavourable to M. Petion, his appearance was not permitted by the ministers, to whom intelligence had been sent of the demand. The king, too, hearing of his design, forwarded a message through his counsel, strongly conjuring him not to expose himself to such imminent and fruitless danger. Nor was M. Bertrand, who had taken refuge in England, wanting in activity on the present occasion. Under cover to Garat, the minister of justice, he enclosed several papers, of great consequence for the justification of the king. At the same time he wrote a letter to Danton, which was designed to intimidate him from taking a part in the trial, by threatening him with the publication of an account which proved him to have received large sums of money, from the court, at different times. Two days afterwards, Danton procured a mission to the northern army, whence he did not return till the day before sentence was passed upon the king. Finding that the documents which he had transmitted to M. Garat, had, in the first instance, been totally withheld from the counsel, and at last only in part communicated, M. Bertrand published an address to the president of the convention, in which this suppression of evidence was animadverted upon with a just and pointed severity. Dec. 13.

M. M. Target and Tronchet were the persons chosen by the king to undertake the honourable office of his advocates. They were immediately apprized of the choice which had fallen on them. The former, with a meanness of spirit which has given his name to eternal infamy, refused, in a letter, affectedly signed "the republican Target," to take a share in the task; the latter, though

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at that moment of sentiments unfavourable to the king, accepted it without hesitation. The doubts of M. Tronchet, as to the rectitude of Lewis's conduct, were soon dispelled, and he became one of his warmest friends. When the refusal of M. Target to act was made known, several persons* rushed forward to offer their services. But they had all been anticipated by M. de Malesherbes, once a minister of the king, and now in his seventy-second year; who, as early as the 11th had written a letter to the convention, intreating that, if counsel were granted, the king might be informed of his readiness to devote himself to that important charge. This offer was made known to his majesty, and accepted with unfeigned pleasure. M. Deseze was afterward allowed by the convention to assist M. M. de Malesherbes and Tronchet.

The first interview between the king and his venerable de-
Dec. 14. fender was truly affecting. The king, when M. de Malesherbes entered, was seated at a little table, reading a volume of Tacitus. He instantly rose, and clasped him in his arms. "This sacrifice of your-"self," said he, "is the more gene-"rous, as you have hereby exposed "your own life, and will not be able "to save mine." A prediction which subsequent events but too fatally verified. M. de Malesherbes having said that the innocence of the king was so manifest that no danger ought to be apprehended by him, he replied, "I am sure of it, they will "destroy me; they possess both the "power and the inclination to do it; "however, let us proceed to the de-"fence as if I were to gain my "cause; and in effect I *shall* gain "it, for my memory will be un-"sullied."

The 26th had been definitively settled for hearing the king's defence, yet the necessary documents had not been delivered to his counsel, who were obliged to write an urgent letter to obtain them. Next day they were brought
Dec. 16. to the Temple by a commission consisting of four deputies. They were one hundred and seven in number, and were separately presented to the king, who was asked if he had any knowledge of them. The examination of them lasted from four o'clock till midnight. Fifty-one other papers were, in a few days, brought by the same commission.

A portion of each day was spent by the king and his counsel in drawing up the defence. In this occupation the king was not less active

* The names of these persons deserve to be recorded; they were as follows: Sourdat, a citizen of Troyes; Menil-Durant, adjutant general; Huet de Guerville, late advocate of the parliament of Normandy; and Guillaume, late advocate of the council, and member of the constituent assembly. Sourdat boldly declared his conviction of the king's innocence; and Guillaume, with no less boldness, demanded that the trial of the king should be referred to one or two tribunals, and that the votes on the decision should be taken by a private scrutiny. Nor did even the softer sex shrink from the duty which there was now an opportunity of performing. A lady, named Olympia Desgouges, avowing herself to be a thorough republican, addressed to the convention a letter, of mingled vanity and courage, in which she desired permission to assist the aged Malesherbes; and, at the same time, branded, in terms of great asperity, the cowardice of Target.

than

than his assistants. He analysed various parts, pointed out many necessary additions, and refuted such heads of the accusation as were unjust, with a force and calmness that astonished even his advocates. Resolving that his acquittal, if it were obtained, should only be obtained by a conviction of his innocence, he steadily refused to admit into his defence any thing which appeared like an appeal to the passions. M. Deseze having composed an exordium of the most pathetic kind, the king, on its being read to him, immediately said, "We must suppress this; I do "not wish to soften them." There was perhaps, in this resolution, more of magnanimity than prudence.

In the convention, the insolence of the galleries was risen to such a height, as entirely to destroy all freedom of discussion. Hired ruffians were constantly seated there, who, by clamours and menaces, intimidated the less courageous members from any expression of their sentiments. A grievance of such magnitude loudly called for an immediate remedy. Accordingly, three days after the king had been heard at the bar, Manuel, with considerable dexterity and spirit, brought forward a motion which struck directly at the root of the evil. Grounding his proposition on the circumstance of many citizens being excluded from the galleries, by their not having time to waste in waiting till the doors were opened, he demanded a decree, which, in effect, would have operated to the exclusion of a great part of the present riotous mob, whose places would have been filled by such persons as were really citizens. But, in spite of the care he had taken to disguise his meaning, the sharp-sighted Jacobins instantly perceived that the blow was, in reality, aimed only at them. After a violent debate, carried on amidst the uproar of the spectators, the question was put to the vote. Manuel was on this occasion deserted, most probably from personal fears, by many of his own party; and lost not only his motion, but also the little popularity which he had till this time retained.

Alarmed at the signs of pity toward the king, which were frequently shewn in the capital, Santerre wrote a Dec. 16. letter to the convention, complaining of the insolence of the royalists. This letter was followed up by Thuriot, with a motion, partly levelled at the Girondists, demanding that the punishment of death should be decreed against "whoever proposed "to break the unity of the republic, "or to detach any part of it, in "order to unite it to a foreign "country." The decree was carried. Nor were the Girondists, on their part, backward in retorting upon their adversaries. They immediately seized the opportunity of attempting to diminish the power of the Jacobins, by depriving them of the assistance which they derived from the money lavished by Orleans. To accomplish this end, Buzot moved the expulsion from the French territory, of the whole family of the Bourbons, with the exception of those detained in the Temple. He was supported by Louvet, Lanjuinais, and others. A long debate took place on the subject; in the course of which the Jacobins loudly insisted upon the removal of Roland, and the formation of a new ministry. The triumph of the Girondists, in this sitting, was rather apparent than real. A decree was, indeed.

indeed, obtained againſt the members of the Bourbon family; but Orleans, the principal object, was not included in it. His quality of repreſentative of the people was urged by his partizans, and the deciſion upon the validity of this objection was poſtponed for two days. But, diminiſhed as the influence and the treaſures of this unworthy intriguer now were, they were ſtill of too much importance to be relinquiſhed without a ſtruggle. The Jacobins returned to the charge on the day appointed; and their victory was complete. The decree was ſuſpended, and all conſideration of the buſineſs adjourned till after ſentence had been paſſed upon the king.

The king during this time ſtill preſerved his uſual equanimity, and behaved to all around him with unaltered kindneſs. He uttered neither complaints nor murmurs. Separated from his family, he would no longer allow himſelf thoſe pleaſures he had been accuſtomed to enjoy in company of them. His walks in the garden were diſcontinued: it was the preſence of his family, he ſaid, that had made them agreeable to him. He found means, however, through the contrivance of Clery, to carry on a correſpondence with the queen and madame Elizabeth, which, in ſome ſmall degree, made up for their abſence. A circumſtance about this period occurred, which ſhews the benevolence of his heart. Hearing that a poor ſervant in the Temple, the father of a family, was in great diſtreſs, from having been robbed of all his wages, amounting to 200 livres, the king ordered Clery to give him the ſum he had loſt, with a ſtrict charge not to attempt to thank him, as the attempt might lead to his own deſtruction.

The day appointed for the king to make his appearance at the bar of the convention was at hand. Since the time when the royal family had been deprived of all ſharp inſtruments, he had not been ſhaved. Clery was, therefore, deſired by his maſter to obtain, as for himſelf, a razor or a pair of ſciſſors. He took the liberty of ſuggeſting to the king, that if he would appear before the aſſembly in his preſent ſtate, the people would ſee with what barbarity he had been treated. "It "does not become me," anſwered Lewis, "to take ſteps for exciting "commiſeration." Next day the commune reſolved that the razors ſhould be returned; but that the king ſhould only uſe them in preſence of two officers.

On Chriſtmas day his majeſty wrote his will *. This intereſting paper is drawn up in a manly, unaffected ſtyle, and breathes a ſpirit of piety, forgiveneſs, and reſignation, equally honourable to his head and his heart.

At nine the following morning the mayor, attended by ſeveral officers, arrived for the purpoſe of conveying Lewis to the bar of the convention. The ſame precautions were taken as on a former day. The morning was tempeſtuous and

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 146*. M. de Chamilly, one of the perſons mentioned in the will, retired, after the king's murder, to an eſtate near Lyons. Here he was afterwards arreſted and dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, which ſentenced him to death, under pretence of his being the author or editor of the king's will!

rainy,

rainy, but he could not obtain the favour of having the ſhutters of the coach windows cloſed. It was pretended that to cloſe them would give riſe to the ſuſpicions of the people. During the paſſage the behaviour of the king was perfectly unembarraſſed. A converſation being entered into upon literary ſubjects, and particularly upon Latin authors, he delivered his opinions with a juſtneſs and facility which was admired even by his enemies. Of hiſtorians, he preferred Tacitus to Livy. The latter he cenſured for having put into the mouths of many of his characters long harangues, which never could have been ſpoken under the alleged circumſtances. On his arrival at the hall he converſed privately with his counſel for a few minutes.

In entering the convention that morning, thoſe deputies who were ſuſpected of entertaining intentions favourable to the king, were inſulted and threatened by the mob, which ſurrounded the hall. On their entrance they found all the galleries filled, in direct violation of a law, paſſed the preceding evening, which directed that no perſon ſhould have admittance till a certain hour. Theſe choſen troops had made ſure of their poſts by remaining in them the whole night. Manuel moved to turn them out, and admit others. But this would have diſarranged all the plans of the Jacobins. It was of courſe furiouſly oppoſed, both by them and their friends in the galleries. A diviſion being called for the Jacobins were triumphant.

The preſident was ſoon after informed, by general Berruyer, of the king's arrival. His majeſty then entered, with the mayor, Santerre, and other officers. "Lewis," ſaid the preſident, "the national convention "has ordered that you ſhould be "heard to-day: you may preſent "your defence, and take a ſeat."

M. Deſeze immediately began reading the defence *. It was long, argumentative, and, in ſome parts, eloquent. In his exordium, he ſlightly touched upon the ſtrict impartiality which he flattered himſelf would be obſerved; the misfortunes and innocence of his client; and the deſire which was felt by Lewis to make the continued purity of his actions clearly manifeſt to the whole French nation. Lamenting the ſhort ſpace of time which had been allowed them to arrange and combine the numerous materials for a taſk of ſo much importance, he ſupplicated the convention to be, in ſome meaſure, by its juſtice, the partner and aſſiſtant of their labours. This fruitleſs ſupplication was made, perhaps, more from policy than hope. In a ſhort, but bold ſentence, he obliquely denied the power of his hearers to proceed to the trial as judges; but he added, that as Lewis conceived himſelf to be addreſſing the people, he had too much at heart the wiſh of doing away all ſuſpicions againſt him, not to impoſe upon his counſel, as a duty, that ample diſcuſſion of the charges which would otherwiſe have been unneceſſary.

His ſubject he divided into two heads. Under the firſt, he conſidered the principles relative to the inviolability ordained by the conſtitution; the ſecond was devoted to a refutation of the various arti-

* See the trial of the king, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 102*.

cles brought forward in the act of accusation.

On the first of these divisions it might have appeared superfluous for the orator to argue at any length. The inviolability of the sovereign was established in such clear and precise terms, by the constitution of 1791, that, had not the convention stubbornly resolved to set at defiance all the principles of justice, this alone would have sufficed to prevent the king from being brought to trial, even had he been guilty of all the crimes imputed to him by his most inveterate enemies. Here at least that constitution, in many parts confused and contradictory, bore a meaning which admitted of no misconstruction. The punishment destined to the highest act of culpability which the monarch could commit, was limited to deposition. But clear as the law and the principle of inviolability undoubtedly were, M. Deseze, knowing that both had been chicaned upon, thought it proper to enter into a long examination and defence of the principle itself, and a full exposition of the law which had been enacted in consequence of it. He proved, if so self-evident a proposition may be said to admit of proof, that neither as a sovereign, nor as a citizen, was Lewis amenable to any tribunal whatever for his past conduct. Their power, he emphatically told them, was now above every other, but it could not give them the right of being unjust.

Passing from this division of his subject, M. Deseze proceeded to a consideration of the articles urged against the king in the act of accusation. These also he arranged under two heads: such as were previous to the acceptance of the constitution by Lewis; and such as were subsequent to that event.

Of the first class he took a rapid, but satisfactory, review; and exposed, which, indeed, was a task of no great difficulty, the futility or the injustice of every charge which was brought forward. To the numerous sacrifices made by the dethroned monarch, to the beneficence of his intentions, and the patriotism of his conduct, he paid a just and spirited tribute of acknowledgment. The manner in which the papers produced against the king had been obtained, the neglect to authenticate them, and the little care which had been taken to prevent them from being falsified or garbled, did not escape his forcible animadversions. But even allowing, in the full extent, their authenticity, and the criminal intentions which they were supposed to discover, he contended, and with truth, that the king's acceptance of the constitution, and the confidence then reposed in him by the nation, stood effectually in bar of any enquiry into events which had previously taken place, and which were completely done away by this new compact between Louis and the people.

The next division was also broken into two sections by M. Deseze. The first referred to acts for which the ministers alone were responsible, the second to such as personally concerned the king.

On the subject of the first he very justly observed, that his majesty was under no obligation to give any reply, as the law had wholly exonerated him, by making the ministers, and only the ministers, answerable for the faults committed during their stay in office. So groundless, however, were the charges, that M. Deseze

Deſeze conſented to impoſe on himſelf the gratuitous taſk of refuting them. This taſk he ſucceſsfully performed, and, in the performance of it, took occaſion to mention M. M. Deleſſert and Bertrand in a manner aſſuredly not the moſt pleaſing to his auditors.

Adverting once more to the difficulties which they had been compelled to encounter, M. Deſeze entered upon the concluding part of the defence. Among other articles of leſs weight, in this part of the impeachment, the refuſal of the king to ſanction the decrees relative to the prieſts and the camp of Paris; his retention of his guards after the aſſembly had ordered them to be diſbanded; his alleged ſuccours to the emigrants; his correſpondence with the exiled princes; his counter revolutionary projects; and his continued payment of the body-guards who had emigrated to Coblentz; stood foremoſt, and were thoſe which had been moſt relied on to excite general indignation againſt the depoſed monarch. Every article, even the moſt trivial, received from M. Deſeze a full and ſatisfactory anſwer. But here again he found himſelf impelled by his feelings to animadvert, in meaſured yet ſevere terms, upon the ſcandalous want of honeſty which had been diſplayed in ſuppreſſing every paper that would have tended to juſtify the king, while every one of thoſe which appeared to fix even the ſhadow of a crime on him was carefully preſerved, and brought forward with the moſt aſſiduous attention. Rapidly retracing the events of the 10th of Auguſt, and the days immediately preceding, he demonſtrated that the meaſures taken by the king were merely of a defenſive nature; and he expoſed, at the ſame time, in language as ſtrong, perhaps, as prudence would allow, the abſurd iniquity of thoſe who joined in treating Lewis as the aggreſſor on that day, after they had, even in the very hall where they now ſat, taken merit to themſelves for being the authors of the inſurrection.

M. Deſeze now cloſed his ſpeech. In concluding, he appealed to the juſtice and generoſity of the French, and, ſuccinctly enumerating the benefits * which Lewis had beſtowed on his people, forcibly reminded the convention that hiſtory would judge its deciſion, and that the judgment of hiſtory would be that of future ages.

This diſcourſe, though not without great merit, was perhaps of too reaſoning and unimpaſſioned a nature to produce any effect upon men who had previouſly determined to ſhut their ears againſt conviction, and who, if they were to be moved at all, could only be moved by ſuch a ſudden and enthuſiaſtic impulſe as ſometimes has been inſpired by glowing and impetuous eloquence. But this defect ſhould not be attributed to M. Deſezé, whoſe talents were undoubted, and whoſe generoſity and ſpirit command applauſe, but rather to that ſtubborn reſolution of the king, which has already been no-

* M. Deſeze having ſaid in this part of his ſpeech "the people wiſhed for liberty, he gave it them;" the hired ruffians in the galleries expreſſed their diſprobation by loud murmurs. Three or four deputies are, on the other hand, ſaid, by a Jacobin officer of the commune, to have given ſigns of applauſe in this inſtance, by gently clapping their hands.

tioed, not to admit any thing in his defence which might ſeem deſigned to intereſt the feelings of his accuſers.

When his counſel had concluded, the king roſe, and, in a voice expreſſive at once of firmneſs and ſenſibility, addreſſed the convention. His ſpeech was conciſe, but affecting. Speaking to them, perhaps, as he prophetically ſaid, for the laſt time, he aſſerted the truth of what had been urged in his behalf, and the purity of his intentions; and, ſhocked at the charge of having wiſhed to ſhed blood, declared that he had indulged a hope that the multiplied proofs he had given of his love for the people would have been ſufficient to ſhield him from ſo painful an imputation. The preſident of the convention then aſked if he had any thing further to add. The king having replied in the negative, was ordered to retire.

In his paſſage back to the Temple, he diſplayed the ſame ſerenity as in the morning. The converſation turned on a variety of ſubjects, in all which he took a part without the leaſt embarraſſment. This unſhaken tranquillity, derived from innocence and religion, was attributed by ſome of his malignant enemies to fanaticiſm, and by others to a weakneſs of intellect. What they were themſelves incapable of feeling, it was certainly natural they ſhould be unable to comprehend.

After the departure of the king from the convention, a moſt ſcandalous ſcene of diſorder and uproar took place. Manuel having moved that the defence juſt heard ſhould be printed and ſent to the eighty-four departments, and the diſcuſſion upon it adjourned till after its diſtribution, the ferocious Duhem preſſed the aſſembly to paſs an inſtant deciſion on the fate of the king, and to de lay the publication of his defenc till after he had been executed This brutal propoſition was warml combated by Lanjuinais, who ha even the courage to demand tha the decree, by which the conventio conſtituted itſelf the judge of Lewi ſhould be reſcinded, and that th whole affair ſhould be ſubmitted t the people, convened in their pri mary aſſemblies. "The conſpira "tors of the immortal 10th "Auguſt ought not," he told them "to ſit as the judges of Lewis. This juſt and reaſonable opinio excited the moſt unbounded indig nation. Nothing was heard bu cries, menaces, and execrations. T put an end to this diſgraceful ſcen an adjournment was moved by ſ veral members; but, before the pr ſident, Fermont, could put the que tion, more than fifty of the Jacobi party ruſhed into the midſt of th hall, and poured forth a torrent abuſe upon him, at the ſame tim threatening his perſon. They we applauded by their worthy comp triots, the ſpectators in the gall ries. With much difficulty the t mult was appeaſed. It was the decreed, on the ſuggeſtion of Co thon, that the diſcuſſion on the kin ſhould be immediately commence and continued without interruptio The calm which had juſt been r ſtored, was, however, of ſhort dur tion. A ſpeech of Petion havi given offence to the Jacobins, was loaded with inſult by them, a had the mortification to find t galleries, whoſe inſolence to ſovereign he had ſo often prompte join in the clamours againſt hi "No king—Petion!" "We w "not take Petion's opium," claim

claimed the Jacobins; and this exclamation was applauded by Petion's former partizans, the ſpectators. Irritated, beyond endurance, at this daring and inſolent conduct, the majority of the Gironde party ſtarted from their ſeats, and hurried towards their antagoniſts. A ſcuffle took place, and blows were exchanged. A period would moſt probably have been put to the crimes of ſome of the deputies, had not the preſident once more ſucceeded in bringing back the aſſembly to order. It was at length decided, after a violent ſtruggle between the two parties, that the king's juſtification ſhould be printed. Manuel, for having moved the queſtion of adjournment, was that evening expelled from the Jacobin ſociety.

Connected as the court of Spain was with that of France, both by the ties of blood and alliance, it felt itſelf imperiouſly called upon to make ſome effort in favour of the unfortunate Lewis Accordingly, on the evening of the day on which the king was heard at the bar of the convention, the Chevalier Ocariz, the Spaniſh chargé des affaires at Paris, preſented a note* upon the ſubject to M. le Brun, the miniſter for foreign affairs. The opportunity, which then occurred, was moſt probably deemed a fortunate one, though, in the event, it proved otherwiſe. Fears had, for a conſiderable time, been entertained by France, of the hoſtile intentions of Spain, and a negociation for a reciprocal diſarming had been, in conſequence, carried on for more than three months. The king of Spain hoping, by this favour, to ſerve the cauſe of his royal relative, now forwarded a declaration, in which he promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. It was by this declaration that the letter interceding for Lewis the XVIth was accompanied. The letter itſelf was diſtinguiſhed by a moderation almoſt unexampled. Indulging in no attacks upon the perſons or means by which the king had been deprived of his throne, animadverting upon none of the atrocities which had taken place in France, and formally diſclaiming all wiſh to interfere in its form of government, the letter only implored, as well in the name of their own intereſts as in that of juſtice, thoſe who now ruled, to treat the fallen ſovereign with generoſity, and to allow him the power of ſeeking an aſylum in ſome foreign country. When this letter was communicated to the convention, by the miniſter, it excited in both parties the warmeſt indignation. After many inſolent remarks, from various ſpeakers, the aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

Some attempts were alſo made in favour of the king by Dumourier, who had viſited Paris, to arrange the plan of the approaching campaign. He applied to the Jacobins as well as to the Girondiſts, and flattered the heads of each party with the hope, that by exerciſing their clemency they would ultimately reap the greateſt advantages. But his propoſitions were heard with fear, apathy, or indignation, and had no other effect than to raiſe ſuſpicions of his fidelity in the minds of thoſe to whom they were made.

The ſubſequent debates which took place on the fate of the king, when the opinion of each member

* See State Papers, p. 318.

was delivered from the tribune, were long and ſtormy. They were continued for ſeveral days, Many of the Gironde party now perceived that the fall of Lewis would only be the forerunner of their own. The increaſing audacity of their adverſaries, their own declining popularity, the ſtate of bondage in which the convention was held by the dregs of Paris, and the threats ſo repeatedly thrown out againſt themſelves, inſpired them with great and well-grounded terror. They reſolved therefore, at leaſt to make one effort to ſave, from the deſtiny which awaited him, that monarch who had been plunged into his preſent calamitous ſtate by their own criminal machinations. By accompliſhing this purpoſe, they perhaps hoped to rally round them a party ſufficiently ſtrong to enable them to contend with their more daring and more conſiſtent antagoniſts. In purſuance of the reſolution thus formed, M. Salles, in delivering his opinion, moved to reſerve to the king the right of appealing to the people, from the judgment of the national convention. He was ſupported with great energy, by M. M. Rabaut St. Etienne, Lanjuinais, and many others of the ſame faction. The inviolability of the king, it was ſaid, had been conferred by the people, and by the people only could it be taken away. The influence too of fear and hope was alternately employed to determine the aſſembly to follow a mode of conduct which was dictated to it not leſs by convenience than by law and humanity. The ſpeech of M. Vergniaud, in particular, was conſpicuous for its animated and impreſſive eloquence. But this act of tardy and compelled juſtice came too late. Its only effect was to accelerate the ruin of thoſe who had reſorted to it. The appeal to the people was reſiſted, with the utmoſt vehemence, by Robeſpierre and thoſe of the ſame faction; and in this reſiſtance, they were encouraged by the Jacobins in the galleries, who hiſſed, hooted, and covered with execrations, all the members of ſentiments differing from their own. Diſcouraged by their fruitleſs efforts, and alarmed at the ferocity of their opponents, the Girondiſts finally gave up the conteſt. The nominal appeal, on the king's ſentence, was fixed for the 14th of January. The whole of that day, however, was ſpent in virulent diſputes upon the form in which the queſtions put to each member ſhould be arranged. This point, which was of great importance to the king, was decided in a manner highly unfavourable to his ſafety.

In the mode adopted, the queſtions were put in the following order; Is Lewis guilty? Shall the judgment be ſubmitted to the people? What puniſhment ſhall be inflicted? By this artful arrangement, many members who, although they diſliked the meaſure, would otherwiſe have voted for a reference to the people, now voted in the negative, upon the weak preſumption that the ſentence of death would not be carried.

To ſecure the death of the king, it was next declared, in contempt of the penal code, which required for condemnation a majority of two thirds, that an abſolute majority ſhould be ſufficient in this, as in all other queſtions debated by the convention. Lewis after being ſtripped of the privileges attached to him as a king, was thus, by this iniquitous decree, robbed of that protection which the law had given to the meaneſt of his ſubjects. Ruffians, armed with

with poignards, were alſo poſted round the hall, who threatened to aſſaſſinate any perſon who ſhould vote againſt his death.

The fatal appeal was commenced on the fifteenth, and continued till late in the evening of the following day. On the firſt queſtion, the anſwers were uniformly in the affirmative. Some few members gave their votes with a reſtriction, that the ſentence ſhould receive the fiat of the people; and eight, denying their right to ſit as judges, refuſed to vote; but not one man had the boldneſs to aſſert the innocence of his ſovereign. For the appeal to the primary aſſemblies, only two hundred and eighty-three votes were given; it was, therefore, negatived. The third, and moſt momentous of the queſtions, was next to be decided. In giving their votes a great part of the deputies thought proper to ſpecify the reaſons which had influenced their deciſion.

The infamous Orleans, in each of the appeals, gave his voice againſt the king. His conduct on the firſt and ſecond article, drew upon him the indignant reprobation of ſeveral deputies; but when he declared for death, a general ſentiment of indignation was manifeſted, and many exclaimed, "Oh! the monſter." The behaviour of M. Duchatel, * one of the repreſentatives for the department of Deux Sevres, was truly honourable to him. He had, for ſome time, been confined to his bed by illneſs, but he now haſtened to make the only effort in his power in favour of Lewis. He was ſupported into the hall in his night-gown and cap; and gave his vote for baniſhment. As he arrived after all the opinions had been given, the Jacobins ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his admiſſion, and treated him with the utmoſt inſolence of language; but they were, at laſt, overruled.

On the termination of the ſcrutiny, two letters were announced to the convention; one of them was from the counſel of Lewis, demanding to be heard; and the other, a ſecond interceſſion in the name of the king of Spain, for his unfortunate relation. All deliberation on the firſt was ſuſpended till the reſult of the ſcrutiny was known. The ſecond was got rid of by the order of the day.

The reſult of the votes on the third queſtion was, after much altercation, made known. On caſting up the numbers, it was found that, of ſeven hundred and twenty-one ſuffrages given, 34 were for death, with various reſtrictions; 2 for impriſonment in chains; 319 for baniſhment or confinement; and 366 for death. The majority for the latter puniſhment was eleven. It was the middle of the night when the preſident roſe and declared that the penalty decreed againſt Lewis Capet was that of death. The ſilence which had taken place while he promulgated the deciſion, remained unbroken for a conſiderable time after it had been declared.

The counſel of Lewis were now ſuffered to appear. M. de Maleſherbes read a note, appealing to the people, which, in contemplation of the event that had now happened, the king had previouſly committed to his charge. The demand made in it was ſupported with the ſtrongeſt

* It is painful to relate that, after the final defeat of the Girondiſts on the 2d of June, Duchatel fell a victim to the humanity which he had ſhewn on the preſent occaſion.

and moſt convincing arguments, and enforced in the moſt perſuaſive eloquence, by M. M. Deſeze and Tronchet. The venerable Maleſherbes alſo, with trembling ſteps, advanced to the bar, and implored the convention to allow him but till the next day to draw up ſome important remarks on the ſubject. His ſhort ſpeech was frequently broken by his ſighs and tears. The convention, however, was loſt to all ſentiments of humanity. The king's demand was refuſed.

The painful taſk of firſt announcing to his majeſty the ſentence which had been paſſed fell to the lot of M. de Maleſherbes. As he entered the apartments Lewis roſe to receive him. In all the anguiſh of grief his aged defender threw himſelf at his feet. The king raiſed and preſſed him to his boſom. For ſome moments his voice, ſtifled by ſobs, was incapable of imparting the dreadful intelligence. "'Tis well, 'tis well, "my dear Maleſherbes," ſaid the monarch, who anticipated what he had to ſay; "inſtead of lamenting, "ſhould you not rather wiſh me the "only aſylum I have left?" "O, "Sire!" at length exclaimed Maleſherbes, "your fatal ſentence is "decreed!" "I all along expected "it," replied Lewis, with unſhaken ſerenity: "In God's name, dear "Maleſherbes, do not weep; we "ſhall meet in a happier world." He then tried to divert the ſorrow of his friend by alluding to a popular tradition of a ſpectre, which was ſuppoſed to foretel the death of any member of the Bourbon family; but his endeavours had only a contrary effect. They then retired to the king's cloſet, where they remained in converſation about an hour. M. de Maleſherbes having informed the king, that he had been ſtopped, on leaving the hall of the convention, by ſome perſons, who had told him that the ſentence ſhould not be put in execution, while they or any of their friends remained alive, Lewis changed countenance, and deſired him, if he could find thoſe perſons, to tell them, that if a drop of blood were ſhed in his behalf, he would never pardon them. "I did not," he added, "wiſh blood "to flow, when perhaps it might "have ſaved my throne and my life; "nor do I now repent it." At parting, the king deſired M. de Maleſherbes to return early in the evening, and not to forſake him in his laſt moments. The commune, however, did not ſuffer him to ſee his majeſty any more.

But, though death had no terrors for the king, the uncertain fate of his family, the miſery of thoſe who had been dependent upon him for ſupport, and the ingratitude of his ſubjects, had ſtill power to wring his heart. Theſe feelings he affectingly expreſſed to Clery. "I can-"not, without ſhuddering," ſaid he, "contemplate the cruel lot which "I leave behind me, to my family, "to the queen, to our unfortunate "children, and thoſe faithful ſer-"vants who have never abandoned "me; and thoſe old men, whoſe "ſubſiſtence depended upon the "little penſions I allowed them! "Who will ſuccour and protect "them!" Then, with that prophetic ſpirit which has been often imagined to inſpire thoſe who ſtand on the verge of exiſtence, he added, "I ſee the people, delivered over to "anarchy, become the victims of "every faction; crimes ſucceed "crimes, and long diſſentions tear "France in pieces." He paſſed

for

for a moment. "Oh! my God!" exclaimed he, "is this the reward I "must receive for all my sacrifices? "Have I not tried every thing to "ensure the happiness of the French "people?"

At two o'clock on Sunday, the doors were suddenly thrown open, and Garat, the minister of justice, with Le Brun, Grouvelle, Santerre, and many other civil and military officers, entered. The king rose to meet them; but, seeing them advance, he stood still, in a noble and commanding attitude. Garat, his hat on his head, but with a disturbed countenance, informed his majesty they were come to make known to him the will of the convention. The secretary, Grouvelle, with a tremulous voice, then read the decree which condemned him to suffer death in twenty-four hours. The king heard it without shewing any emotions of fear. At the charge of "conspiracy," in the first article, he smiled indignantly; but when the words "shall "suffer the punishment of death" were pronounced, the expression which his face assumed, as he looked on those around him, was almost angelic. Even the miscreant Hebert, who was present, felt a momentary tenderness, and shed tears, in spite of all his efforts to repress them. Fire was, he afterwards confessed, nothing in the look and manner of the royal victim, evidently supernatural. When Grouvelle had finished reading the decree, the king took it from him, and placed it in his pocket-book, whence he drew a paper which he presented to Garat, desiring it might be laid before the convention. Garat hesitating, Lewis, with a firm voice, read it to him. In his paper he demanded a delay of three days to prepare himself for appearing before God; the assistance and consolation of a priest; permission to see his family privately; and an exemption, for the little time he had to live, from the oppressive vigilance of the municipal officers. He took the opportunity also of recommending, to the bounty of the nation, those who had no support but the pensions allowed by him, and of intreating that the convention would permit his family to retire whereseever they thought proper. Having heard it read, Garat promised to deliver the letter. As the minister was leaving the room, the king took from his pocket-book another paper, containing the name and address of M. Edgeworth de Fermont, who was chosen by him for his confessor, and to whom he requested a message might be sent. This loyal and respectable ecclesiastic had, a considerable time before, been apprized, by M. Malesherbes, of the king's desire to avail himself of his services, whenever the present awful occasion should arrive.

Jan. 20.

At six in the evening, Garat returned to inform his majesty that the delay of three days was refused, but that the other requests had been favourably received. In the carriage, with him, he brought M. Edgeworth, who, on his arrival at the Temple, was obliged to stop below, for the purpose of undergoing a long and brutal search. When it was ended he went up to his majesty, who, as soon as he saw him enter, desired to be left alone with him. He was obeyed. A long conversation ensued, in which the benevolence, piety, and fortitude of Lewis were strongly manifested.

The severest of his trials was yet to come, in the last meeting with his family.

family. This was, indeed, tasting all the bitterness of death.

The agonies of this dreadful interview, which lasted an hour and three quarters, maybe conceived, but never can be decribed. The queen, the princess royal, and madame Elizabeth, hung on the king, pressed him to their bosoms, and bathed him with their tears. The dauphin stood between his knees. The conversation was carried on in a low voice:—the officers who were placed to watch, outside the glass doors of the apartment, could, therefore, hear nothing but the groans of anguish and the cries of despair which were uttered by the queen and the princesses.

The words of the faithful Clery will best give an idea of the fatal parting. "At a quarter past ten, "the king rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The "queen held the king by his right "arm: Their majesties gave each "a hand to the dauphin. Madame "Royale, on the king's left, had "her arms round his body; and, "behind her, madame Elizabeth, "on the same side, had taken his "arm. They advanced some steps "towards the entry-door, breaking "out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you,' said the "king, 'that I will see you again "to-morrow morning, at eight "o'clock.'—'You promise?' said "they all together.—'Yes I pro-"mise.'—'Why not at seven "o'clock?' said the queen.—"Well! yes, at seven,' replied "the king; 'farewell.' He pro-"nounced 'farewell' in so im-"pressive a manner, that their sobs "were renewed, and madame Royale "fainted at the feet of the king, "round whom she had clung. I "raised her, and assisted madame "Elizabeth to support her. The "king, willing to put an end to this "agonizing scene, once more em-"braced them all most tenderly, "and had the resolution to tear "himself from their arms. 'Fare-"well, farewell!' said he, and "went into his chamber. The "queen, princesses, and dauphin, "returned to their own apartments. "I attempted to continue supporting madame Royale, but the mu-"nicipal officers stopt me before I "had gone up two steps and com-"pelled me to go in. Though both "the doors were shut, the screams "and lamentations of the queen and "princesses were heard for some "time on the stairs."

When the king returned to his own room, his emotion was indescribable. "Why," said he to the abbé, when he had a little recovered himself, "why do I love with "so much tenderness, and where-"fore am I so tenderly beloved? "But the painful sacrifice is over. "Let me now turn my thoughts to "the care of my salvation alone." After a few minutes of silent meditation, broken by sighs and tears, he grew more composed, and converse with wonderful force and propriety on the great truths of religion.

A slight repast was, during the time, prepared by Clery, who, with tears in his eyes, intreated his master to partake of it. To oblige him the king eat a few mouthfuls. After supper was over, M. Edgeworth descended, for the purpose of intreating the council to procure the articles necessary for the service of the mass, and the administration of the sacrament. He was brutally told by one of the members, that there were instances on record of a priest having mixed poison with the consecrate

ſecrated bread. To this inſulting ſpeech he only replied, that they had ſearched him ſufficiently to ſatisfy themſelves that he had no poiſon about him, and that, as they would themſelves procure the hoſt, the blame would not be imputable to him if it ſhould prove to be poiſoned. His requeſt was, after ſome deliberation, granted; on condition that the ceremony ſhould be finiſhed before ſeven in the morning.

The king received, with expreſſions of ſatisfaction and gratitude, the intelligence that M. Edgeworth had been ſucceſsful in his requeſt. After ſome time ſpent in prayer, he begun his confeſſion. When it was ended, M. Edgeworth, perceiving him to be almoſt exhauſted by the fatigues and ſufferings of the day, adviſed him to take ſome repoſe. To this he agreed. The king, as Clery drew his curtains, deſired that he might be called at five in the morning. In a few minutes, he ſunk into profound ſlumber.

Paris, during the night, was in a ſtate of mingled ſtupor and conſternation. The cries and imprecations of the Jacobins, and the inceſſant beating of drums, terrified from their houſes a great number of the citizens; while many of thoſe who remained ſought a hiding-place in the moſt obſcure parts of their habitations. The elements alſo added to the horror of the ſcene, for the night was dark and rainy.

The morning, which was to terminate the ſufferings of Lewis the XVIth, at length arrived. It was, like the preceding night, wet and gloomy. None of the ſhops in the capital were opened. Patroles of ill-dreſſed men wandered ſlowly and ſilently through the ſtreets. The countenances of thoſe citizens who ventured abroad were ſtrongly expreſſive of ſorrow; but ſo completely was the dominion of terror eſtabliſhed over Paris, ſo degraded were the inhabitants of that city, that no man had the courage to raiſe his arm, or his voice, in behalf of his unfortunate ſovereign. Indeed it was not to be hoped that thoſe who had ſuffered the maſſacres of September to be carried on, without interruption, for ſeveral days, would now diſplay that virtue and reſolution which would have been neceſſary to ſave, or to periſh with, their monarch. The citizens of Paris were powerleſs in doing every thing but evil; there, indeed, their energy was truly dreadful.

Jan. 21.

As ſoon as daylight appeared, Santerre began his march to the Temple with an armed force, and a powerful artillery. He had gathered round him a body of men whoſe manners were of the moſt ferocious kind, and whoſe very appearance was calculated to inſpire the beholders with diſguſt. This troop received, every moment, a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength from the dregs of Paris, by which it was joined in its progreſs.

The king, meanwhile, had paſſed the night in a tranquillity which could only be enjoyed by conſcious innocence. At five in the morning, having ſlept the whole of the time ſince he went to bed, he was awoke by the noiſe which Clery made in lighting the fire. Hearing that Clery had given up his bed to M. Edgeworth, and ſlept in an arm-chair, he expreſſed his regret at the inconvenience which had been ſuffered by his faithful attendant. The king was then aſſiſted to dreſs.

While

While dreſſing, he took a ſeal from his watch, and the ring from his finger, and put them into his waiſt-coat pocket, after having repeatedly looked at the ring. Having done this, he deſired that M. Edgeworth might attend him. He came, and they retired to one of the turrets.

During the time of their abſence, Clery made the neceſſary arrangements for the performance of thoſe religious duties which ſpeak conſolation and hope to the departing ſoul. While the king remained in private with his confeſſor, he declared, in ſtrong terms, the ſuccour which, in this trying hour, he derived from his religious ſentiments; and his conviction that ſuch ſentiments alone could have given him the fortitude he then poſſeſſed. "I "will ſhew my enemies," added he, "that I know how to die." At ſix the king and his confeſſor returned from the turret. Maſs was then commenced. The king heard it with the moſt devout attention, and afterwards received the communion. When all was finiſhed, he went back to his cloſet.

Clery here ſeized the opportunity of ſpeaking, for the laſt time, unwitneſſed, to his ſovereign. When he entered the cloſet, the king, taking both Clery's hands into his own, expreſſed, in a tender manner, his ſenſe and his approbation of the unſhaken fidelity which Clery had manifeſted. Throwing himſelf at his maſter's feet, the affectionate ſervant, in a broken voice, breathed a hope that the fatal blow would even yet be prevented. "Death," anſwered Lewis, "does not alarm "me; I am quite prepared for it; "but do not you expoſe yourſelf. "I mean to requeſt that you ſhould "remain with my ſon. Take "every care of him in this horrid "abode: bring to his mind, tell "him all the pangs I ſuffered for "the misfortunes entailed upon "him. The day may perhaps "come when he will have it in his "power to reward your zeal." Clery exclaiming, that the deareſt reward he could receive, would be the bleſſing of his ſovereign, the king bleſſed him; then, raiſing him from the ground, he preſſed him to his boſom, and, after charging him to give his bleſſing to all who were in his ſervice, adviſed him to retire, that there might be no room for ſuſpicion againſt him. As Clery was leaving the room, the king called him back to give him a letter of Petion's, which he thought might be of uſe to him; and when Clery, after kiſſing his hand, again took leave, bade him twice "farewell."

In leſs than an hour Lewis returned from his cloſet. Calling Clery aſide, into a receſs of the window, "You will give," ſaid he, "this ſeal to my ſon; this ring to "the queen, and aſſure her that it "is with pain I part with it. This "little packet contains the hair of "all my family; you will give her "that too. Tell the queen, my "dear children, and my ſiſter, that "although I promiſed to ſee them "this morning, I have reſolved to "ſpare them the pangs of ſo cruel "a ſeparation: tell them how much "it coſts me to go without re-"ceiving their embraces once "more." Some tears here dropped from his eyes. He wiped them away, and added mournfully, "I "charge you to bear them my laſt "farewell." He again ſhut himſelf in the turret. Some of the municipal

municipal officers wiſhed to take from Clery the tokens which had been entruſted to him; but it was, at laſt, agreed that they ſhould be left in his hands till the council had decided what ſhould be done with them.

On his return the king requeſted that the officers would obtain a pair of ſciſſars, for the purpoſe of cutting his hair. This requeſt was debated upon by the council for half an hour, and finally refuſed. It was renewed, but with no better ſucceſs. Clery was next ordered to make ready to attend his maſter to the ſcaffold, that he might aſſiſt in undreſſing him. This order was countermanded by another municipal officer, who ferociouſly added, "the common executioner is good "enough for him." The din of arms, and the beating of drums, every moment became louder. At length, about half after eight, the doors were thrown open. Santerre entered, at the head of ten men, and accompanied by ſeven or eight municipal officers. He drew up his ſoldiers in two lines. The king, hearing the noiſe, left the cloſet, and enquired if they came for him. On being anſwered in the affirmative, he ſtepped back. Having ſhut the door of the cloſet, he bent on his kees before his confeſſor, from whom he ſuppoſed he was now to part. "All," ſaid he, "is con-"ſummated: give me your laſt be-"nediction." But M. Edgeworth expreſſing his reſolution to attend him to the ſcaffold, the king was no leſs ſurpriſed than gratified. They now returned to thoſe who were waiting. In his hand his majeſty had a paper, containing his will. This he preſented to a man of the name of Jaques Roux, an apoſtate prieſt, and one of the municipal officers, ſaying, "I beg you "to give this to the queen;" haſtily recollecting himſelf, he ſaid, "to "my wife." "It is no buſineſs of "mine," anſwered the ruffian *, "I am only come here to conduct "you to the ſcaffold." Be it ſo," ſaid the king; at the ſame time offering it to another, who accepted the charge. After requeſting that Clery might be allowed to ſtay with the dauphin, he expreſſed his readineſs to follow Santerre. As he was deſcending the ſtairs, he ſtopped for a moment, to apologize to the warden of the tower for a haſty word † which he had ſpoken to him a day or two before. This ſhame to humanity, well worthy of the office

* This furious Jacobin, who called himſelf "the little Marat," and "the "preacher of the ſans culottes," had, during the king's impriſonment, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his unbounded inſolence. He came at laſt to a miſerable end. In June 1793 he appeared at the bar of the convention, and delivered a ſpeech of ſuch an anarchical tendency as to diſguſt even the Jacobins. Roberſpierre and Thuriot loudly declared againſt him, and he was driven from the hall. On the 9th of September he was expelled from among them by the commune, as guilty of knavery; and freſh charges having been brought againſt him in January 1794, he was ordered to the revolutionary tribunal, by the judges of an inferior court, before which he had been taken. As ſoon as he heard this order, he ſtabbed himſelf in five places with a knife, and died of his wounds in the Bicêtre.

† This haſty word was in a manner extorted by the ſhameful inſolence of the warden.

which

which had been confided to him, not only remained silent, but even turned away, with an affected scorn, while the king was speaking to him.

In the second court of the Temple stood the carriage in which the king was to be conveyed to execution. He entered it with his confessor. Two soldiers, of savage appearance, seated themselves opposite, and kept their eyes unceasingly fixed upon the captive monarch. In their dark and haggard countenances might be read the mission they had received. They were placed there for the purpose of assassinating him, should any attempt be made for his rescue. The whole of the distance between the Temple and the square of Lewis the XVth, where the victim was to suffer, was guarded by a double line of troops. Behind and before the carriage also marched large bodies of horse and foot, attended by several pieces of cannon. * The procession was nearly two hours in reaching the place appointed. The interval was employed by the king in reading, from a breviary lent him by M. Edgeworth, the prayers for persons in extremity. A mournful silence was, during the whole time, observed by the spectators.

When the vehicle arrived at the square of Lewis the XVth, the door was opened by the executioner. The king, laying his hand on the knee of M. Edgeworth, and turning toward the two soldiers who had accompanied him, recommended his confessor to their care, that no insult might be offered him after his death. No reply being made, he again repeated his wishes, and, at last, received from one of them a brutal, but favourable answer.

At the foot of the scaffold, he himself took off those parts of his dress which it was necessary to remove. He was going to set his foot on the stairs of the scaffold, when the executioners rudely seized his hands to tie them behind him. This last insult awakened a transient feeling of indignation, and his first impulse was to push away the persons who attempted it. His confessor, however, having reminded him that the same humiliation had been submitted to by the Saviour of the world, Lewis held his hands out to the executioners, only mildly telling them, on their performing the office in a brutal manner, that it was unnecessary to strain the cord so tight. As he was mounting the scaffold, assisted by the abbé Edgeworth, the latter exclaimed, with enthusiastic fervour, "Son of saint Lewis ascend to heaven."

With a firm pace he advanced to that side of the scaffold which faced the palace, and desired the drummers to cease. They instantly obeyed. In a loud and unshaken voice, he then said, "I die innocent of all "the crimes imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God "from the bottom of my heart to "pardon them, and not to take "vengeance on the French nation "for the blood about to be shed."

He would have continued, but Santerre, fearing the effect which his words might yet have, furiously rushed forward, and crying, "I "brought you here not to harangue, "but to die," ordered the drummers to do their duty. In a moment after, the darkest of crimes was completed: the king was no more.

A young man, or rather monster,

* Such was the anxiety of the council general of the commune, that, every five minutes, messengers were dispatched to inform it how every thing passed, and how far the procession was advanced.

as soon as the fatal stroke was given, seized the head, and, holding it by the hair, danced round the scaffold, shouting, "Vive la nation." Several wetted their sabres in the blood, and one, brandishing his weapon fiercely, wished he could plunge it in the hearts of all royalists. Many, some from hatred, others, perhaps, from affection, dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood. The hair and the clothes of the murdered sovereign were sold on the spot by the executioner. The body was deposited in the burying-ground of Magdelen church, the usual place of interment for those who suffered death; and that those who loved him might not enjoy even the sad consolation of paying honour to his remains, the destruction of them was rapidly effected, by a quantity of quick-lime, which was put into the coffin. The earth was then carefully levelled, so as to leave no trace of the spot.

In the evening the theatres were open as usual; but the Parisians, who had suffered the best of sovereigns to be led through them a captive, first to trial, and finally to death, had yet sufficient virtue, or sufficient decency, to prevent them from insulting his memory, the very moment he had ceased to exist. Some of the theatres were not visited by a single auditor, and at none, even the most popular, did more than twenty persons desire admittance.

Thus fell Lewis the XVIth, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign; and with him fell the monarchy of France, which, under three dynasties, had existed nearly fifteen centuries. So strong, at the time of his accession, was the general sentiment in his favour, that he was greeted with the title of Lewis the Desired. Nor, though afterwards branded with every term of obloquy, did he ever merit the hatred of his subjects. In some measure he resembled our Charles the first, to whose history he paid great attention. A comparison, however, of their conduct, when involved in difficulties, is highly favourable to the English sovereign. Charles maintained, with vigour and by arms, a contest of some years duration; and, when at length overcome, still preserving his native dignity, uniformly refused to acknowledge the authority of that usurped jurisdiction by which he was arraigned. He lost his crown and life, but he preserved inviolate the reputation of active courage and unconquerable spirit. Lewis may, perhaps with more propriety, be compared to the sixth Henry. With greater abilities than Henry, he had, in some parts of his character and situation, a strong similarity to that monarch. Both were pious; both, diffident of themselves, and therefore easily swayed by others, espoused princesses of elevated minds; both were driven from their thrones by rebellion, and both perished by an untimely death.

The understanding of Lewis was much above mediocrity; he had acquired a vast fund of knowledge by reading; his memory was remarkably tenacious; and his judgment, in arranging, combining, and applying, what his memory had retained, was often displayed in a manner that was highly creditable to him. On the relative state and interests of France and the European powers, his information was by no means inconsiderable. History and geography were two of his favourite studies. To the former he paid

paid much attention; and, such was his proficiency in the latter, that the detailed instructions to the ill-fated navigator Perouse were drawn up by his own hand: he was indeed supposed to be the best geographer in his kingdom. With some of the mechanical arts he was also well acquainted, and even occasionally practised them.

In his moral conduct he was unimpeachable. Just, beneficent, a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people, he would, had he lived in an age less turbulent, when the higher talents are not required in a ruler, have done honour to a throne. But he did not satisfy himself with mere morality, which when unsupported by religion, is little to be depended upon. His piety too was exemplary. The faith in which he and his ancestors had been educated, he followed, with sincerity and warmth, but without any mixture of ill-directed and uncharitable zeal. On the mercy and goodness of the Deity he relied with an unfeigned confidence. That reliance afforded him consolation in the latter stormy period of his reign, and fortitude in the hour of death. It enabled him to triumph over slander, captivity, and the grave.

But, numerous as his virtues certainly were, there was one master fault which run through and vitiated the whole of his conduct. He wanted that firmness and decision, without which the greatest virtues are sometimes worse than useless. A monarch should know as well how to make himself feared as loved. In vulgar minds mere affection soon degenerates into something bordering upon contempt. His orders can never be disobeyed or slighted without prejudice to himself. Lewis yielded at those very moments when he should most rigorously have enforced obedience; when he should fully have asserted his authority, or abandoned life and authority together. Passive courage he possessed; but not active.

Yet even this had its rise in a fault, for it was a fault, of so amiable a nature that it can hardly be censured without pain. It arose from the extreme horror, which he always felt, of shedding human blood. Looking, however, to the situation in which they are placed, and the high purposes for which they hold that situation, sovereigns ought to consult, not their feelings but their duties. Blind and indiscriminate mercy is, in its effects, the worst of cruelties. Humanity itself imperiously commands the punishment of those who wantonly and wickedly violate the laws on which social order is founded; and, by giving a loose to the most violent passions of man, reduce him to a state of worse than savage nature, since it has all the bad qualities of savage existence, without any of its virtues. The monarch is the guardian of the state, and the safety of the state is put to the hazard, when traitors are allowed to conspire with impunity. Nor will the king who tolerates treason long remain a king.

The unfortunate Lewis fell a victim to his ignorance of this truth. In his fall he drew down the greatest evils not only upon his own country, but also upon a considerable part of Europe. That clemency, which he so injudiciously shewed to rebellious subjects, cost the lives of the bravest, the wisest, and noblest characters of the time in which they lived; covered France with scaffolds and

blood;

blood; shook, to their foundations, some of the oldest established governments; and involved others in total destruction. His fate will operate as a lesson to all sovereigns, to extinguish, with a decided hand, the first embers of sedition; and happy will it be for mankind, if the caution thus inspired does not, sooner or later, degenerate into a gloomy and suspicious tyranny, which, under pretence of resisting innovation, may discourage all reform, and strike the safest and most deadly blows at the very existence of freedom itself. History, while it ranks Lewis with those who were worthy of being enrolled among saints and martyrs, must lament that he lived in an age, and among a people, when all the vigorous talents of a Henry the fourth would not have been more than sufficient to preserve unimpaired the dignity of the sovereign, and, by that dignity, the peace and welfare of his subjects.

CHAP. VI.

Conduct of the French government to the neighbouring states. Its schemes of aggrandizement. Difference of opinion as to the best mode of carrying these schemes into execution. Some wish for the formation of the conquered territories into small republics; others wish to unite them with France. Savoy. Anacharsis Cloots calls for its union. Report on Savoy, brought up from the diplomatic committee by Lasource. It attacks the Jacobins. Confession against revolutions escapes from the reporter. Measures taken in Savoy to secure its union with the French republic. Fêtes, music, and patriotic songs, employed to seduce the populace. A Savoyard national assembly chosen. Character of its members. The king of Sardinia deposed, and tythes and privileged orders abolished. The assembly declares itself for an incorporation with France. It votes an address to the Convention on that subject. A provisional constitution formed for the Savoyard people. The address of the Savoyard assembly received with much satisfaction. Gregoire's answer to the deputies by whom it was brought. He attacks all governments, but especially that of Great Britain. The question of union loudly called for by a part of the Convention. Opposed by Barrere, on the ground of a report being expected on that subject from one of the committees. President's speech ordered to be translated into all languages as the manifesto of nations against kings. Report brought up by Gregoire from the committee, on the propriety of an union. Extensive limits laid down as the natural ones of France. Strong declaration, in the close of the report, against all governments. The union of Savoy to France voted with only one dissenting voice. Union of Nice. Of Monaco. Designs of the republicans on Italy. Means employed in furtherance of them. Piedmont. Genoa. Jacobin club at Genoa. Kellerman ordered to conquer Rome. French emissaries imprisoned at Rome. Their release demanded by the executive council in a most insolent address to the Pope. Unfortunate death of Basseville. Violent denunciations of the convention against the sovereign Pontiff. King of Naples bullied into a disavowal of his ambassador's conduct at the Porte. Spain. Geneva. Anger of the

French government on the 1600 Swiss being called in by the magistrates. Correspondence between the French resident there and the magistrates. Virulent attack of M. Le Brun on the magistrates. They reply. Endeavour of the resident to spirit up the citizens to an insurrection. Citizens approve the conduct of their magistrates. First report of Brissot against Geneva. Treaties concluded with General Montesquiou. Dissatisfaction of the Executive Council. It resolves to break the treaty. Order to arrest General Montesquiou. He escapes. Second report of Brissot on Geneva. Scandalous language and principles of this report. Brissot's wish that Geneva had been taken by storm. His advice to the magistrates to submit with a good grace to a revolution. Threatens them if they do not. The convention at last refuse to ratify the treaty of the 2d of November. Design of the Genevese magistrates to raise a garrison of 1200 men. It is not carried into effect. They resolve to modify the laws relative to citizenship. Levellers take up arms. Their success. They dictate laws to the councils. Fail in an attempt to exclude fourteen magistrates from the little council. They take up arms a second time. Final overthrow of the Genevese Constitution. Early designs of the French upon Switzerland. Advantages which the possession of that country would afford them. Swiss club at Paris. Swiss regiments ill-treated at Aix and Lyons. Efforts of Louis the XVIth to induce the Cantons to preserve a neutrality. The Swiss regiments turned out of the French service. Their pay and arrears stopped. Convention receives offers of assistance from Swiss rebels. Diet at Arau resolves to remain neutral. Remonstrances of Berne and Uri to the Convention treated with contempt. Their spirited conduct. Address of the Convention to the Swiss nation. The Convention demands the release of three officers imprisoned for revolutionary principles. Plan of a grand attack upon Switzerland in three quarters. Not put into execution. German princes insulted and plundered. Elector Palatine. Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. Duke of Deux-Ponts. Prince of Salm's folly. Subjects of the Duke of Deux-Ponts assisted in their rebellion. Famous decree of the 19th of November, offering assistance to all rebels. Decree of the 15th of December, for extending the French system to all conquered countries. Commentary of the Executive Council upon the decree. The decree of the 15th acted upon, on the demand of some rebels in the bishopric of Basil. Republic of Rauracia.

HAVING thus, in the two preceding chapters, traced the internal policy, the operations, struggles, and designs of the men who had seized upon the reins of government in France, we must now direct our view towards those hostile and disorganizing principles by which their conduct, with regard to foreign powers, was uniformly regulated, and the various events which had their rise from this polluted and deadly source. The ambition of the monarchy had, at one period, almost grown into the currency of a proverb; but never did the most ambitious of the French monarchs, in his wildest dreams of aggrandizement, ever imagine so vast a plan of domination as was conceived, and stedfastly pursued, by these new rulers, who, sprung for the major part from the lowest of mankind, had risen, by superior eminence in crime, to the possession of the most extensive and uncontrouled power.

It

It has been already noticed in a former volume, * that, early in their career, and at a time of profound peace, the revolutionists had indicated, in language sufficiently intelligible, a desire to make the Rhine their only boundary on the side of the German empire. But this object alone was by no means of magnitude enough to satisfy their lust of dominion. In the wide scope of their plans they included the subversion, by arms or doctrines, of all the neighbouring states; and to this general destruction of established governments, they were prompted as well by their own safety as by a love of empire. This scheme, the existence of which was coeval with that of the revolution, was now pursued with that degree of vigour and confidence which is always inspired by past successes. Nor was there manifested, in any quarter, the slightest opposition to this daring and iniquitous measure. It was, on the contrary, cordially seconded by the demagogues of every description.

But, though the discordant parties were perfectly agreed as to the necessity of extending, by force or fraud, the authority of France over the circumjacent territories, they differed very materially as to the mode in which this desirable object might be attained with the greatest effect. By the one faction it was thought most advisable to form, at least for the present, the surrounding countries into small separate republics, which, preserving a nominal independence, would, in reality, exist only by the sufferance of that power which had established them. These puny governments, as their projectors well knew, must always be subservient to the will of the parent state. Their resources of every kind would be at her disposal whenever she chose to call them into action, while, on the other hand, their seeming neutrality might, under some circumstances, be still more advantageous than any avowed assistance which they could possibly contribute. Thus, without incurring any of the odium which would arise from a war of conquest, it was thought that all the advantages of such a war would be easily and effectually secured.

Politic as this plan undoubtedly was, it met with the decided enmity of the opposite faction, among the foremost of which was Cambon. All the advantages of it were entirely prospective. It presented nothing which could serve as food to the rapacity of those who, having nearly exhausted their own country, were eagerly watching for an opportunity of reducing others to the same situation. Here was no immediate plunder to be seized upon; no church nor crown lands, which could be exposed to sale † for the purpose of giving a momentary credit to the depreciated paper money of the French

* See Annual Register, 1792. Hist. part, p. 268.

† Brissot, in his "Address to his Constituents," assigns as the motive for uniting the conquered countries to France, the hope of the plunder to be drawn from them. After detailing and commenting upon the scandalous arts used in Flanders, on which we shall touch in another chapter, he mentions the forced union of Savoy. "Belgium," says he, p. 111, "was not sufficient to satisfy the voracity of "this financial system. Cambon wished to unite every thing, that he might sell "every thing; for this purpose he forced the union of Savoy and of Nice.

rulers. Nor was it, perhaps, considered by some as a slight objection to the plan for the establishment of separate states that, if it were carried into effect, the ministers of religion * would, in all probability, not only escape persecution, but even retain their usual influence over the minds of the people. It was, therefore, resolved by this party, to obtain an union with the republic of those countries into which her victorious arms might at any time penetrate. Corruption and terror were the simple but forcible means by which this resolution was to be carried into effect.

The first opportunity of putting this scheme in execution, was afforded by the successes of the republicans in Savoy. It has been seen, † that this country was overrun by general Montesquiou, before any declaration of war had been issued, and without his meeting in any part the slightest resistance. As soon as the intelligence of this conquest was read in the convention, a motion was made, by Bancal, that Savoy should not be formed into an eighty-fourth department, but should be at liberty to erect itself into an independent state. He was seconded by Louvet, who demanded that the convention should declare that it guaranteed, with all the force of its arms, the liberty of those whom it had emancipated. These propositions were sent to the diplomatic and military committees for their consideration. In the course of this debate, Danton took occasion to observe that the national convention was created by the French people to act as a grand committee of general insurrection for all nations; and he strongly urged the propriety of forbidding the establishment of kingly government in any of the subjugated countries.

An attempt was the next day made by Anacharsis Cloots to bring forward the subject of an union. In strict conformity with his language and principles, this fanatical madman proposed, "in the name of the "human race," that an address, which he had drawn up, and which invited an incorporation with France, should be printed, and distributed among the Savoyards. His proposal was, however, negatived as impolitic, and as a prejudgment of the question which had been referred to the diplomatic committee.

After a delay of a month, this committee communicated to the assembly the result of its deliberations.

* The "persecution" of the clergy is mentioned by Brissot as one of the principal causes which alienated the affection of the Flemings and Savoyards from the French, and he loudly declares against it; not, however, on the score of injustice, but of impolicy. The persecution of the clergy was, according to his opinion, laudable in itself, as it was "founded on principles;" but, in the cases of which he complains, he considers it as ill-timed, because it prevented France from receiving large supplies of men and money. With all the characteristic vanity of his country, and in spite of the evidence to the contrary which is furnished by his own book, he vaunts the superior share of liberty and philosophy possessed by the French; while with a sort of contemptuous pity, and a lamentable want of information, he talks of the Flemings as "men strangers to the very ele-"ments of liberty, and plunged for fifteen centuries in ignorance and su-"perstition."

† Chap. iii. p. 73.

The

The report was presented by Lasource, and was artfully made the vehicle of an attack upon the Jacobins, which excited the choler of Marat. In this composition some truths, not very favourable to its authors, escaped from them in their eagerness to criminate their adversaries. "Revolutions," it was said, "were the sleep of the law; and, "when they took place, movements, produced by vile passions, "blended themselves with that general movement which was inspired by the sublime passion of "liberty; individual hate was joined to the hate of tyrants; the ferocity of monsters to the anger of men; and the poignards of assassins to the battle-axe of the people."—"Even the most salutary revolutions," it was also confessed, "were no less favourable "to robbers than to assassins;—the "thirst of carnage and of gold frequently dwelt in the same breast; "—he who stabbed with the one "hand, seized his prey with the "other; when he could seize only "by stabbing, he murdered that he "might plunder, and only buried "his dagger in the victim, that he "might open a road to pillage "by the means of blood and terror."—"But whoever," exclaimed the orator, "can see in the personal safety of the citizens an obstacle to revolution, and a shackle "on the soaring of the people "towards freedom, he takes crime "for insurrection, robbery for revolution, licentiousness for liberty, "and, if he were not the most ignorant, would be the most odious, "the most execrable of mankind."—"By what fatality," it was then asked, "did it happen that liberty "must arise from disorder, like the "world from chaos, or like the calm "of the seas from the horror of tempests? Was it never to be born "pure from the bosom of peace? "Was human blood always to be "the first sacrifice offered to so mild "and beneficent a divinity?"—Such was the gloomy picture drawn by M. Lasource of the inevitable evils attendant upon every revolution, and his competency to delineate it in suitable colours, admits of no denial. But his sentiments, just in themselves, and worthy of remembrance, could excite only feelings of disgust and indignation, when heard from those polluted lips which, at one time, had insisted upon an amnesty for the perpetrators of the horrid massacre at Avignon, and at another, had loudly recommended the assassination of a political enemy.* Thus, in aiming his sarcasms at the Jacobins, the reporter, with unconscious justice, passed a sentence of condemnation, not only upon himself but upon the whole of that faction with which he had zealously acted. Indeed it is manifest that, with all their pretensions to superior virtue, the Girondists never looked on murder and proscription in an odious light, till, from the increasing force of their enemies, they were themselves in danger of falling the victims of these crimes.

Having indulged in his ill-timed sally against the adverse party, M. Lasource turned to the business which gave rise to the labours of himself and his colleagues, and which consisted in tracing a plan of conduct to be

* See Annual Register for 1792, Historical part, p. 264. col. i. and p. 479, col. i.

followed by the republican generals, on their entrance into the ſurrounding countries. On his marching into Nice, Anſelm had taken poſſeſſion in the name of the French nation, and had proceeded to organize the diſtrict into adminiſtrations and municipalities. This ſtep was conſidered by the committee as injudicious, and likely to injure the cauſe of freedom; nor was it thought more proper to prohibit the newly-enfranchiſed people from putting themſelves again under the dominion of a ſovereign. Such a prohibition was, in truth, only uſeleſs at beſt, ſince it did not appear probable, that thoſe who were awed by the preſence of a foreign army, would attempt to execute any meaſure which could afford, to their formidable gueſts, a pretext for acting hoſtilely againſt them*. M. Laſource, therefore, propoſed, that the republican generals ſhould be ſtrictly forbidden to follow the example of Anſelm; and ſhould be charged to proclaim, in thoſe countries which they entered, that the French nation emancipated the people from the yoke of tyrants, and left it at liberty to chooſe, under the protection of the French armies, ſuch form of government as it thought moſt proper. This mode of acting, would, he told them, ſilence for ever the perfidious clamours of thoſe by whom they were accuſed of a paſſion for conqueſt, and a thirſt of dominion.

His project, nevertheleſs, did not appear to give much ſatisfaction to the aſſembly. It was attacked by Dubois Crancé, who oppoſed the printing of the report, declared Savoy to be in the unreſtrained and uninfluenced exerciſe of its rights, and defended the behaviour of Anſelm. The plan of the decree was ordered to be adjourned, but the report was ſuffered to be printed.

The partizans of the ſcheme for an incorporation of Savoy with France were, in the meanwhile, ſtrenuouſly active in their exertions to accompliſh this deſign. A Jacobin club, conſiſting of twelve hundred perſons, of the moſt violent principles, was eſtabliſhed at Chamberry. A communication was immediately opened with the ſociety at Paris, and the new club pledged itſelf, in the ſtrongeſt terms to uſe every effort for effecting the union of the two countries. That no time might be loſt in redeeming this pledge, a hundred of the moſt zealous members were directly ſelected to act as travelling miſſionaries, "armed with the torch "of reaſon and liberty, for the pur- "poſe of enlightening the Savoy- "ards on their regeneration and

* That the dread of incurring the vengeance of the French, which would be felt by the inhabitants of the conquered countries, was relied on as a ſecurity for the eſtabliſhment of a republican government, in thoſe countries, is plain, even from the report read by M. Lafource, in one part of which an imprudent menace eſcapes from him, that betrays the whole ſecret of his pretended moderation. "If," ſays he, "the majority ſhould wiſh for chains, *you have arms.*" The people, to whom was granted the illuſory permiſſion of chooſing a mode of government, were not ignorant of this fetter upon their proceedings. They knew that they had no alternative but to chooſe ſuch a conſtitution as was moſt agreeable to their liberators, or to ſubmit to be plundered by them. The liberty of choice, which was ſo inſultingly offered them, bore, indeed, no very diſtant reſemblance to that which the robber offers to the paſſenger whom he has ſtopped on the highway.

"impreſcriptible rights." A bombaſtic addreſs, announcing this meaſure, was next diſpatched to the national convention, the deputies of which were hailed as the "legiſla-"tors of the world;" while the approaching deſtruction of all thrones was confidently and exultingly predicted. So gratifying was this compoſition to thoſe by whom it was received, and ſo anxious were they to diffuſe its principles, that it was not only ordered to be printed, but alſo to be tranſlated into the Engliſh, Spaniſh, and German languages *. That the mayoralty of Chamberry might be held by a perſon, of whoſe fidelity to the cauſe of treaſon no doubt could be entertained, it was confided by the Jacobins of that place to the ex Count de Loprial. This man, having been proſecuted by the king of Sardinia, and his property ſequeſtrated, in conſequence of his ſeditious principles, had renounced his order, made his eſcape into France, and was now returned with the invading army. While characters of this ſtamp were daily raiſed to authority over their fellow citizens, no means were left unemployed to ſeduce, intimidate, or compel to a haſty flight, all ſuch as were ſuſpected of preſerving allegiance to their lawful ſovereign. Theſe violent meaſures produced the full effect which was intended to reſult from them. Many loyal ſubjects made their eſcape into the Piedmonteſe territory, and thoſe who ventured to remain, ſtrove to enſure their ſafety by preſerving a guarded ſilence. The field was thus left open to the operations of the revolutioniſts, who, while they ſilenced or expatriated the higher orders, omitted nothing which art could ſuggeſt to ſecure on their ſide the paſſions of the ignorant and the vulgar. Patriotic ſongs were ſcattered with an unſparing hand; the Marſelleiſe march was heard in every quarter; and dancing groups, conſiſting in part of French ſoldiers, were formed in the ſtreets of Chamberry, as a rallying point for the idle, the thoughtleſs, and the diſſipated. Fraternal banquets were alſo given, at which the loweſt and moſt deſpicable mummery was uſed by the gueſts, to expreſs their abhorrence of royalty. To crown the whole, writings were profuſely diſtributed, in which the advantages to be derived from an union with France were deſcanted upon in glowing colours, and an alliance with the Swiſs Cantons, which had been recommended by ſome as the moſt rational plan for the eſtabliſhment of Savoyard independence, was conſidered as groſsly improper and injurious. Such an alliance, it was ſaid, might have been adviſable at one period, when Switzerland was the aſylum of liberty, but, now that ariſtocracy and deſpotiſm were triumphant in that country, it could no longer be ſo. It was likewiſe plainly hinted, that the Helvetic confederacy was a diſcordant compoſition, and ſtood much in need of being reformed into the ſame unity and ſimplicity which diſtinguiſhed the new republic. An incorporation with France was, therefore, de-

* This addreſs was received by the convention on the 20th of October, at which period England and Spain were preſerving a perfect neutrality. The purpoſe for which this inſolent attack upon all ſovereigns was ordered to be tranſlated, is too obvious to ſtand in need of any illuſtration.

clared to be the ſole meaſure which, under all the preſent circumſtances, the people of Savoy could with prudence adopt. Backed as it was, by that concluſive argument, a formidable armed force, this advice was obediently heard by thoſe to whom it was addreſſed.

In this ſituation of affairs the Savoyards were called upon to exerciſe their newly-acquired freedom, by the choice of repreſentatives, and by a declaration of the ſentiments on the ſubject of their future government. No difficulty occurred in the management of the elections. Men of the moſt intolerant and democratic principles were univerſally choſen. To have merited the puniſhment of a traitor, ſeemed indeed to be held as an indiſpenſable qualification for the office of deputy. The members, to the number of more than ſix hundred, met for the firſt time on the twenty-firſt of October, and aſſumed the title of the National Aſſembly of the Allobroges. The firſt act of this infant legiſlature was the abolition of royalty, which was followed by the ſuppreſſion of tythes, and of all privileged orders. The aſſembly then adjourned. Its next ſitting was occupied in reading the inſtructions relative to an union, which had been given by the communes to the deputies. As ſoon as this mockery was concluded, it was announced that the wiſh of the people of Savoy was almoſt unanimouſly favourable to the incorporation of their country with France, which was, therefore, immediately decreed. A congratulatory addreſs to the national convention, on this important event, was next voted, and four of the moſt active members were ſelected to preſent it at the bar. As, however, it might not accord with the views of the French rulers, to accept directly the offer which was thus liberally made them, it was thought neceſſary to provide the Savoyards with a proviſional conſtitution. This work was begun and completed in the ſhort ſpace of five days; and, according to the avowal of its authors, an avowal in fact wholly unneceſſary, was put together from a kind of converſation, without any previous ſtudy or expence of thought. Having ſo rapidly performed this arduous taſk, the aſſembly delegated its authority to a committee, and diſcontinued its ſittings.

No time was loſt by the bearers of the addreſs in haſtening to Paris. On the twenty-firſt of November they appeared in the hall of the convention. The ſpokeſman of the party announced to the aſſembly the important miſſion which had been confided to himſelf and his colleagues, and gave a detail of the various ſteps which had been taken by their colleagues in Savoy. His ſpeech, and the addreſs which he had brought, received the loudeſt and moſt enthuſiaſtic applauſe. The reply of the preſident, Gregoire, was remarkable for its undiſguiſed and extenſive application of revolutionary principles to all countries, but eſpecially, and by name, to Great Britain, a power againſt which the republic had not, at that moment, a ſingle pretext for adopting the language of hoſtility.* In a ſtrain of rapturous exultation, M. Gregoire, addreſſing the rebel Savoy-

* See the reply of Gregoire to the Savoyard deputies, at full length, in the A. R. for 1792. Part. II. p. 356.

ards

ards as the representatives of a sovereign people, predicted the speedy destruction of thrones, the regeneration of the human species, and the consequent happiness of this great family. He did not forget, however, to claim for himself and his republican brethren the merit of this wonderful change. "It was," he exclaimed, "a glorious day for "the universe, when the national "convention of France pronounced "the words—royalty is abolished. "From that new era multitudes "would date their political existence." But nothing seemed to afford the orator more pleasure than his assured confidence that the ancient rival of France would in a short time consider her as a model for imitation. "Respectable islanders," said he, "were our masters in the social art;—become "our disciples, and treading in our "steps, soon will the high-spirited "English strike a blow which shall "resound to the extremity of Asia." Then artfully adverting to a decree, which we shall presently have occasion to notice, and which had been passed two days before to excite all subjects to rebel against those who governed them, he declared that "enslaved France was of old the asylum of dethroned princes, but that "liberated France was become the "support of dethroned sovereigns;" for it was by the latter sounding appellation that he chose to designate the partizans of impiety and treason in foreign countries. Repeating the sum and substance of the decree, he assured the deputation that the republic "would make a "common cause with those who "were resolved to shake off the "yoke, and obey only themselves." The union which was now proposed would, he told them, be weighed and discussed with all the solemnity which it merited; but, whatever might be the ultimate decision of the assembly, France would always be the friend of the generous Savoyards. Then, after indulging in another invective against sovereigns, and prophecying the approach of a second golden age, he concluded by giving to the four deputies the fraternal embrace. Loud acclamations were heard on all sides; a great number of the members rose, and vociferously demanded that the incorporation of the two countries should be instantly decreed. This was opposed by Barrere, who, while he expressed himself in favour of the union, strongly urged the impropriety of passing decrees in a moment of enthusiasm. One of its committees was, he reminded the convention, at that moment occupied in preparing a report on the measure, which would shortly be ready, and which certainly ought to be heard before any definitive steps were taken. He moved, therefore, the adjournment of the business till the expected report had been brought up. To this motion he added another, for translating the president's speech into all languages, "as the "manifesto of nations against kings." These propositions were seconded by Petion, and finally decreed.

Spurred on, as well by inclination as by daily addresses from the Jacobins of Savoy, the committee was not slow in forming its decision.—M. Gregoire, on the twenty-seventh, presented to the convention a final report; every sentence of which was deeply marked with the character of its author. In this long and sophistical composition, the reporter affected to consider the question under

under all its various bearings and relations. Much of the paper was, however, taken up by the usual invectives against crowned heads, and by dissertations on the most eligible size of an empire, and on the impossibility of establishing an universal republic. For this latter untoward circumstance, M. Gregoire consoled himself by the certainty, that "several countries of Europe and "America would soon enlarge the "domain of liberty." Not a cause, it must be observed, nor even a pretext, at this moment existed for the indulgence of hostile sentiments against Spain, Portugal, or the United States, the only powers at whose expence what was thus dignified with the title of liberty could make any acquisition of importance in the other hemisphere. The idea that France desired to extend her limits was treated as absurd and calumnious:—France, it was said, was sufficiently extensive and powerful in her present state; "content "with having broken the chains of "those oppressed nations among "whom her victorious arms might "penetrate, she would leave to them "the full and entire freedom of "deliberation upon the form of "their government." But these hardy assertions of the reporter stood contradicted even by his own evidence; since, on the one hand, while he declaimed against territorial aggrandizement, he strongly and repeatedly drew the attention of his hearers to the natural boundaries, as he chose to call them, of the French republic, affirming, at the same time, that "the magnitude of "a state ought to be determined by "localities, and by the necessity of "maintaining its political existence;" and, on the other, while he offered a perfect exemption from controul in the choice of rulers to those countries which had been overrun by the revolutionary armies, he expressly declared that they should not be suffered to return with impunity under the domination of tyrants! The reigning demagogues laid claim to the Rhine and the Alps as the natural boundaries of their empire, and here there was, at least, something definite; but it was impossible to ascertain the extent to which their dangerous frontier might be pushed by this sweeping doctrine of local circumstances and political necessity. To the case of Savoy the claim and the principle were both applied: "All considerations, phy-"sical, moral, and political," said the reporter, "call for the incorpo-"ration of that country. The "attempts which have been made "to connect it with Piedmont were "fruitless. The Alps eternally "force it back into the domains of "France; and the order of nature "would be violated if they were "to live under different laws." This reasoning on the ground of natural right was seconded by arguments drawn from the convenience of the measure; and the convention was consequently reminded that, in the event of an union, the line of defence which, on that side of the republic, now stretched to more than sixty leagues, would be contracted within a narrow space, and become wholly impenetrable. The financial and commercial advantages which would arise from uniting the two countries were also descanted upon with equal pleasure. Nor was it forgotten that the free navigation of the Lake of Geneva was a means of bridling more effectually the canton of Berne. Conscious that the famous

mous decree abjuring all conquest, a decree for which so much merit had been claimed, was hostile to the plan now proposed, M. Gregoire thought proper to refer to it in a short sentence of explanation, by which this boasted law was, in fact, reduced at once to a perfect nullity. "In renouncing the robbery of conquest," exclaimed he, "we did "not declare that we would repulse "from us those men who were "drawn towards us by an affinity of "principles and interests, and who "should manifest, by a free choice, "the desire of identifying themselves with us." Such, he contended was the case of Savoy; and, in his opinion, the union of that country was not more imperiously commanded by considerations of public utility, than by feelings of generosity towards the Savoyards, who, if compelled to the formation of a separate state, would never be able to preserve that liberty which they had lately acquired. The manner in which he closed this extraordinary composition is not unworthy of notice, as it plainly, and in the strongest language, refers to the justly obnoxious decree of the nineteenth, which we shall presently touch upon, and contains a full and explicit comment upon its principles and intention. "Let us not fear," said he, "that this incorporation "will become a new apple of dis"cord. It adds nothing to the "hate of oppressors against the "French revolution; it adds to the "means of the power by which we "shall break their league. Besides, "the die is thrown; we have rushed "into the career: all governments "are our enemies, all people are our "friends; we will be destroyed, or "they shall be free—they shall be "so; and the axe of liberty, after "having broken thrones, shall fall "on the head of whoever wishes to "collect together the ruins of them." Not a single voice was raised to protest against this sweeping anathema of all existing governments; it was, on the contrary, greeted by the loudest acclamations from every quarter, and may, therefore, be considered as decidedly expressing the sentiments of the whole assembly on this momentous subject. The decree of union, by which it was proposed to form the dutchy of Savoy into a new department, under the name of Mont-Blanc, was now read by Gregoire. The measure was opposed by only one member, who declared himself adverse to it, from reasons of policy, as extending too widely the population and territory of the empire. His opinion, however, was treated with little respect; and the question being put to the vote, it was unanimously carried, amidst cries of vociferous and continued applause.

The work of dismemberment being thus begun upon the states of his Sardinian majesty, it was not to be expected that it would come to a termination as long as any opportunity remained of pursuing it with effect. Even before Savoy had been blended into the French republic, the usual measures had been taken to ensure the same fate to the county of Nice. The Niffards, it has been seen, had early felt the lamentable effects of republican fraternity,—a fraternity which was afterwards well described, by one of the most active revolutionists, as the brotherhood of Cain and Abel; they had seen themselves insulted, their property pillaged,

laged, their dwellings reduced to aſhes, and their wives and daughters expoſed to all the horrors which could be inflicted on them by a brutal and licentious ſoldiery; and having ſeen and felt theſe things, it was not to be ſuppoſed that they would be very urgent to "identify" themſelves with the nation by whoſe ſanguinary hordes ſo many crimes had been committed. But an obſtacle like this was a feeble bar to the dominant parties in France. The mockery of ſummoning the primary aſſemblies was reſorted to, and certain perſons were, under the influence of the republican army, announced as the freely-choſen repreſentatives of the Niſſard people. Theſe men, as if to mark their entire devotion to the power from which they derived their political exiſtence, aſſumed the title of the Convention of the Marſeilleſe Coloniſts. They next proceeded to the ſole acts for which they had been convened; the depoſition of their ſovereign, and the alienation of a province of his dominions. With no better ſanction than the vote of this illegal aſſembly, the national convention decreed that, for the future, the county of Nice ſhould form a diviſion of their republic, under the name of the Department of the Maritime Alps. As had happened in the caſe of Savoy, of more than ſeven hundred members, one alone oppoſed this union, and his objections, as in the former inſtance, were grounded, not on the flagrant injuſtice, but on the impolicy of the meaſure.

The ſeizure of Nice was ſoon followed up by that of the principality of Monaco. It was diſcovered that the capital of this ſmall principality had a tolerable harbour, and was beſides ſo well fortified, as to ſecure the frontier on that ſide from any hoſtile attempts. Reaſons like theſe for its appropriation were, of courſe, deciſive. A national convention, conſiſting of twelve patriots, was, in conſequence, aſſembled, which, after burning the flag of the prince, and the titles of the nobility, concluded by offering the country to France. This offer was graciouſly accepted, and Monaco was accordingly declared to be a part of the French republic. The reigning prince was, however, kindly aſſured that, as he had never ſhown himſelf hoſtile to the revolution, but had, on the contrary, behaved as the friend and ally of France, he might, though deſpoiled of his ſovereignty, rely upon receiving protection in the more humble character of a private individual.

But it was not by ſcraps and fragments, broken from the verge of Italy, that the reſtleſs ambition of the republic was to be ſatisfied. The whole of that fertile diviſion of Europe was looked on with an impatient and greedy eye. The legions of France had, it is true, often penetrated into it, and as often been forced to fly, under ſuch calamitous circumſtances, as to have impoſed on it the ill-omened appellation of the grave of the French. Yet, now that the influence of diſorganizing principles was brought in aid of the ſword, better ſucceſs in the event was warmly anticipated. "Italy," it was confidently ſaid, "awaited from "the army of the Var its ancient "liberty." The machinations of the revolutioniſts againſt its tranquillity had been commenced at an early

early period;* but, previously to the downfal of the throne, their power to injure had not kept pace with their will. All authority was, at last, fallen into their hands, and they were not backward in using it for the purposes of annoyance. A fleet, by which the shores of the Mediterranean might be overawed, was got ready with as much expedition as possible. Italy was, at the same time, deluged with the missionaries of sedition, many of whom assumed the character of banished royalists, while others of them acted with more open boldness; and attempts, in many instances too successful, were made to gain over to the cause of anarchy such literary characters as, from their acknowledged talents, had most influence upon the public mind. So little was secrecy regarded in the pursuance of these designs, that the ultimate and speedy triumph of them was a daily subject of conversation among the officers of those armies by which Savoy and Nice had been subjugated.

Against the dominions of the King of Sardinia the intentions of the French rulers were more explicitly declared. "Piedmont must be free," exclaimed Brissot to the convention, in his report upon Geneva, "your "sword must not be returned to its "scabbard before all the subjects of "your enemy are free, before you "are encircled by a girdle of re-"publics."† Genoa also was an object of not less solicitude, as the possession of that country would, as in former time it had done, facilitate an irruption into Piedmont, and the plains of Lombardy. Their expectations in this quarter were, perhaps, rendered more sanguine by the factiousness of character, and consequent disaffection against their governors, which had always distinguished the Genoese. In order most probably to invigorate the spirits of the seditious, the French squadron cast anchor in the harbour of Genoa. Its presence was not wholly useless. Clubs were instantly formed in the city, at which the new comers assisted, and addresses of applause and invitation were transmitted to the national convention. In one of these addresses, that body was earnestly requested to compel the foreign powers to acknowledge an Italian republic. The time for this event was, however, not yet arrived, and the Genoese government was suffered to preserve for a little longer, a precarious and degraded existence.

As one of the first essays of the French revolutionists, in the art of spoliation, had been made on the domains of the sovereign pontiff, it was not to be supposed that he would now be forgotten, in their more extensive plans. What had been commenced on the banks of the Rhone might, it was hoped, be completed on those of the Tiber. Kellerman, on assuming the command of the army of the Alps, to which he had been appointed on the flight of general Montesquiou, informed the convention that he had received orders to conquer Rome, and that those orders should be obeyed. This

* For an instance of this, see Ann. Register for 1792. Hist. part, p. 241. col. 2.

† See Annual Register for 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. 342.

promise

promise of obedience he afterwards thought it necessary to repeat, in a letter written expressly for that purpose. The activity of the agents, who were instructed to prepare the way for him in that city, many of whom resided there under the character of artists pursuing their studies, had, meanwhile, been so great, that the Papal government found itself compelled to seize and imprison two or three of the most daring. This step immediately drew from the executive council an address to the Pope*, demanding, in language of the utmost menace and insolence, the release of their partizans, although they well knew these men had already been set at liberty on the demand of the republican envoy at Naples; and, to render this outrage more gross and palpable, this abusive and calumnious address was inserted in all the newspapers of the factions. An additional pretext for insult and aggression unfortunately soon occurred. Basseville, secretary of the French legation, strenuously endeavoured, by public harangues and private intrigues, to excite the Romans to insurrection. His efforts however, were unavailing. The populace heard him not merely with coldness but with disgust. His exertions terminated, at last, in a manner fatal to himself. On the fourteenth of January, 1793, as he was proceeding to an assembly of his democratic countrymen, his carriage was stopped by a mob, who desired him to return home, but without attempting to offer any violence to his person. This interruption raised the anger of the imprudent Basseville to such a height, that, regardless of the consequences, he discharged a pistol among the crowd. He was instantly dragged from the coach by the enraged multitude, and, before he could be rescued from their fury, suffered a mortal wound, of which he expired the next day. To his wife and child, who were in the carriage with him, no injury was done. The palace of the French academy, and the house of the consul were destroyed before the tumult could be wholly quieted. These actions which, however provoked, were certainly criminal, received in a public edict, the censure of the venerable Pius, who likewise commanded a provision to be made for the widow and daughter of the deceased. The news of Basseville's death was heard by the convention with unbounded indignation, and a decree was passed, ordering the executive council to take the most prompt and effectual measures to obtain signal vengeance for the crimes which had been committed. Circumstances alone prevented the instant execution of this violent decree; but we shall, hereafter, have melancholy occasion to show that, at a more favourable moment, the successors of those by whom it had been framed, acted up to the letter and spirit of its contents, with a rigid and barbarous fidelity.

Placed as he was at the very extremity of the peninsula of Italy, the king of the two Sicilies was not more safe than other sovereigns, from these common disturbers of the human race. All access to him by land was as yet closed; but the sea remained open. The French fleet was, therefore, ordered to proceed

* See Annual Register, 1792, State Papers, part 2, p. 357.

to

to Naples. This hoſtile viſit was juſtified on the ground of his Neapolitan majeſty's miniſter at Conſtantinople having joined with the miniſters of other powers in a note, ſtrongly remonſtrating againſt the admiſſion of M. Semonville, a notorious jacobin, as the ambaſſador of France at that court. For this offence reparation was now demanded. The demand was made in a letter which, from its vulgarity of manner, and contempt of eſtabliſhed forms, was truly a diplomatic curioſity; and, that a perfect conſiſtency might be preſerved through the whole of the tranſaction, the letter was delivered to the King by a common grenadier. His Majeſty was, at the ſame time, informed, that war would be declared againſt him, if he did not, within the ſpace of an hour, diſavow the offenſive conduct which had been purſued by his envoy at Conſtantinople. As the city of Naples was wholly unprepared for defence, and the conſequences of a bombardment would inevitably have proved very deſtructive, the required diſavowal was obtained without difficulty. No inconſiderable pleaſure was afforded to the national convention by this cheap and inglorious triumph over a member of the Bourbon family.

The mere delight of inſulting and degrading his Sicilian Majeſty was, perhaps, all that had been looked for from this expedition. But, againſt another branch of the ſame unfortunate houſe, deſigns of a more ſerious and lucrative nature were, at this moment, in agitation. The object of them was Spain and her rich colonies; a prize which had equal charms for ambition and cupidity. During the progreſs of the combined armies in France, fears had been entertained that Spain would ſecond the invaders, and ſome exertions were, in conſequence, made to induce her to remain in a ſtate of neutrality. Danger was now at an end, and the dread of adding to the number of hoſtile powers gave way to the hopes of conqueſt and plunder*. Plans were, therefore, formed to effect, if not the ruin,

* Dumourier, in his Memoirs, ſlightly mentions the deſign of attacking Spain on the ſide of the Pyrenees. Kerſaint, in his report of the 1ſt of January, propoſed to ſeize upon Mexico; and on his trial, Briſſot, in anſwer to a charge brought againſt him by Fabre d'Eglantine, avowed that a deſcent on the coaſt of Spain with a formidable army, and a ſeizure of her colonies, had actually been in contemplation. A diſpatch, he ſaid, had been received from the republican ambaſſador at Madrid, which contained the following words, "the Queen of "Spain is furious againſt the French republic; ſhe has driven away Aranda, who "appeared pacifically inclined;" and this intelligence, which M. Briſſot ſupported by a bold aſſertion, that Spain had refuſed to diſarm, he conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for the adoption of hoſtile meaſures. The aſſertion that Spain had refuſed to diſarm M. Briſſot knew to be a falſehood. It was on the 5th of January 1793, according to his own confeſſion, that he propoſed to attack Spain, while, on the 26th of the preceding month, no leſs than ten days antecedent to this propoſal, M. le Brun, the French miniſter for foreign affairs, had himſelf communicated to M. d'Ocariz, the Spaniſh chargé d'affaires, the Convention* ſigned by the Catholic King, in which his majeſty agreed to a mutual withdrawing of troops from the frontier, and promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. It appears alſo, from M. Briſſot's reply to Fabre d'Eglantine, that, at the very moment

* See p. 117, and State Papers p. 318.

ruin, at leaſt the humiliation, of the Spaniſh monarchy, by the ſeizure of Mexico, a formidable deſcent upon her coaſts, and an attack upon her Pyrenean frontier. Conſiderable armies were deſtined for this purpoſe, and, at an early period of the year, the attempt would moſt probably have been made, had not circumſtances ariſen by which the republicans were compelled to employ nearly the whole of their diſpoſable force in an oppoſite quarter of their uſurped empire.

In a former chapter of this volume * an account was given of the hoſtile march of general Monteſquiou's army to Geneva, and the events which reſulted from that unprovoked and unjuſtifiable meaſure. It may now be proper to trace the conduct of thoſe by whom that meaſure was ordered, and to carry on the narrative of their proceedings to that period when, in ſpite of the ſeeming defeat they had recently ſuſtained, they ſucceeded in accompliſhing a part, at leaſt, of their favourite ſcheme, and thereby opened the way for a final and complete triumph.

As ſoon as the French reſident at Geneva was informed of the demand which had been made of ſixteen hundred men, from the cantons of Berne and Zurich, he ſent a remonſtrance to the magiſtrates, in which the ſtep they had taken was repreſented as a violation of the treaty of 1782. To this paper a ſatisfactory anſwer was given without delay.

Irritated at the unexpected reſiſtance which the deſigns of his party had met with, the miniſter for foreign affairs, M. Le Brun, on the 3d of October, addreſſed to the convention a letter, in which the moſt virulent language was uſed in ſpeaking of the Geneveſe magiſtrates, who were repreſented as ambitious intriguers, devoted to the king of Sardinia and the ariſtocrats of Berne. The executive council, he added, had, in conſequence, given orders to general Monteſquiou, to march a corps of troops to Geneva for the purpoſe of expelling the Swiſs.—The aſſertions contained in this letter were ſhortly after refuted by the council and ſyndics of Geneva, in a temperate but firm memorial, which M. Le Brun was requeſted to lay before the convention. The Swiſs troops had, in the mean time, entered the city, from which the French reſident retired, after delivering to the ſyndic a note, by which the magiſtrates were made reſponſible for whatever conſequences might ariſe. This was ſoon followed by another, in which the people were excited to demand the puniſhment of thoſe who had called in the ſuccours. Conſcious of having religiouſly performed their duty, the magiſtrates gave to theſe notes all the publicity in their power, and appealed to the citizens themſelves for a deciſion upon their conduct. In a large and reſpectable aſſembly, it was ſolemnly and unanimouſly approved.

General Monteſquiou was now before Geneva, the ſiege of which he was ordered to commence. A-

ment when the Spaniſh monarch was doing every thing in his power to convince France of his pacific intentions, the French government was applying to the ſouthern departments to know whether they could furniſh a hundred thouſand men for the invaſion of Spain.

* See p. 74.

gainſt

gainſt this raſh and iniquitous order, he ſeveral times remonſtrated; ſtrongly urging, that ſuch a ſtep would not only diſgrace the French republic in the eyes of the world, but would inevitably draw upon it the whole force of the Swiſs confederacy. This laſt reaſon, as it was ſupported by evidence, not to be contradicted, had ſome weight with the executive council, and he was accordingly authorized to enter upon a negociation. Yet, while the buſineſs was pending, Briſſot brought forward a report, in which, by ſuppreſſing ſome and miſrepreſenting other parts of the treaties of 1579, 1584, and 1782, he laboured to prove the aggreſſion of Geneva againſt the French republic.

The negociation was finally cloſed on the terms which have been deſcribed in a former part of the volume; * and the Geneveſe haſtened to perform the conditions to which they had bound themſelves. The Swiſs troops were immediately withdrawn by the allied cantons, but the French army ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood of Geneva. As ſoon as the executive council thought it might ſafely venture upon ſuch a meaſure, it reſolved to break the treaty which had ſo recently been concluded. The firſt ſtep towards the accompliſhment of this purpoſe was a decree of accuſation which was paſſed againſt general Monteſquiou, on ſeveral charges, the moſt prominent of which was his having compromiſed the national dignity in his late tranſactions at Geneva, and abandoned the patriots of that place "to military deſpotiſm, and the "ariſtocracy of the magiſtrates." The general, however, luckily eſcaped from thoſe who were ſent in purſuit of him. The treaty was referred to a committee, which was charged to make a report on the ſubject.

This report was preſented by Briſſot, on the twenty-firſt of November.† Never, even from the pens of the revolutionary ſtateſmen of France, had a more ſhameleſs compoſition been officially laid before the public. Amidſt a diſguſting parade of juſtice, ſincerity, and magnanimity, the ſcandalous bad faith of the reporter and his party was, in every ſentence, viſible. Geneva was reproached with a breach of treaties, which, in the ſame breath, were treated with the greateſt ſcorn; and aſſertions, which every one knew to be falſe, were as confidently made, as if they had been the moſt ſacred of truths. It well became this man to invoke the faith of treaties, at the very moment when he made a declaration that treaties were not of the leaſt utility:— "Doubtleſs," exclaimed he, "the "queſtion will be examined whether "a free people can and ought to bind "itſelf by treaties; whether they "are not uſeleſs with republics "which a community of the ſame "principles ſhould always govern; "whether they are not indecorous "with every government which "does not hold its powers from the "people. It is here, perhaps, that "lies the ſecret of your revolution, "and of thoſe which are preparing. "You have ſucceeded, you will "ſucceed, becauſe the people, the "individuals are on your ſide. But, "if you treat with tyrants, you are

* See p. 75.—See alſo Annual Regiſter for 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. 337.
† See Annual Regiſter for 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. 338.

"no more to the people than an ordinary government; the enthusiasm of the people ceases with your glory and your successes. Your committee proposes one day to call your attention to these important questions." This is a happy specimen of that "simplicity, laconism, and clearness," that "frankness, candour, and high-spiritedness," which M. Brissot had, but an instant before, declared ought to mark the character and style of French republican diplomacy. With the same unequivocal contempt of decency it was, in another part, said that "the chances of war must determine what places ought to be occupied; they could not be pointed out beforehand; the republic could only promise* always to respect the independence and neutrality of Geneva, and this had been done.†" From various parts of the report the connection of the French government with a faction in that place, though not directly avowed, was, nevertheless, clearly apparent. The utmost indignation was repeatedly expressed against general Montesquiou, for having sacrificed to their enemies those brave Genevese patriots and sans-culottes who wished for equality. It appeared, indeed, from the language of the reporter, that every length ought to have been gone in behalf of these people. Geneva, it was said, might easily have been taken by assault. "By what magic," it was indignantly asked, "did so weak "a place all at once appear impregnable in the eyes of the general." It is surely unnecessary to call attention to this profligate and cold-blooded barbarity of a man, who, having the holy names of virtue and humanity eternally on his lips, could, when his ambitious projects were concerned, regard, with the utmost coolness and even satisfaction, the indiscriminate and horrible slaughter that must almost inevitably have taken place in a large and populous city, which had been carried by storm. We may, indeed, without any breach of charity, suppose that the possession of the place, unincumbered by its obstinate inhabitants, was considered by M. Brissot as a thing rather to be wished than feared.

As, however, the favourable moment for the exertion of force was unfortunately passed by, M. Brissot descended to the task of giving advice, though in a menacing tone, to the magistrates of Geneva. They were warned not to interrupt the progress of a revolution, which, if it were anticipated and cherished, might be rendered mild, amicable, and fraternal; but which, if a contrary course were pursued with it, would inevitably be terrible in its operation. The Swiss aristocrats, they were informed, could afford them no succour, as they would "soon "tremble for themselves." "What "state," continued the reporter,

* There is an error in this part of the translation of M. Brissot's report, inserted in the last volume. The difference which is thereby made in the meaning is very considerable.

† The probability that the French army would, perhaps, find it necessary to take possession of Geneva had been stated by M. Claviere, in a letter to a Genevese friend, as far back as the latter end of September, before the march of general Montesquiou; and the knowledge of this, with other concurring evidence, had induced the magistrates to take those precautions which were made the pretext for hostilities against the city.

"ought

"ought to be more disposed to em-
"brace the principles of equality
"than the city of Geneva? An al-
"most imperceptible satellite of a
"vast planet, she obeys its moral
"impulse, though detached from
"its political system." The whole of his argument and advice was wound up by M. Brissot with one emphatic expression, by which the flimsy veil with which he and his co-partners had laboured to cover their motives and intentions was entirely torn off: "*the revolution*," said he, "*must take place there, or our own must* "*retrograde.*" After some quibbling on the treaties of the 22d of October, and the 2d of November, which the reporter affected to consider, not as treaties, but as mere declarations, he concluded by proposing that the convention, instead of ratifying, in all its parts, the last of these instruments, should declare that, if the Swiss troops were dismissed by the 1st of December, the French would respect the neutrality of the Genevese territory. This proposition was adopted, and the order of the day was passed to on the other articles of the treaty.

Sensible of the dangers to which the state would be exposed, the magistrates of Geneva, while the second treaty was negociating with general Montesquiou, resolved to raise a body of twelve hundred men for the garrison of the city. This plan, dictated by prudence, was, however, not put in execution. The consequences of abandoning it were easy to be foreseen. On the conclusion of the treaty, the Swiss succours had retired, and Geneva was thus left without defence, while a French army was at hand to support the factious within her walls. Matters now approached towards a crisis. Hoping by conciliatory conduct to bind all parties in one common bond of union, the magistrates proposed a law for the instant admission to the full rights of citizenship of such persons as could at present only obtain that advantage through the means of time and of certain qualifications. This boon was to be accompanied by a general act of oblivion for all political offences. To complete the whole, the propriety of making any further changes in the established constitution was also to be decided upon by the sovereign council. But a temperate reform like this was by no means suited to the views of the levellers. They accordingly determined to prevent it being carried into effect. For this purpose they suddenly, on the night of the 3d of December, flew to arms, and seized on such posts as were necessary to open a communication with the French army, which was then encamped at a small distance, and in readiness to support them. They next summoned the magistrates to surrender into their hands the military force of the city, threatening, in case of a refusal, to call in the republican troops. Resistance was in vain; the magistrates were, therefore, compelled to submit to imperious necessity.

Every thing was now at the mercy of the levellers, who dictated to the great and little councils whatever laws they thought most proper to forward the interests of their party. To insure a decided preponderance to themselves, they next determined to remove from the little council no less than fourteen magistrates, of principles adverse to their own. This plan was submitted to the general assembly of

the people, in which, from the great number of new voters they had introduced, they had no doubt of it being approved. But, to their infinite mortification, it was rejected by a very large majority. Alarmed at this tacit disapproval of their usurpation, the levellers had once more recourse to arms. On the night of the twenty-seventh of December, they made themselves masters of the town-house, disarmed the garrison, took possession of all the artillery, and put the principal magistrates under arrest. The sound majority of the inhabitants were, as in the former instance, restrained from action by the dread of seeing their city delivered up to the French. The blow which the levellers had struck was followed up, on the two succeeding days, by a provisional suspension of the legal government, and by the appointment of two committees, the one of safety, and the other of administration, in whose hands was placed the exercise of those powers which had formerly belonged to the two councils. Thus, through the efforts of a factious minority, backed by a foreign force, was the constitution of Geneva violently overturned, and, as will hereafter be seen, a broad highway opened for the speedy entrance of those crimes and horrors which rendered France the disgrace and the scourge of the civilized world.

Geneva, the possession of which had been so eagerly coveted, was, however, less regarded as a thing of value in itself than as affording, on that frontier, an easy admission into the cantons of Switzerland. More than four centuries had passed away since the first dawn of independence among these little states. Their patriotic and successful resistance to every attempt which had been made against their freedom had often been the theme of admiration and applause; and, whatever speculative defects might be discovered in their respective forms of government, the administration of those governments had uniformly been such as to insure the welfare and happiness of the people, whose simplicity of manners, and enviable easiness of circumstances had nearly become proverbial. With very trifling exceptions, their tranquillity had remained unbroken by domestic quarrels. But this dull and lazy felicity was not at all suited to the taste of those who, commencing with France, had undertaken the reform of all ancient establishments. To them, the occupation of Switzerland was indeed, in every point of view, an object of importance. In itself an addition of no trifling magnitude to their empire, its geographical situation was such as to afford them a powerful means of still further aggrandizement. On the one side, their arms, unimpeded by the strong places of Piedmont, might penetrate into the plains of Lombardy, and the Venetian states; and, on the other, overrun the south of Germany, an entrance into which they would no longer be compelled to force through the formidable defiles of the Black Forest.

For these and other reasons equally valid, it had long been determined to extend the benefit of the revolution to the Swiss Cantons. This laudable work was commenced in the year 1790,* and continued from that time with un-

* See Annual Register for 1792, Hist. part, p. 240-1.

intermitting

intermitting activity. The club of renegade Swiſs, eſtabliſhed at Paris, was under the direction of Briſſot and Claviere, and held a regular correſpondence with a club at Baſil, as well as with diſcontented individuals in various parts of Switzerland. Their progreſs, nevertheleſs, was for the moment but ſlow and unſatisfactory. Inſurrection they found not eaſily excited, and open force they were not as yet in a condition to employ. Not a ſingle opportunity was, however, loſt of puſhing matters to extremity, and in proportion as the monarchy approached towards diſſolution, this temper manifeſted itſelf in a more determined and offenſive manner. The Swiſs regiments in the ſervice of France were in all quarters ſubjected to every ſort of humiliation. Two remarkable inſtances occurred nearly at the ſame period of time:—The Berneſe regiment of Ernſt, which was in barracks at Aix, was ſurrounded by the jacobins of Marſeilles and Avignon, diſarmed and pillaged. The Zurich regiment of Steiner was treated at Lyons with ſimilar outrage. Berne, by an order, full of dignified feeling, recalled its regiment, and Zurich, though it was too deeply tainted with the contagion of French principles, complained to Lewis the XVIth of the indignity to which its troops had been compelled to ſubmit. The king, on his part, did all that lay in his power to calm the reſentment which was naturally felt by the Cantons, and his endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs. In ſpite of every inducement to the contrary, they reſolved to remain neutral. A very ſhort time elapſed before theſe efforts of the king to preſerve France from an additional enemy, and this ready compliance of the Cantons with his wiſhes, were repaid by a ſucceſsful inſurrection againſt the monarch, and by the cruel maſſacre of more than ſeven hundred Swiſs troops, who were put to death, with every circumſtance of barbarity, for having nobly performed their duty in defending the palace of the Thuilleries.

Thoſe who had ſo begun were not diſpoſed to ſtop here. The blood of the Swiſs, which had been ſhed on the 10th of Auguſt, was yet ſcarcely cold, when freſh inſult and injury was heaped upon the Helvetic confederation, by the triumphant factions of Paris. From the various ſtates of which this confederation is compoſed, France had, at all times, been in the practice of hiring large bodies of auxiliary ſoldiers, from whoſe valour ſhe had often received the moſt eſſential ſervice. Eleven thouſand men were, at this moment, in her pay, under the faith of ſolemn agreements, which bore the name of capitulations. Theſe agreements, without any previous notice being given to the contracting parties, it was thought proper to violate, after repeated but vain attempts had been made to ſeduce the men from their fidelity to their country. Briſſot accordingly brought up, from the extraordinary commiſſion of the diplomatic and military committees, a report in which the meaſure was ſtrongly recommended. A marked diſlike of the Swiſs governments, but particularly of that of Berne, was clearly viſible in the whole of this report. Broad hints were given that the people under them were in a ſtate of ſlavery, and the ſmall extent of their territory, and their trifling ability, either to annoy or aſſiſt, was men- Aug. 20.

tioned with a tone of contempt. In ſtriking illuſtration of that maxim which inculcates that thoſe who have injured never forgive, it was ſaid that the Swiſs ariſtocracy would never pardon the vengeance of the people againſt one of its regiments, and that the affair of the 10th of Auguſt was an inſuperable bar to any further connection of a nature like that which it was now propoſed to diſſolve. A confident hope, though certainly with little foundation, was expreſſed, that the numerical loſs would be reduced to a mere trifle by the voluntary enliſtment of at leaſt two-thirds of the diſbanded ſoldiers into the republican armies. To ſecure this point, a conſiderable bribe was offered to all who ſhould deſert from their colours. The reporter concluded by a project of a decree for diſmiſſing the Swiſs regiments, which was adopted without any deliberation. Many officers and ſoldiers were utterly ruined by this profligate breach of ſolemn engagements; and the whole tranſaction was afterwards worthily crowned by a ſtoppage of the arrears and pay which were juſtly due to them. This laſt ſtep was probably intended as a puniſhment to the diſcarded troops, for having diſappointed the hopes which M. Briſſot had led the aſſembly to entertain of their readineſs to renounce their own country, and eſpouſe the cauſe of revolutionary France.

The convention, which ſoon after met, trod with undeviating footſteps the path that had been traced for it by the aſſembly. It had not ſat more than four days when it received, and referred to the executive council, an invitation to profit by the good diſpoſitions, as they were called, of the citizens of Bienne, Neufchatel, and the Pays de Vaud. While the convention was thus deliberating upon offers of aſſiſtance from rebels, the Helvetic diet at Arau, was burying former outrages in oblivion, and declaring its firm reſolution to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality. Yet ſo little gratitude was felt for this pacific behaviour, that when, a few days after, Berne and Uri remonſtrated againſt the occupation of the biſhopric of Baſil by the French troops, their remonſtrances were treated with the moſt ſovereign contempt. As entreaties had been in vain, the two cantons were compelled to reſort to more effectual meaſures; and an army of obſervation, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, was ordered to cover their frontier towards the Rhine from any intended invaſion. This deciſive ſtep, together with that which was at the ſame time taken on the ſide of Geneva, towards which another Berneſe army had marched, and above all, the diſcovery, that the fortreſſes of Franche Comte were not in a ſtate of defence, ſeems, for a moment, to have diſconcerted the republican leaders. An addreſs, expreſſive of a deſire to live on amicable terms with the Swiſs nation, was, in conſequence, drawn up and publiſhed. Yet, even under all the untoward circumſtances of the caſe, the framers of this addreſs, which was intended as a pledge of amity, could not forbear from endeavouring to ſet the people at variance with the governments under which they lived. Much declamation was employed to revive the ancient hatred againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and much pains was taken, at a great expence of truth, to repreſent as an act of juſtice the ſlaughter of thoſe brave men who had fallen in defending the

Thuilleries.

Thuilleries. The whole concluded by phrases of an equivocal nature, which might be construed or not into menace, as was found most convenient. The pens of Condorcet and Claviere were likewise engaged in writing, to the most distinguished characters in Switzerland, public letters in the same blended style of soothing and threatening which characterized the official address.

But, in proportion as the success of the French armies increased, the prudential fears of the government, with respect to the hostility of the Swiss, wore off, and the old system was pursued with greater violence than ever. Three officers of one of the disbanded regiments had returned to Soleure, where they made themselves so conspicuous, by their activity in the diffusion of revolutionary principles, that the magistrates thought proper to commit them to prison. This necessary act of internal police was warmly resented by the convention, and, after a furious speech from Gregoire against the cantons of Fribourg and Soleure, a decree was passed, authorizing the executive council to insist upon the enlargement of the three officers, and declaring that a refusal would be considered as an infraction of the treaties by which the two powers were connected.

This war of words was soon found too unprofitable to be continued, and a more spirited and gainful mode of hostility was finally decided upon. Towards the close of the year 1792, a plan was arranged for the attack of Switzerland, in three directions. On the side of Savoy, the army of the Alps was to overrun the Pays de Vaud, and the canton of Fribourg; while, on the Rhine, the army in that quarter was to obtain possession of Basil, either by surprise, treachery, or assault. A center and connecting division, rapidly advancing from Porentrui, by the way of Soleure, was to proceed against the city of Berne, which, from its treasures, granaries, and arsenal, was looked upon as an object of the greatest importance. Bombs and red-hot bullets were to be relied on for its speedy reduction, though it cannot be forgotten that the use of such means of annoyance by the Austrians, at the siege of Lisle, had been held out to the world as an act of the most flagrant and detestable cruelty. In the progress of the three armies, much assistance was hoped from the malecontents of the country. A month was considered as sufficient time for the completion of the whole. The democratic cantons were, for the present, to be spared. From their rugged and mountainous situation, almost impenetrable by force, it was, perhaps, thought that the slow operation of revolutionary doctrines would be more effectual towards their reduction than open violence under such striking disadvantages.

What would have been the event of such a daring incursion, it is impossible with certainty to affirm. It appears most probable, that the assailants would have paid for their temerity by an entire defeat, which, under all the circumstances of the time, must have ended in their ruin. The plan was, however, not brought into action, as more pressing calls, arising from the altered situation of their affairs, compelled its projectors to direct their attention and their forces to other quarters. Switzerland was thus suffered to enjoy, for a few years longer, a deceitful repose, by which she was eventually

robbed of that happiness and independence which had for so many generations been her boast and her glory.

After the flagrant injustice which, in violation of long-established rights, sanctioned by the most solemn treaties, had been exercised towards the German princes who held possessions in Alsace, it was not difficult to foresee that such other princes of the empire, as had the misfortune to be situated in the dangerous vicinity of France, would not be treated with any greater regard to equity or decorum. Accordingly, while Custine was busy in labouring by force or fraud * to subvert the more extensive and distant states of Germany, the necessary means were pursued by the convention to annihilate, or at least to insult and weaken the less powerful ones, who were placed immediately on the republican frontier.

One of the first sufferers by this system was the Elector Palatine, whose property, in the department of the lower Rhine, was put under sequestration. It was in vain that the elector pleaded his neutrality, and the favourable dispositions which he had always shewn. The only result of his endeavours to obtain redress was a scurrilous attack upon him, and a censure of the republican envoy at his court, who had ventured to transmit to his masters this offensive application. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt was equally unsuccessful in an attempt of the same kind, and excited much dissatisfaction by giving the appellation of "his subjects" to those who lived under his authority. Remonstrances from several quarters, among which was one from the duke of Deux-Ponts on the wanton devastation of his forests, were treated in a similar contemptuous manner. So strong indeed was the hatred against all titled rulers, that even assistance from any of them in the great work of new moulding society, appears to have been avoided as a sort of pollution; for when the prince of Salm Kyrbourg, in a letter, which can only be excused on the score of insanity, declared his acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the people, and asked the aid of France to abolish personal servitude, as well as the fanaticism of priests and monks; the convention, instead of manifesting any pleasure at this proposed alliance, or so much as referring it to a committee, got rid at once of the subject, by coldly and ungraciously passing to the order of the day. This slight was certainly the more galling, as they had allowed the honours of the sitting, and other marks of distinction, to vagabonds of almost every country, who had expressed a concurrence in their designs.

But, although the heads of the new republic gave no countenance to princes who were willing to release their subjects from the ties of allegiance, they were sufficiently ready to incite subjects to insurrection against their princes. The duke of Deux-Ponts had already complained of the havoc committed in his forests; a more serious cause of complaint was now given him. By a treaty, concluded in 1786, a small district was made over to him in exchange for his eventual succession to a part of the Palatinate, by which Landau is divided from France. It was now, by means of the convenient logic used on

* See chap. iii. p. 69, &c.

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all such occasions, discovered that the treaty was invalid, because an actual sovereignty had been bartered against a mere reversion, and the inhabitants of the district were, therefore, encouraged to rebel against the duke, and claim the protection of the French army, which was readily granted. Their example was followed by many other communes and baillages, which belonged to the princes of Hesse-Darmstadt, Weid-Runckel, and Nassau-Saarbruck. The whole of the territory thus obtained was, in a short time, and without any compensation being offered for it, irrevocably annexed to the neighbouring departments.

But these proceedings, though in themselves worthy of notice, as strongly marking the temper and character of those from whom they originated, were raised into more of historical importance than would otherwise have belonged to them by the circumstance of one of them having given birth to a measure, of so bold and decisive a nature, as entirely to remove every shadow of doubt, if indeed doubt ever could have been felt, of the real and ultimate designs of those who had seized upon the reins of government in France. These designs, it is true, had been abundantly obvious from the speeches, writings, and public conduct of the popular demagogues, but they had not hitherto been stamped with the sanction of a decree, by which they were to be embodied with, and form an essential and certainly not the least active portion of, the laws of the French republic. This, however, was now to be done.

On the nineteenth of November a deputy, of the name of Ruhl, who seems to have undertaken the office of advocate general to all rebellious subjects, rose and informed his colleagues, that a part of the duchy of Deux-Ponts was in open insurrection against its sovereign; and he demanded that the republic should declare that it would take under its protection all who expressed a wish to enter with it into the bonds of fraternity. He was seconded by Carra, and by other members, one of whom exclaimed, that the executive power ought to be charged to order the generals of the French armies instantly to avenge all nations who were in a state of oppression. At length, on the motion of Lepaux, the following decree was unanimously passed:—"The national "convention declares, in the name "of the French nation, that it will "grant fraternity and assistance to "all people who wish to recover "their liberty; and it charges the "executive power to send the neces-"sary orders to the generals to give "succour to such people, and to de-"fend those citizens who have suffer-"ed, or may suffer, in the cause of "liberty." That this decree might not remain a secret to those for whose benefit it was intended, a translation of it in every foreign language was ordered to be printed.

This decree was, on the face of it, nothing less than a declaration of exterminatory war against all existing governments. The power which it assumed of intermeddling with their interior concerns was undefinable and unbounded. France alone was to judge of the propriety of putting the law into execution; and it is manifest that her judgments in such a cause were not likely to be of the most equitable kind. The most insignificant club, the most trifling disturbance, would afford her, at every moment, a pretext for coming

ing forward in the name of the people. The law indeed obviously held out a bounty of the first magnitude to treason, and as long as it kept a place in the code of the republic, so long might she be considered as virtually at war with every civilized nation.

But however daring the decree of the nineteenth might be, the palm in this sort of merit was entirely borne from it by a subsequent decree, which was passed on the fifteenth of December, for extending the French system to all countries occupied by the republican armies. This monstrous and tyrannical mandate was conveyed in the following peremptory language, the force of which would be materially weakened by any attempt at abridgment:—

"The national convention, after "having heard the report of the "united finance, military, and diplo- "matic committees, *faithful to the* "*principle of the sovereignty of the* "*people, which will not permit them* "*to acknowledge any of the institutions* "*militating against it*; and willing "to fix the regulations to be observed "by the generals of the armies of "the republic, in those countries "to which they may carry their "arms, decree:

Art. 1. "In those countries "which *are or shall be occupied* by the "armies of the French republic, the "generals shall immediately pro- "claim, *in the name of the French* "*nation*, the abolition of all the ex- "isting imposts or contributions; of "tythes; of all feudal and manorial "rights, fixed or casual; of real or "personal servitude; of the exclu- "sive right of hunting and fishing; "of the nobility; and, generally, "all privileges;—they shall declare "to the people, that they bring "them peace, succours, fraternity, "liberty, and equality."

Art. 2. "*They shall proclaim the* "*sovereignty of the people, and the* "*suppression of all existing authorities*; "they shall then convoke the people "in primary or the commonalty as- "semblies, to create and organize "a provisionary administration; "they shall cause the present decree, "and the proclamation hereto an- "nexed, to be published and affixed "in the language or dialect of the "country, and to be executed with- "out delay in every district."

Art. 3. "*All the agents and offi-* "*cers of the former government, mi-* "*litary or civil, as well as the indi-* "*viduals lately reputed noble, and the* "*members of any corporation lately* "*privileged, shall, but for the first elec-* "*tion only, be inadmissible to any place* "*in the provisional administration or* "*judicial power.*"

Art. 4. "*The generals shall forth-* "*with place under the protection and* "*safeguard of the French republic all* "*property, moveable or immoveable,* "*belonging to the treasury, to the* "*prince, to his voluntary abettors,* "*adherents, or attendants; to the* "*bodies and communities, both civil* "*and religious*: they shall cause to "be drawn up, without delay, an "exact state thereof, which they "shall transmit to the executive "council; and they shall take every "measure in their power to cause "such property to be respected."

Art. 5. "The provisional admi- "nistration, appointed by the peo- "ple, shall be charged with the in- "spection and management of all "things put under the safeguard and "protection of the French repub- "lic; they shall cause the laws in "force to be executed, which relate "to the determination of civil and "criminal

"criminal suits, to the police and "public safety; they shall be charged "with the regulation and payment "of the local expences, and such as "shall be necessary for the common "defence; they shall establish con-"tributions, *provided always that "they be not levied on the indigent and "laborious class of the people.*"

Art. 6. "As soon as the provi-"sional administration shall be or-"ganized, the national convention "shall name commissaries from their "own body, to enter into fraternity "with them."

Art. 7. "The executive council "shall also name national commis-"saries, who shall afterwards repair "thither, for the purpose of con-"certing with the provisional ad-"ministration named by the people, "upon the measures to be taken for "the common defence, and upon "the means to be employed for "procuring the clothing and sub-"sistence necessary for the armies of "the republic, and to discharge the "expences which they have incur-"red, or shall incur, while they "remain upon their territories."

Art. 8. "The commissaries named "by the provisional executive pow-"er, shall transmit to them, every "fifteen days, an account of their "proceedings, together with their "observations subjoined: the exe-"cutive council shall approve or "reject them, and afterwards com-"municate the same to the conven-"tion."

Art. 9. "The provisional ad-"ministration named by the people, "and the functions of the national "commissaries, shall cease, as soon "as the inhabitants, after having "declared the sovereignty, liberty, "and independence of the people, "shall have organized a *free and po-"pular form of government.*"

Art. 10. "The French republic "shall deliver to the government "which shall be established, an ac-"count of the expences which the "former shall have incurred in the "common defence, and of the sums "which it may have received. The "French republic shall make ar-"rangements for what may remain "due; and, *in case the common in-"terest should then require the further "continuance of the troops of the re-"public on the foreign territory, the "republic* shall make the necessary ar-"rangements for their subsistence."

Art. 11. "*The French nation de-"clares, that it will treat as enemies "the people, who, refusing or renounc-"ing liberty and equality, are desirous "of preserving their prince, and pri-"vileged casts, or of entering into an "accommodation with them. The na-"tion promises and engages not to lay "down its arms, until the sovereignty "and liberty of the people, on whose ter-"ritory the French armies shall have "entered, shall be established, and not to "consent to any arrangement or treaty "with the princes and privileged "persons so dispossessed, with whom the "republic is at war.*"

By the preamble, and eleventh article of this decree, the principle which had been asserted on the nineteenth of November was not merely re-affirmed, but pushed to an extent beyond which it could not further go. The former law had left it to the choice of the people whether they would rebel or not, but, in the present instance, they were imperiously commanded to become traitors, under pain of military execution if they neglected to obey. The liberty and equality thus offered at

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the point of the bayonet was a cruel and insulting mockery; a slavery of the heaviest and most degrading kind. Even had a nominally independent government been, according to the rules here laid down, established in any conquered country, it is plain that it must have been formed from the very dregs of society, and could have preserved a precarious existence on no other condition than that of being a passive instrument in the hands of the parent republic. This point was amply secured by the first, third, and fifth articles, which at once deprived the higher orders of their rights and influence, and invested the lower with such privileges as had never been granted to them before. The fifth article was, in reality, admirably calculated to secure the affections and support of an unthinking and licentious mob.

The decree was, as soon as possible, transmitted to the generals of the French armies, accompanied with a copious commentary, by the executive council, on its purport, and on the mode and means of carrying it into effect. With respect to the first article, the generals and commissaries were told that "not even "a shadow of the ancient authorities "must be suffered to remain." The means which, in aid of force, were to be employed in overturning every thing are worthy of notice. "The "Commissaries," say the members of the council, "shall not only en"courage the writings destined to "popular instruction, the patriotic "societies, and all the establishments "consecrated to the propagation of "liberty, but they themselves shall "likewise have immediate communication with the people: they "shall prevent, by frequent explana"tions, the false interpretations, the "false reports, and all the falsehoods "by which evil-minded persons "may endeavour to lead astray the "public opinion. In short, it is "with the view of assisting the com"missaries in this important part of "their ministry, that the council has "thought proper to associate with "them a certain number of agents, "more particularly destined to these "instructive communications with "the inhabitants of the countries. "Further, in the different countries, "to which they shall be sent, shall be "transmitted to them, lists of those "citizens, who are known for their "patriotic sentiments, and who are "the most capable of co-operating "in the mission of the commissaries." The explanation and defence of the eleventh article is equally deserving of remark. "It is evident," say these enlightened professors of the rights of man, "that a people so ena"moured of its chains, and so obsti"nately attached to its state of bru"tishness as to refuse the restoration "of its rights, is the accomplice, "not only of its own despots, but "even of all the crowned usurpers "who divide the domain of the "earth and of men; that such a "servile people is the declared ene"my, not only of the French repub"lic, but even of all other nations, "and therefore, that the distinction "which we have so justly established "between government and people, "ought not to be observed in favour "of a people of this description; in "short, that the right of natural de"fence, the duty of insuring the "preservation of our liberty, and "the success of our arms, the ge"neral interest of restoring peace to

"Europe, which it cannot obtain "but by the annihilation of the des- "pots and their satellites, all conspire "in inducing us to treat such a peo- "ple according to the rigours of "war and of conquest." Nothing could be more explicit than such language, and if it was ever misunderstood, it certainly was not the fault of those by whom it had been used.

Though, in its ultimate scope, the action of this decree was meant to be co-extensive with the progress of French arms, and French principles, its immediate operation was designed to be tried upon the Low Countries. Cambon, the projector of it, had urged it on with a view to the spoil which might be thus obtained, and which was much wanted to replenish the revolutionary treasury. In a conversation with general Dumourier, he declared that he saw no resource but in getting possession of the specie, the public chests, the church plate and the church property, of the Netherlands. The plan he allowed to be unjust: but he defended it on the score of necessity. That it might ruin the Flemings he also admitted, but he considered this as a strong reason for persevering, as, in that case, they would be tempted, or rather compelled, to throw themselves into the arms of the republic. The decree of the fifteenth, he no less truly than emphatically said, tended to disorganize every thing; and, according to his ideas of policy, nothing could happen more desirable for France than such a complete disorganization among her neighbours, as would reduce them to the same state of anarchy under which she herself laboured.

An opportunity was soon found, or, more correctly speaking, made, to stimulate the exertions of the disaffected in every country, by affording them a decisive proof that the decrees which had been passed for their encouragement were not intended to remain a dead letter among the laws of the republic. At an early period of the year the territories of the Bishop of Basil had, in violation of existing treaties, and the neutrality of the empire, been forcibly seized by a detachment from the army of general Luckner.* The important pass of Porentrui was by this means secured, and a way opened for the invasion of the cantons of Berne and Soleure. That a firm hold might be kept of these advantages, it was now resolved to shut out for ever the rightful sovereign from all hope of regaining his authority. To accomplish this purpose, Gobet, bishop of Paris, afterwards so conspicuously infamous for his public apostacy from the Christian religion, was deputed to finish by intrigue what had been commenced by violence. Under his influence, and the protection of the French troops, twenty-five persons, whose principles it was thought could be relied upon, were convened together, and these men, not elected, nor sanctioned in any manner by the people, but, on the contrary, disavowed by them, as far as prudence would suffer it to be done, immediately commenced their sittings, and assumed the title of the Constituent Assembly. The first act of these self-appointed legislators was to issue a proclamation deposing the prince-bishop, and establishing a republic, which, from the ancient name of those who inhabited this district, was denomi-

* See Annual Register for 1792, Hist. part, p. 398.

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nated the republic of Rauracia. They also called upon the inhabitants of the circumjacent states to follow their example, and unite with them in the same cause. Intelligence of this event was transmitted, without delay, to the French executive council, and a demand was at the same time made of that support which had been promised to all rebellious subjects by the decree of the nineteenth of November. The council, faithful to the promise contained in that decree, the performance of which it declared to be a "sacred Dec. 4. "duty," heard the news with satisfaction, and lost no time in ordering general Biron to afford the new government whatever assistance it might think necessary to require.

A very short time, however, elapsed before the rulers of France discovered that the republic of Rauracia was not sufficiently powerful to preserve its existence, and that it ought to be incorporated with the French republic. The constituent assembly was therefore dissolved, and measures were taken to procure the election of another, which should be wholly devoted to the interests of those from whose authority it had derived its existence. The plan was finally successful, and the bishopric of Basil became, in consequence, at no very distant period, a portion of the revolutionary empire.

CHAP. VII.

Review of the conduct of France to Foreign Powers, continued. Her conduct towards England. Ancient rivalship of England and France. Various plans of France to humiliate England. Hopes entertained by her from the influence of revolutionary principles. Friendly conduct of the English government to France in various instances. Hopes of a long peace cherished by the English ministry. Lord Gower recalled from Paris after the tenth of August. M. Le Brun expresses himself satisfied on the neutrality of England. Change which soon after took place in his opinions. He attacks the conduct of England and Holland in a report to the Convention. The minister of the Marine warned to prepare for war. Papers of the factions filled with letters and essays concerning the progress of revolutionary principles in England. Great hopes entertained from the disaffected in this country. Proceedings of the seditious societies. Means employed by them to excite the people to rebellion. The Societies address the Convention. Address from the London Corresponding and four other Societies. From Newington. Favourable answer of the president. Address from some English at Paris. From the Constitutional society, with several thousand pair of shoes. Letter from the bearers of the last address expressing a belief that a British convention would soon meet. Remarkable answer of the president. Addresses and answers ordered to be translated and printed. Addresses from Belfast, Rochester, and the Revolution Society. Decree of the Executive Council for opening the Scheld. Decree for violating the neutrality of the Dutch territory. Measures taken in England against the disaffected. Parliament meets. Steps taken by parliament. Ministers direct their attention to the Continent.

Continent. Plan of negotiation propoſed by Lord Grenville to the court of St. Peterſburgh. Ardent wiſhes of the miniſter for peace. Theſe wiſhes expreſſed to M. Chauvelin. Conference of Mr. Pitt with M. Maret. Pacific language of Mr. Pitt to M. Maret. Unconciliating behaviour of France towards England. Decree of the 15th of December. Motion made in the Convention by M. Baraillon to declare that the decree of the 19th of November was not meant to include this country. It is univerſally ſcouted. Inſulting memorial of M. Le Brun concerning England. Negotiation opened by M. Chauvelin. His letter to Lord Grenville. He aſſumes the title of plenipotentiary of France. His letter inſolent in its language and unſatisfactory in its explanations. It threatens an appeal to the Engliſh nation againſt its government. Anſwer of Lord Grenville. Obſervations of his lordſhip on M. Chauvelin's letter. Refuſal to acknowledge M. Chauvelin as ambaſſador, under the preſent circumſtances. His explanations declared inſufficient. Explicit declaration of that conduct which was expected from France. Letter of M. Monge to the ſea-ports to excite them againſt England. Threatens England with an invaſion. The Childers ſloop fired at in conſequence by the batteries of Breſt. Other ports commence the fitting out of privateers. Report of M. Le Brun to the Convention on the alien act. Falſehood of his aſſertions ſhewn. Furious report of M. Kerſaint againſt England. Indecent attacks upon his Majeſty. Reaſoning on the conduct of Mr. Pitt. Haughty language uſed towards him. Character of Mr. Fox. Ireland and Scotland repreſented as ripe for revolt. Doubts entertained of England. War with all the maritime powers recommended. Splendid hopes of plunder. Decree propoſed for a great augmentation of the French navy. M. Genet appointed ambaſſador to America for the purpoſe of perſuading that country to join France againſt Great Britain. Note of M. Le Brun on the alien act. Reply of Lord Grenville. Note of M. Chauvelin on the prohibition to export corn. Reply of Lord Grenville. Note of the Executive Council. It offers no ſatisfaction on any of the points in diſpute; but on the contrary reaſſerts the offenſive principles before laid down. Concludes by an implied declaration of war. Hoſtile orders ſent by the Council to the ſea ports. Attack upon Zealand ordered. Report of M. Briſſot. Its decidedly hoſtile tendency. Complains of the recal of Lord Gower. Inſolent mention of Lord Grenville. The report reviews the complaints of the Britiſh cabinet. They are declared to be groundleſs. Falſe reaſonings and aſſertions of the reporter. Condemnation of him deduced from his own expreſſions. War recommended by him againſt England. He draws a gloomy picture of the ſituation of this country. His project of a decree. Report of M. Kerſaint. Its confeſſion in favour of England. Vigorous meaſures propoſed againſt England. Anſwer of Lord Grenville to the note of the 13th of the Executive Council. M. Chauvelin, in an inſolent letter, claims to be recognized as ambaſſador of the republic. His offenſive language with regard to the alien act. Anſwer of Lord Grenville. The Executive Council recal M. Chauvelin. Intelligence of the murder of Lewis XVI. is meanwhile received in this country, and an order given to M. Chauvelin to leave the kingdom. M. Dumourier attempts to prolong the negotiation for the purpoſe of gaining time. Requeſts an interview with Lord Auckland. It is granted.

Miniſters

Miniſters authorize Lord Auckland to treat. The Executive Council reſolve on immediate war. Report of M. Briſſot on a declaration of war againſt England and Holland. Abuſe of his Majeſty and the Stadtholder Futility of the reaſons for declaring war. War againſt England unanimouſly decreed. Addreſs to the Engliſh nation alſo voted Concluſion.

HAVING rapidly, but faithfully, ſketched the conduct of revolutionary France, towards the States of the Continent, and ſhewn that no laws, human nor divine, no natural barriers, neither the Alps, the Appenines, nor the Pyrenees, were of power to ſtop the march of her daring projects; that ſcarcely any government was ſuffered to exiſt without being ſubjected to violence, or, at leaſt, to inſult; and that what ſhe found invulnerable to open force ſhe laboured to undermine by the moſt inſidious arts; it now only remains to diſplay her, animated by the ſame malignant ſpirit, and purſuing the ſame mode of action, towards this country, which ſhe conſidered, and certainly not without ſufficient reaſon, as the moſt formidable obſtacle to her wild and dangerous ſchemes of univerſal dominion. That obſtacle once removed, her aſcendency would be eſtabliſhed, as ſhe well knew, in ſo firm and uncontrolable a manner as to defy all attempts which might hereafter be made to ſubvert or impair it.

The plan of depreſſing and humiliating Great Britain was, in truth, by no means a recent one. It had ever been the favourite object of France. The ancient animoſity of the two kingdoms, and the effects of it, ſtill lived in memory, and the feelings which they excited were not ſoothed by the events of more modern times. The reigns of Louis the fourteenth and fifteenth afforded no balm for the wounds which had been inflicted upon the national vanity, during the reigns of Philip of Valois, John the firſt, and Charles the ſixth. The old cauſe of conteſt was indeed extinct; but a new one, of equal force, was ſubſtituted in its place. Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of the balanced ſyſtem of Europe, England, from her ſituation and intereſts, had always been conſidered as its natural guardian and defender; and, in that character, ſhe had repeatedly, not leſs by her valour than by her influence, ſucceeded in compelling her ambitious neighbour to deſiſt from the darling ſcheme of deſtroying or reducing to dependence the circumjacent ſtates. The reſentment which France conſequently felt from the former diſgraces which that power had occaſioned her; the dread of thoſe to which ſhe might, from the ſame quarter, be expoſed in future; the reſtleſs wiſh for ſupremacy; and the natural rivalſhip of the two nations, ariſing from theſe and other cauſes, a rivalſhip which, unleſs the conſtitution of human nature could be altered, can never be done away; all theſe had long concurred in ſtimulating her to accompliſh, by every poſſible means, the degradation of her adverſary.

Different times and circumſtances had ſuggeſted different modes of effecting this purpoſe; but, whether the means employed was the fomenting a regicide faction, the bribing a profligate king, the ſupporting an excluded line of princes,

princes, or the diſſevering an extenſive colony from the parent ſtate, the end was invariably the ſame. France, by her efforts during the American war, had ſucceeded in rending from the Britiſh empire one of its moſt valuable dependencies, and had put others, of not leſs moment, in a ſituation of imminent danger. But, though ſhe had diminiſhed the poſſeſſions of her enemy, ſhe had wholly failed in her ſcheme of reducing that enemy to hold an inferior rank in the ſcale of nations. To her great ſurprize and mortification ſhe ſaw this country riſing, ſtill vigorous and formidable, after an event which had been conſidered as neceſſarily productive of inevitable ruin. A branch was lopped off, but the trunk remained as ſtrong and unbending as it had before been. Force being found an inadequate inſtrument, art was reſorted to. The proſpect of mercantile advantage was held out as a bait, and the commercial treaty was accordingly, in violation of all rules and principles, concluded, with a hope that, led away by the love of gain, and dreading pecuniary ſacrifices, England would abandon to France the independence of the Continent, and ſink, from being the arbiter of Europe, to a mere people of merchants and manufacturers. This plan, however, was nearly as unfortunate as every preceding one. In the very firſt experiment made by France on her neighbours, ſubſequently to this treaty, an experiment tried upon Holland, the outwork of this kingdom, ſhe was as promptly and ſucceſsfully reſiſted * as in any former time, by her antient and watchful opponent. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be allowed that, at a later period, this country ſeemed to have fallen into the ſnare which had been laid for her, and to remit ſomewhat of that vigilance which ſhe had hitherto diſplayed with regard to the repoſe and ſafety of the European commonwealth.

The French revolution, at length, took place, and gave to our eſtabliſhed enemy a means of annoyance, far more formidable than any ſhe had before poſſeſſed. The deſire of humiliating England, which had always animated France, was no ways weakened by the change in her political opinions. The hope of it was incalculably ſtrengthened. Doctrines, it was thought, might ſucceed where the ſword had failed. Againſt fleets and armies the valour and ſituation of England afforded her an entire ſecurity; but, neither intervening ſeas, nor a triumphant navy, could aſſure her of protection againſt the fatal effects of diſorganizing principles. Admirably calculated to encourage the hopes of dark and daring ſpirits, and to ſeduce ignorant or half-informed minds, thoſe principles, wherever they took root, diſſociated the citizen from his country, and converted him at once into its moſt active and dangerous foe. Forgetting all former rivalſhips he became, in effect, the miſſionary and ſoldier of a ſtate which had hitherto been an object of his hatred or contempt. France thus ſecured to herſelf, without labour, and without peril, an auxiliary army in every kingdom which ſhe might chuſe to invade.

The revolution was not ſlow in

* See Annual Regiſter, for 1787, Hiſt. part, p. 193—4—5* and Annual Regiſter for 1788, Hiſt. part, p. 83, &c.

working its natural effect upon Great Britain. It was hailed, by numbers, with the higheſt exultation. Weak and viſionary men greeted it as the dawning of a ſplendid day, the forerunner of univerſal peace and harmony among mankind; others, leſs innocent but more wiſe, men of preſuming talents and ambitious minds, who had ſeemed to be for ever condemned by birth and fortune to obſcurity, were loud in their praiſes of an event which ſhewed the poſſibility of ſeeing their exertions rewarded by a prize of the moſt ſeducing and magnificent nature. With ſocieties, compoſed of perſons ſuch as theſe, the French legiſlators had early engaged in correſpondence,* had conſidered, or affected to conſider, deputations from them, as ſpeaking the ſenſe of the entire nation, and had even gone ſo far as to enter, with one of them, into a ſort of alliance offenſive and defenſive. Great hopes were, in truth, entertained that the example of France would ſtimulate this country to revolutionary proceedings. "The "people of England," it was ſaid by M. Briſſot,† in the commencement of 1792, "would offer up "prayers for the ſucceſs of France, "which they knew would one day "be their own."

While, however, almoſt all the powers of Europe looked on democratical France with a jealous eye, England alone preſerved, towards the new government, not merely a neutral, but a friendly character. Solicited by the emperor§ to join in the declaration of Pilnitz, this country anſwered by a decided negative; and the king of Sweden was even apprehenſive of its reſiſtance‖ to the projects which he had formed for reſtoring Lewis the XVIth to the enjoyment of his liberty. Spain, alſo, was actually prevented from engaging in the confederacy, by the refuſal of England to give a pledge that the buſineſs of Nootka-Sound ſhould not be puſhed to a rupture during the time that Spain was at war with France. In the Weſt Indies the colony of St. Domingo was preſerved to the parent ſtate, by the prompt ſuccour, of arms and proviſions, which was furniſhed, at a moment of imminent danger, by lord Effingham, the governor of Jamaica. The conduct of lord Effingham on this occaſion was approved by his majeſty. Haraſſed and reduced to deſpair, by the inſurrections, which the doctrines of Briſſot and his friends had excited in St. Domingo, the coloniſts of that iſland repeatedly, in the courſe of the years 1791 and 1792,‡ preſſed the Britiſh government to take them under its protection, which was as conſtantly refuſed, in conſequence of its firm reſolution not to tranſgreſs, in the leaſt, the bounds of neutrality. A further and deciſive proof of the pacific intentions of this country was afforded at the commencement of the year 1792, by the reduction of the army and navy, which took place on a recommendation from the throne; by

* See Annual Regiſter for 1792, Hiſtorical part, pp. 105, 218, 311, and 365. † Ibid. p. 274.

§ See Memoirs relating to the French Revolution. By the Marquis de Bouillé. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 428. ‖ Ibid. p. 434.

‡ See "Lettre a M. Bryan Edwards, par M. de Charmilly," pp. 4 and 5.

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the non-renewal of the subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and by the abolition of taxes to the annual amount of two hundred thousand pounds. In the course of this year Great Britain was again solicited, by various powers, to join in the war against France, but these solicitations were no less fruitless than the former had been. So wedded, in fact, was the ministry to its neutral system, and so sanguine in its hopes of preserving it unbroken, that a period of fifteen years was the shortest which the chancellor of the exchequer was disposed to fix for the probable continuance of the peace which England then enjoyed.

But these pleasant dreams were, unfortunately, not of long duration. The tenth of August arrived, the French monarchy was overturned, and all authority in France fell into the hands of those factions whose object notoriously was to revolutionize Europe. In this situation of affairs, when the old government was destroyed, and nothing stable substituted in its place, when the rulers of to-day might be the traitors of to-morrow, ministry resolved to wait the event of those proceedings which had just begun; still adhering, nevertheless, as firmly as before, to their plan of avoiding all interference in the concerns of France. As the presence of lord Gower at Paris was now wholly useless, he being accredited only to Lewis the XVIth, he was recalled to England. In the letter * announcing his recal, his lordship was instructed to lose no opportunity of declaring that his Britannic majesty was resolved to remain faithful to his principle of neutrality. The reply † of M. Le Brun, on the communication of this letter to him, was conceived in polite and amicable terms. It expressed regret for the recal of an ambassador who had always been the organ of friendly expressions and benevolent ideas, but declared at the same time a confidence that the British cabinet would not, at this decisive moment, depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality, which it had hitherto manifested. The council, it said, flattered themselves that nothing would interrupt the good understanding which subsisted between the two nations. M. Le Brun also informed the convention, in a report respecting the state of his department, that the British ambassador, in quitting Paris, had left behind him satisfactory testimonies of the sentiments of his court.

The fears with which the combined armies had inspired the republican factions were, however, the sole cause of this moderate conduct which was observed with respect to Great Britain. As those fears were dissipated, the language of the French minister and leaders gradually recovered its natural tone of arrogance and aversion. The Prussians had scarcely commenced their retreat from Champagne, when the change became clearly visible. The first public sign of this change was given by Le Brun, in a memorial to the convention on the dispositions of foreign powers with regard to France. England and Holland were, in this paper, mentioned as pro-

Sept. 26.

* See Annual Register, 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. 326*.
† Ibid. p. *327.

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ſeſſing neutrality, but doubts were ſtrongly expreſſed as to the ſincerity of theſe profeſſions. "It would," ſaid M. Le Brun, "be an unpardonable temerity, to feel perfectly at "eaſe on the real intentions of theſe "two powers. For it is in this "inſtance, more than in any other, "that we may with truth affirm, "that if the people in general are "favourably diſpoſed to our revo"lution, their governors, on the "contrary, view it with hatred, "and with a hatred that is ſtrongly "marked; and that if, on the one "hand, the intereſt of the national "commerce allows us to hope that "they will be faithful to their "proteſtations of neutrality, on the "other we have much, perhaps, to "fear from the perſonal affections "of thoſe who govern." At this time, alſo, as appears by the confeſſion of M. Briſſot,* the probability of a war with the maritime powers was foreſeen, and the miniſter of marine was forewarned to prepare for ſuch an event, by the diplomatic committee, and the committee of general defence. From this period the papers of the factions were thronged with letters and eſſays on the political opinions and ſituation of the people of the Britannic iſlands. The moſt unwarrantable licenſe of language was uniformly uſed by theſe compoſitions, in ſpeaking of the Engliſh government; while the ſeditious meetings held, and the ſeditious toaſts drank, here or in Ireland, were carefully narrated, highly applauded, and conſidered as infallible indications of an approaching revolt.

The democratic ſocieties in this country were, in the mean while, not inactive in their endeavours to realize the hopes of their Gallic friends. Their numbers daily increaſed, and their exertions, in the diffuſion of treaſonable doctrines, were inceſſant and vigorous. No mode that could be thought of for poiſoning the minds of the people was allowed to remain unemployed. Speeches, lectures, pamphlets, paragraphs, handbills, and feſtive or political meetings, all were brought in aid of the cauſe of rebellion. Even the ſacredneſs of religion was profaned to aſſiſt in this unholy ſervice; and the great body of methodiſts was aſked "if † both rea"ſon and revelation did not teach "them, that, in order to lay the "axe to the root of the tree of "wickedneſs, they muſt begin with "kings and princes, biſhops and "prieſts?" Allurements and incitements were varied, according to the character of the perſon, or claſs, to which they were addreſſed. The farmer was ſtimulated to diſloyalty by the mention of tythes, ‡ the mechanic and manufacturer by the high price which they paid for their commodities, the inkeeper by the burthen of a ſtanding army, and the envious and unthinking of all deſcriptions by declamation upon ſinecure places and uſeleſs offices. An exemption from the load of taxes § was offered as a lure to the labouring part of the community,

* See "Briſſot a ſes Commettans," p. 73. London edition.
† See Annual Regiſter for 1792, Part 2, Appendix to Chronicle, p. *151.
‡ See Appendix to Chronicle, 1793, p. 76*.
§ Ibid. 1792, p. *151.

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while an equal diviſion of property was propoſed by others,* as a certain attraction to the idle and the deſperate. A national convention was looked up to by the diſaffected, as the conſummation of all their labours; and, aſſuredly, this object once attained it would not have been difficult to finiſh, according to the emphatic language uſed by ſome of them †, with ripping up monarchy by the roots and placing democracy in its ſtead. The whole of theſe incendiary proceedings was fomented by the agents of France, among the principal of whom is ſaid to have been the apoſtate biſhop of Autun, Talleyrand Perigord.

Emboldened by the apparent ſtrength which they had acquired, the ſocieties reſolved to carry their ſentiments and their wiſhes to the bar of the French convention. The lead in this buſineſs was taken by the London correſponding and four other ſocieties. Their addreſs † was drawn up as early as the twenty-ſeventh of September, but, either, as was ſtated, from a deſire to obtain a greater number of ſignatures, or from motives of prudence, it was not preſented till the ſeventh of November. It deſcribed the Britiſh nation as deprived of nearly all its boaſted liberty, and almoſt ſunk to the ancient ſlavery of France; laviſhed the moſt abuſive epithets upon kings, miniſters, and ariſtocracies; threatened his majeſty in caſe he joined the coalition of traitors and deſpots, as they were called; and vauntingly aſſerted that the partizans of freedom in the Britiſh iſles became daily more numerous and more formidable. Frenchmen were already free, and Britons were preparing to become ſo. The triple alliance, not of crowns, but of the people, of America, France, and Britain, would, it was ſaid, give freedom to Europe, and peace to the world; and it was, in the true revolutionary ſpirit, coolly added, that theſe advantages would be well purchaſed, even at the expence of much blood. Another addreſs §, nearly of the ſame tenor, was three days after tranſmitted by a ſociety at Newington. A reply ‖ of the moſt favourable kind was given to them by the preſident of the convention. Aſſuming it as a fact that theſe addreſſes ſpoke the opinions of the Engliſh people, he contemptuouſly warned the government to be cautious how it acted, and expreſſed his hopes that the epoch was not far diſtant when the intereſts of Europe, and of mankind, would invite the two nations to ſtretch out the hand of fraternity. So ſtrong indeed was the perſuaſion that this deſired epoch was nigh, that, as we have before ſeen, M. Gregoire did not heſitate to announce ¶ its near approach to the rebel Savoyards, who, on the twenty-firſt of November, came to lay their country at the feet of France. Deputations with addreſſes now

* See Appendix to Chronicle, 1792, p. 152*.
† Ibid. 1793, p. *79.
‡ See Annual Regiſter for 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. 344*.
§ Ibid. p. 346*. ‖ Ibid. ¶ See p. 137.

poured in from all quarters. Two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed were preſented on the ſame day. The one * was from a number of Britiſh ſubjects reſident at Paris, who had lately met at a coffee-houſe † to dine and
Nov. 28 drink treaſonable toaſts; the other from the ‡ conſtitutional ſociety. The language of the firſt was of a more decided kind than had before been uſed. All nations, it was confidently predicted, would follow the example of France; and the utmoſt impatience was expreſſed for the arrival of that happy moment when an intimate union ſhould be formed between the French republic, and the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch nations. The neceſſity too of a convention for this country was ſtrongly intimated. The addreſs of the conſtitutional ſociety expreſſed, in terms ſomewhat different, the ſame animoſity againſt the Engliſh government, the ſame affection for the French republic, and the ſame confident expectation of an approaching change. It was accompanied by a donation of ſeveral thouſand pair of ſhoes for the republican armies. Had the ſentiments of this addreſs, however, not been expreſſed with ſufficient force, the bearers of it would have amply compenſated, by their energy, for any deficiency of this kind. They, in the plaineſt manner, declared, that the example of France had rendered the ſcience of revolutions eaſy, and that it would not be ſtrange if, within a very ſhort time, addreſſes of felicitation ſhould croſs the ſeas to a national convention in England. The anſwers § of the preſident were delivered in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal ſtyle. Participating in the belief that a Britiſh convention was on the eve of its eſtabliſhment, he hailed the addreſſers as republicans, and gave to this country, by anticipation, the title of a republic. Principles, he exclaimed to the coffee-houſe deputation of Paris, were waging war with tyranny, which would fall under the blows of philoſophy. Royalty, in Europe, was either deſtroyed or periſhing under the ruins of feodality, and the declaration of rights placed by the ſide of thrones was a devouring fire which would conſume them. The worthy members of the conſtitutional ſociety were alſo encouraged by an aſſurance, that the ſhades of Pym, Hampden, and Sidney, were hovering over their heads, and that the defenders of French liberty would one day be the ſupporters of their own. The reading of theſe addreſſes was frequently interrupted by the loudeſt and moſt tumultuous acclamations. So great was the delight which they inſpired, that they were unanimouſly ordered to be printed, ſent to the eighty-three departments, and tranſlated into all foreign languages. The donation of ſhoes was accepted with much gratitude. Other addreſſes from Belfaſt, Rocheſter, and the revolution ſociety ‖ were, ſhortly after,

* See Annual Regiſter for 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. *347.
† Ibid. Appendix to Chronicle, p. *153.
‡ Ibid. State Papers, p. 349*.
§ Ibid. pp. 348* and *351.
‖ Ibid. *349.

received,

received. The addreſs from Rocheſter * was remarkable for its daring contempt and defiance of the Engliſh government; that from the revolution ſociety for its reference to the times of Charles the Firſt, and "the tender joy" which its framers declared they felt "in "beholding this right of inſurrec- "tion ſucceſsfully exerciſed in ſo "large a country as that of the "French republic." The revolution ſociety, however, was not, at the moment when it diſpatched this addreſs, aware of all the extent of its obligations to the demagogues of France. It was during the time that this effuſion of tender joy was on its way to Paris, that the national convention, by its decree of the nineteenth †, ſolemnly guaranteed to all rebellious ſubjects that right of inſurrection which ſeems to have been conſidered by the revolution ſociety as a treaſure of ineſtimable value.

At the ſame time that conſpiracies were foſtered in the boſom of England, an attempt was alſo made by France to wound her through the ſide of her ancient ally, the United Provinces. Hoſtile plans had, in truth, long been meditated againſt the Dutch government, by the French revolutioniſts, who had more than once given encouragement to ſuch as had found it neceſſary to fly from Holland, in conſequence of ſeditious opinions and treaſonable practices. The period was now conceived to be favourable to more deciſive meaſures. A pow-

* This addreſs, in the ſhape of reſolutions, which was tranſmitted to the convention by M. le Brun, on the 29th of November, with an introduction of unqualified praiſe, ſhews perhaps more decidedly than any of thoſe which have before been quoted, the readineſs of the diſaffected to throw themſelves upon France for ſupport, and to make her cauſe entirely their own. As it has been omitted in its proper place in the laſt volume, we inſert it as a note.

Reſolutions of the ſociety eſtabliſhed at Rocheſter for the propagation of the rights of man.

"The ſociety having been informed that Mr. Lindſay is diſpatched to Paris without any diplomatic character, announcing the recognition of the French republic by the Engliſh miniſtry;

"Reſolved unanimouſly, that this ſociety devotes to the contempt, hatred, and indignation of the true friends of liberty, the agents of a corrupted adminiſtration which has had the audacity to ſend to the miniſters of a free people a certain Lindſay, with a menacing inſulting meſſage, in the view of obtaining conditions diſhonourable to the majeſty of the French people, and of making them abandon the cauſe of *thoſe people who aſpire to receive from it the gift of liberty.*

"Reſolved, that the preſident of *the ſociety ſhall invite all the friends of equality,* ALL THE SOCIETIES CORRESPONDING IN FRANCE, *to employ their zeal, their efforts, their ſolicitations with the executive council,* and with the citizen miniſter for foreign affairs, *neither to receive nor acknowledge the inſolent meſſenger Lindſay, and to refuſe all communication with the Britiſh cabinet till it ſhall have acknowledged the ſovereignty of the people,* and driven from the court the infamous Calonne, an incendiary, odious inſtigator, intriguing partizan of deſpotiſm, and malevolent agent of an infamous party.

"Reſolved alſo, that the ſociety ſhall continue its ſittings twice a week, and that *thanks ſhall be given to citizen De la Chefnaye, for his indefatigable zeal in procuring us knowledge, information, and objects of inſtruction.*"

† See chap. vi. p. 253.

erful French army was in poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, and England, it was thought, would be too much occupied by domeſtic troubles to pay any attention to diſtant objects. It was reſolved to commence by opening the Scheld, which river, by the treaty of Munſter, confirmed by ſubſequent treaties down to the year 1785, was to remain for ever cloſed. The command of this river by the French would expoſe the provinces of Zealand and Holland, and conſequently the very exiſtence of the Dutch republic, to the moſt imminent danger. Nor was it a matter of indifference to England that a naval ſtation, oppoſite to her eaſtern and unprotected frontier, was in the power of an active and inveterate enemy. The executive council was not inſenſible to thoſe advantages which might be derived from the Scheld. As an open avowal of its real motives would, however, have been an act of imprudence, the council determined to veil its ambitious projects under the ſacred names of liberty and juſtice. On the ſixteenth of November it accordingly promulgated a decree * by which the commander in chief of the French army in the Netherlands was ordered to employ every method in his power to enſure the liberty of navigation and tranſports, in the whole courſe of the Scheld and Meuſe. The defence of this daring uſurpation was grounded upon ſome pretended principle of natural law, and the impreſcriptible rights of man. The glory of the French republic, it was alſo ſaid, required that, wherever the protection of its arms was extended, freedom ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and tyranny overthrown. A ſecond decree was on the ſame day paſſed by the council, ordering the purſuit of the routed Auſtrians to be continued even into the Dutch territory,† in caſe their retreat ſhould be attempted in that direction. The firſt of theſe decrees was ſoon put in force, by a ſquadron of French veſſels, which, in ſpite of the formal proteſt of the Dutch officer commanding at the mouth of the Scheld, forced the paſſage of the river, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting in the ſiege of the citadel of Antwerp.

The boldneſs of the conſpirators in England was now arrived at ſuch a height, and their plans appeared in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, that the miniſtry found itſelf compelled to adopt, without delay, the moſt vigorous meaſures for the ſecurity of the ſtate. The militia was accordingly embodied; the Tower put in a ſtate of defence; the guard at the Bank augmented; ſeveral regiments drawn to the neighbourhood of the metropolis; and parliament, which had been prorogued to the enſuing January, was ſummoned to meet on the thirteenth of

* See Annual Regiſter, 1792, part 2, State Papers, p. *355.

† The expreſs mention of Holland is purpoſely ſuppreſſed in that copy of this decree which was publiſhed in the Moniteur, and of which a tranſlation was given in our State Papers for 1792, p. 354*. The terms are there generalized, and the order is confined to caſes where "*an aſylum ſhall be given*" to the Auſtrians. The original decree, however, a copy of which was publiſhed by Dumourier himſelf, in his "Correſpondence with Pache," concludes in the following manner, —"to purſue the enemy *even on the Dutch territory*, in caſe *they ſhould retire* there."

December. On the meeting of parliament an augmentation of the sea and land forces was ordered, and bills were introduced for regulating aliens, and prohibiting the circulation of assignats in the British dominions. The exportation of corn to France was also forbidden by an order of council.

Nor did the British ministry confine themselves solely to measures of internal precaution. Roused also, at last, from their forgetfulness of continental affairs, they resolved to think of making some efforts to preserve the menaced existence of the great common-wealth of Europe. Russia had already called their attention to this important subject, and requested to know their sentiments upon it. As all further delay had become highly imprudent, an answer was now transmitted by lord Grenville* to the enquiries of that court. The plan of action laid down by his lordship was characterized, in no common degree, by a spirit of moderation. A concert of powers was proposed, for the purpose of inducing France, by the way of negotiation, to withdraw her armies into her own territories,

* This important document had not been published when the State Papers of this volume were sent to press. The following extract, which is all that has appeared, is given from a "speech of Mr. Pitt, delivered in the House of Commons on the third of February 1800, on a motion for an address to the throne, approving of the answers returned to the communications from France relative to a negotiation for peace."

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Grenville, to his Majesty's minister in Russia, dated the 29th of December 1792, stating a desire to have an explanation set on foot on the subject of the war with France.

"The two leading points on which such explanation will naturally turn, are "the line of conduct to be followed previous to the commencement of hostilities, "and with a view, if possible, to avert them; and the nature and amount of "the forces which the powers engaged in this concert might be enabled to use, "supposing such extremities unavoidable. With respect to the first it appears, "on the whole, subject however to future consideration and discussion with the "other powers, that the most advisable step to be taken would be, that sufficient "explanation should be had with the powers at war with France, in order to "enable those not hitherto engaged in the war to propose to that country terms "of peace. That these terms should be, the withdrawing their arms within the "limits of the French territory; the abandoning their conquests; the rescinding "any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nations; and "the giving, in some public and unequivocal manner, a pledge of their "intention no longer to foment troubles, or to excite disturbances against "other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different powers of "Europe, who should be parties to this measure, might engage to abandon all "measures, or views of hostilities against France, or interference in their in-"ternal affairs, and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with "the existing powers in that country, with whom such a treaty may be concluded. "If, on the result of this proposal so made by the powers acting in concert, these "terms should not be accepted by France, or being accepted, should not be "satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to "each other to enter into active measures, for the purpose of obtaining the ends "in view; and it may be considered, whether, in such case, they might not "reasonably look to some indemnity for the expences and hazards to which they "would necessarily be exposed."

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to reſcind all thoſe decrees which attacked the rights and ſovereignty of other nations, and to give ſome ſolemn pledge of her intention to ceaſe from fomenting troubles or exciting diſturbances againſt other governments. In return, the reſpective powers were to abandon all hoſtile views againſt France, all interference in her internal affairs, and to maintain an amicable intercourſe with the exiſting authorities in that country. Hoſtilities were only to be reſorted to on the refuſal of theſe terms by France, or on her violation of them, when they were once accepted. The anſwer thus given to the enquiries of Ruſſia, was communicated alſo to the court of Berlin, with which England was connected by a defenſive alliance.

Though compelled to look forward to a war, the Engliſh miniſtry felt, nevertheleſs, no ſmall anxiety to avoid, if poſſible, ſuch a painful extremity. The deſire of preſerving a good underſtanding with France was expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to M. Chauvelin, both by Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, in a converſation which took place on the twenty-ninth of November. Explanations were given, and earneſtly intreated; and he was alſo aſſured that outward forms would be never ſuffered to ſtand in the way by his majeſty whenever the queſtion related to the obtaining of ſuch declarations as might be advantageous and ſatisfactory to both parties. So great, indeed, was the readineſs of Mr. Pitt to negotiate, that he conſented to grant a conference, which was demanded by a perſon who refuſed to give his name, but who ſtyled himſelf an agent of the executive council. When the meeting took place this perſon confeſſed himſelf to have no authority whatever to treat, and referred the miniſter to M. Maret. An interview * was, notwithſtanding,

* The following letter detailing the conference of M. Maret with Mr. Pitt has been omitted among the State Papers. It was publiſhed by the French government; but with what view it is not eaſy to perceive, as the letter clearly proves the deſire of the Engliſh miniſter to avoid, by any poſſible means, a war with France.

Extract of a letter from Citizen Maret to the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs in France.

"London, Dec. 2, 1792. Firſt Year of the Republic.

"I am about to give you a ſhort account, citizen, of a conference I have had with M. T. W. a member of parliament, and true friend of the two nations. A part of the ſubjects which we debated will be found in the detail which I muſt afterwards give you of a more important interview.

"What are the intentions of the French government in relation to Holland? Can any compromiſe be admitted reſpecting the opening of the Scheldt? Such are the queſtions on which M. T. W. deſired to have information, which I have reaſon to believe he intended to communicate to one of the chiefs of the government. Is England diſpoſed to war? Has ſhe negociated with Spain to alienate that power from us? On the ſuppoſition of peace, would the cabinet of St. James's be diſpoſed to recognize the republic, and receive a French ambaſſadour? Such are the points on which I deſired to penetrate into the intentions of the Engliſh government. I began by declaring, that it was ſolely as a French patriot that I would treat with an Engliſhman, the friend of liberty, and of the intereſt of the two nations: after having heard this converſation, M. T. W. ſpoke.—My anſwers were founded on the following *baſes*:—Before the quitting of France

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ing, granted to this latter gentleman, who was found to be as unfurnished with instruction as the agent by whom he had been introduced. Yet the minister did not hesitate to converse with him, to press him to procure the necessary powers for negotiating, and to manifest to him the most ardent wish of avoiding a war.

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I was assured that the minister of foreign affairs, and the executive council, had no hostile projects against Holland. Since my arrival in England I have had access to all the dispatches addressed to Noailles and Chauvelin; and I saw nothing in them to make me suppose that there was any change in the system of the French government on that subject. The determination taken in council is founded on the first principles of our liberty; it has been approved by the national convention, sanctioned by public opinion, and executed by our generals—it is irrevocable. It is, besides, free Belgium herself which has burst this last of her chains, and broken fetters imposed on her by her despot and our enemy. We have not violated treaties, which are become null by the fact of the existence of a new power, which could not have been consulted in a convention in which it was the most interested: a compromise on this point would be, on our part, injustice, feebleness, and absurdity.

"The decree of the 19th of November could not be applicable to England, of which the people believe themselves to enjoy liberty under a king, and with a constitution which they may improve or change, but which they will preserve without ceasing to be (or to believe themselves) free. This decree rendered on the subject of Germany must, notwithstanding the generality of its expressions, have Germany alone for its object. It bears very directly on those nations of whom the governments are at war with us; it will bear upon England if the cabinet of St. James's declares war against us. The internal agitations of this country were spoken of; M. T. W. affected to say that the minister conceived no inquietude from them. It was agreed that the monarchical and constitutional associations, which the government supports, and the "*God save the King*" which it pays at the theatre of the Haymarket, were its sole motives of security. He afterwards complained of the means which the French government employed to agitate the English people, and provoke them to revolt. I affirmed that our government did not employ such base means, worthy only of feebleness; that I was sure that it maintained here apostles neither of rebellion nor of liberty; that it did not waste the treasures of the state to create events which, if they were to arrive, must be the work of reason; and that, besides, if we were closely pressed on that head, we should also have some questions to put to Mr. Pitt. In the midst of these discussions I obtained confessions which conduct me to the following conclusion: Mr. Pitt, whose present system and situation are such as I have stated in my last letter, dreads war much more than the aristocracy of opposition. That party in the ministry, at the head of which is my lord Hawkesbury, and which professes the most absolute royalism, desires war; they have the majority in the council: Mr. Pitt is thus personally interested in our having pacific intentions. The cabinet of St. James's has certainly negociated with Spain; and you are not mistaken respecting the subject of these negociations; it appears that Mr. Pitt has had very little share in them. The moment to exact the recognition of the republic is not yet arrived. Difficulties, it is believed, might be now experienced by us which we should not have felt a fortnight ago: a preliminary negociation might be possible and necessary. I quitted M. T. W. sufficiently satisfied, very well disposed towards us, and preparing himself, I could not doubt, to give an account of this conversation, which has probably facilitated the interview with which I

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That no inclination to tranquillize the disquietudes of England was, at this moment, felt by France, is obvious from the proceedings of the convention and the French minister. The decree of the nineteenth of November had, it was well known, excited in this country the most serious and well-founded alarm. But so far were those, who had framed this decree, from wishing to remove the fears

am about to occupy you. You know with what active intelligence a common friend had disposed every thing. The very reserved conduct which I have held here, and of which the minister was well informed, for he did not fail to have me rigorously watched, has removed prejudices against me which I should have supposed inevitable. Mr. Pitt therefore desired to see me: the first appointment failed; the second, fixed for this day, took place this afternoon.

Mr. Pitt. One of your friends* said to Mr. Long that you were very desirous of seeing me before you returned to France.—*H. B. Maret.* It was natural that a Frenchman should have a strong desire to present his homage to a minister, justly celebrated, and who has done so much for the prosperity of a power which republican France no longer wishes to regard as a rival, and which she desires to treat as a friend. Mr. Long said to my friend that you would willingly converse with me on the interest of the two nations, and I have consented to come to offer to you all the information which may depend upon me. I am ready to answer your questions with the freedom which ought to exist between two men who equally desire the welfare of their country. You know, Sir, you must have been informed that I have here no mission, no authorised character.—*Mr. Pitt.* I know it. I am myself not authorised to see you, but I hope our conversation will not be the less friendly for not being official. Then Mr. Pitt spoke to me of his inquietude on the subject of Holland; of the alarms of the government and mercantile interest of England; of the absolute resolution of the ministry to support the allies of Britain, and to execute rigorously the treaties which unite her to other powers. He gave me assurances of his sincere desire to avoid a war destructive to the interior repose and prosperity of the two nations; he pressed me to tell him if the French government partook of that desire: I made the same answers, at more length, which I had done to M. T. W.—*Mr. Pitt.* It is then very unfortunate, Sir, that there has existed a long time between us a distance so injurious in its effects. Silence inflames on both sides suspicion and distrust, and confirms, even if it does not increase them. Could it not be possible that we should find some means of communication, of understanding each other, of coming nearer together? If the French government would authorise any one to treat with us, it would find us disposed to listen to him, and to behave with cordiality and confidence.—*H. B. Maret.* You speak, Sir, of a secret agent—I foresee a difficulty:—You know that in France we profess a great respect for the public opinion, which constitutes the force of free governments, and which is a wholesome restraint on those who govern. This public opinion, however, is ready to demand of the provisional executive council, why it has had the weakness not to require the recognition of the French republic by England? Will it then be possible to treat with you by the means of a secret agent? we have here a minister plenipotentiary who has all the confidence of our government.—*Mr. Pitt.* The question of a public character is precisely what we must avoid. Do not reject the sole means of bringing us together, and of making us understand each other; we shall then examine all the questions

* Mr. Miles.

fears to which it had given rise, that a sort of supplemental decree * was now passed, which reaf-
Dec. 15. firmed the principle of the former, in the strongest manner, and contained farther provisions of a most extraordinary and malignant nature. A still more striking exemplification was soon after given of their contempt for the feelings and opinions of the British government, and their resolution to apply the decree of the nineteenth to this country, whenever a favourable opportunity of so doing should be presented to their view. On the twenty-fourth of December M. Baraillon, grounding his proposal on the discontent testified by the English ministry, moved that the words "against all tyrants with whom "France may be at war," should be added, for the purpose of shewing that the decree was not meant to include the British islands within the limits of its operation. This just and moderate proposition, calculated to restore harmony between the two nations, was unanimously rejected, as unworthy of discussion. The ministers of the republic, on their part, were not in the least behind their masters in the display of an unconciliatory and insulting spirit. A memorial † laid before the convention, by M. Le Brun, afforded,

questions you propose to us, and all the propositions you may make us.—*H. B. Maret.* I am about, Sir, to return to Paris, unless you think it better that I should send a trusty person, and that I should remain here to offer you every information that you may desire. I shall urge M. Le Brun, if he thinks proper to send a secret agent, to make the person whom he shall choose to set out as soon as possible.—*Mr. Pitt.* Why should it not be yourself? Do not lose an instant in sending to Paris: I assure you that every moment is precious—that nothing is more urgent: demand an immediate answer; and as soon as you have received it write to me to fix the time when you will come to communicate it to me. I agreed. Mr. Pitt spoke to me again of Holland. I wished to speak to him of Monsr. Chauvelin: I appealed to what had passed between our minister and lord Grenville for a proof of our intentions; I made an eulogium on the conduct of our ambassadour, and I said it would certainly be approved by you. The conversation was finishing; I was going to withdraw; Mr. Pitt detained me to speak on the Scheld; I avoided all discussion on that subject. He did not insist—and the decree of the 19th of November became the object of the last part of our conference. I used again the same language which I had done to M. T. W. If an interpretation of that kind were possible, its effects would be excellent, said Mr. Pitt. I said no more, and left him."

* See pp. 154-5.

† The whole of this memorial is worthy of attention, both for its manner and matter. It has never yet, we believe, appeared in our language. A translation is therefore given.

"The British parliament, which had been prorogued till the month of "January, has been suddenly assembled, and the session was opened on the 14th "of this month. This extraordinary measure must naturally awaken the atten- "tion of government to its causes and its results: it is my duty not to leave the "national convention ignorant of what I have been able to discover. A little "time after the immortal 10th of August, and the change which was then intro- "duced in our form of government, the English ministry was pleased to cease "all official communication with us, and to recal its ambassador, either because "it

forded, in almoſt every part of it, deciſive proofs of the contempt in which the Britiſh government was held, and the hopes which were inſpired by the audacity of the diſaffected It diſcloſed, too, the important fact that ſecret agents were employed in England by the French republic.

To keep up, however, the ſemblance

" it was perſuaded that the period of a counter revolution, and of our ſlavery, " was at hand; or ſolely, as the celebrated orator of oppoſition has ingeniouſly " ſaid, in the firſt ſitting of the houſe of commons, becauſe it thought it indecent, and unworthy of the Britannic royal majeſty to keep a repreſentative near " an executive council, the members of which had not been anointed from the " holy creuſe at the high altar of Rheims. However this may be, the provisional " executive council did not think it ought to act in the ſame manner; it continued to keep at London a miniſter of the French republic, and *it expreſsly* " *charged him to ſeize upon all occaſions of aſſuring the Engliſh nation, that, in* " *ſpite of the ill-humour of its government, the French people deſired nothing more* " *ardently than to merit its eſtrem, and to preſerve the good harmony and friendſhip* " *which ought for ever to unite two generous and free nations.* The national convention *has received, at different times, ſplendid teſtimonies of the reciprocity of* " *this good will, and of the ſincere part which is taken by the Engliſh people* in the " ſucceſs of our arms, and the triumph of French liberty. But theſe glorious " events acted in a very different manner on the miniſtry of St. James's. Soon " the fear or the jealouſy of our victories, the ſolicitations of our cowardly rebels, " the vile intrigues of the hoſtile courts, and *a ſecret diſtruſt, inſtired by the* " *numerous adreſſes of felicitation which came to us from all parts of England,* " decided it to military movements of a more deciſive kind, and a prompt calling " together of the houſes of parliament. The national convention will ſee by the " ſpeech, of which I join here a tranſlation, that the hoſtile meaſures, having for " their principal and oſtenſible object to check the popular fermentation which " has for ſome time been manifeſt in England, are alſo to a certain point directed " againſt France, as ſeveral imputations are thrown out, the application of which " cannot be miſtaken, notwithſtanding the vague manner in which they are pre- " ſented. When the moment ſhall be come to reply to theſe imputations it will " be eaſy to the French government to juſtify itſelf fully. It will not fear to " appeal to the judgment of the whole of Europe, to the teſtimony of Pitt him- " ſelf. It will then be ſeen who ought to be accuſed of having ſown, with cor- " rupting gold, ſuſpicions, troubles, and diſorder. Certainly if even the *unac-* " *credited agents* whom we keep in England could legitimately have been ſuſ- " pected of theſe manœuvres, which belong only to weakneſs, if their conduct " had not been at once circumſpect and ſincere, can it be believed that the " members of the Engliſh miniſtry would have deſired to ſee them confidentially, " to communicate with them, to grant them ſecret conferences? I will lay be- " fore thoſe committees which the convention may think proper to point out " exact details of theſe conferences, of the complaints, objections, replies, offers, " and propoſitions which have been reciprocally made; the inſtructions which " have been given to our agents in theſe delicate circumſtances; and, finally, the " ſtate of the armaments which have been ordered.—The reſult is that, up to " this period, *thoſe armaments have nothing in them which ought to alarm us,* " ſince they only exceed by four ſhips of the line thoſe which took place in the " preceding year; ſince of ſixteen veſſels in commiſſion, at leaſt ten are of that " claſs known by the name of guard-ſhips, that is to ſay, the oldeſt and moſt deteri- " orated of the Engliſh navy; and ſince, in fine, the king has declared that the arma-

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blance of a wish to avoid a rupture, or rather, perhaps, for the purpose of gaining time, and waiting events, M. Chauvelin was instructed to commence a negotiation with lord Grenville. The manner in which he opened his correspondence was not such as to afford a favourable omen

" ments would not occasion any extraordinary tax, and that to cover the expence " the funds annually destined to the extinction of the national debt would be sufficient.—It appears also that the grievances which serve as a pretext to these armaments may be reduced to three principal ones, namely: 1. The opening of " the Scheld; 2. Your decree of the nineteenth of November; 3. The intentions which are attributed to the French republic with regard to Holland.—The " first point has been replied to by arguments founded on the law of nature, on " the law of nations, and on all the principles of justice and liberty which have " been consecrated by the French nation, and of which it could not refuse to the " Belgians the full and entire enjoyment; it has been replied that *treaties extorted by cupidity, and yielded by despotism, could not bind the free and enfranchised Belgians.* The objection has been also replied to by the silence which England " itself observed in 1785, when the same question was hostilely agitated by the " emperor Joseph.—The second grievance has been replied to by a frank exposition of the true motives which animated the convention when it passed " that beneficent decree. There are two cases perfectly distinct in which this " decree can and ought to find its application; the one regards those people who " are under the domination of the powers with whom we are at war, the other " those *countries governed by powers absolutely neuter.* There can be no difficulty: in the first case the decree will find its direct application, and in the " greatest latitude, *without any foreign power having reason to complain of it.* " In the second hypothesis it is clear that the design of the convention has " never been to engage itself to make of the cause of some foreign individuals the " cause of the whole French nation; *but when a people enslaved by a despot shall have had the courage to break its chains, when this people restored to liberty shall be constituted in a manner to make clearly heard the expression of the general will, when that general will shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation, it is then that the decree of the nineteenth will find its natural application, and we doubt if this can appear strange to any one*; it is then that we give to " the nation newly free a support which we would ourselves have desired, and " which perhaps we should have a right to have hoped from another free nation. " To this general reply has been added an observation which more particularly " applies to the reproach which has been made us with regard to Holland; it is, " that it were to be desired that the British minister had never meddled more with " the interior government of that republic, which he has helped to enslave, than " we ourselves wish to do.—For the rest, citizen president, I have, in the last " place, charged the minister of the French republic at London, to demand a " new conference with lord Grenville, who holds the department of foreign affairs, and, after he has reminded him of the futility of the grievances which are " opposed to us, I have authorized him to declare in the name of the French " republic, that if, contrary to all expectation, the design of the ministry of St. " James's was to procure a rupture at any rate, as then we should have *exhausted all explanations proper to demonstrate the purity of our views, and our respect for the independence of other powers*; as it would be evident that this war " would be a war of the British ministry alone against us; *we should not fail to make a solemn appeal to the English nation* (Applauses); *that we would bring before the tribunal of its justice and generosity the examination of a cause in*

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omen to the lovers of peace. His first letter*, which he commenced by assuming the character of plenipotentiary of France, was, though affecting moderation, drawn up throughout in a haughty and offensive style, bordering in many parts upon menace. The desire of the French republic to maintain a good understanding between the two nations was, indeed, largely protested, and a sort of complaining tone was used in touching upon the fears and suspicions which had been recently manifested on the part of Great Britain. Candid and open explanations were, however, promised. Reflecting, it was said, upon the reasons which might induce his Britannic majesty to break with the republic, the executive council could only see them in a false interpretation which might, perhaps, be given to the decree of the nineteenth. After throwing out a doubt whether alarm were really felt by the ministers upon this subject, M. Chauvelin endeavoured to prove that the decree was incapable of being construed into a hostile purport. It had never, he contended, been meant by the convention to favour insurrections and espouse the cause of seditious persons, or to excite disturbance in any neutral state. The decree was applicable only to those countries where the assistance of the republic was called for by an unequivocal expression of the general will. To give any other interpretation to it was to be guilty of an act of injustice towards the French republic. France wished, he said, to respect not only the independence of England, but also of its allies, and he was, therefore, charged to declare that France would not attack Holland, while that power confined itself within the bounds of a strict neutrality. The value of this declaration may be estimated from the circumstance of the executive council having, precisely three weeks antecedent to its being given, resolved upon an invasion of the United Provinces †, which was solely delayed for a time, that it might afterwards be undertaken with the greater safety. Taking it for granted that the English ministry ought now to be tranquil on the decree of the nineteenth, and the security of Holland, M. Chauvelin took occasion to mention carelessly the opening of the Scheld, which he seemed to consider as a thing almost unworthy of notice. The question, he said, was irrevocably decided by reason and justice, was of little importance in itself, and the opinion of England, and perhaps also of Holland, on the sub-

Dec. 27.

" which a great nation would be seen maintaining the rights of nature, of justice, " of liberty, and of equality, against a ministry which had only engaged in this " quarrel from motives of mere personal convenience; that, finally, we would esta- " blish the English nation the judge between us and them; and that the examination " of this process might produce consequences which they had not foreseen (Applauses). " I wait, citizens, the result of this declaration, and I shall hasten to impart it to " the national convention."

* See State Papers, p. 248*.

† See " Correspondance du General Dumourier avec Pache, Ministre de la Guerre, pendant la campagne de la Belgique en 1792," p. 138. and Chauffard, " Memoires historiques et politiques," p. 278.

ject, was so well known as to render it difficult seriously to make this event the sole cause of a war. If the British ministry, however, determined upon making it so, it would appear, said M. Chauvelin, that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to seize upon the most futile of pretences to colour an unjust and long-meditated aggression. In this case they were threatened with an appeal to the English nation, and a hint, by no means obscure, was given, of the punishment which would fall upon them. After this moderate and soothing language, M. Chauvelin renewed his professions of peace, expressed a hope that his explanations would be thought satisfactory, and closed his letter by warning his majesty's ministers that "a generous and "free people would not long con-"sent to betray their own interests "by serving to assist and support a "tyrannical coalition."

On the last day of the year an answer was returned by Dec. 31. lord Grenville.* It was firm, but temperate and dignified. Alluding to the character that M. Chauvelin had assumed, of plenipotentiary of France, his lordship reminded him that he was accredited to his majesty only in the name of the imprisoned sovereign. The proposition of receiving a minister from any other authority would, it was justly said, be a new question, which his majesty would have a right to decide according to the interest of his subjects, his dignity, and the regard which he owed to his allies and to the general system of Europe. M. Chauvelin was, therefore, informed that, under these circumstances, he could not be admitted to treat in the manner and form which was stated in his note. But, though the quality which M. Chauvelin claimed was refused, his lordship declared his willingness to explain himself clearly and distinctly on the questions in dispute between the two countries.

With respect to the decree of the nineteenth his lordship observed that the construction which was now attempted to be put upon it was neither borne out by the letter of the obnoxious law itself, nor by the evidence of facts. The application of its principles to the British dominions had been unequivocally shewn by the public reception of the disaffected from this country, and by the speeches which had been made to them by the framers of the decree, as well at the time of its passing, as upon subsequent occasions. Yet, notwithstanding these proofs of a hostile mind, in those who were at the head of affairs in France, the English government would, it was owned, have seen with pleasure such explanations, and such conduct, as might have satisfied the honour of England for the past, and ensured, for the future, the tranquillity of neutral powers. But neither satisfaction nor security, it was urged by his lordship, were to be found in the language of M. Chauvelin, which, while it merely disclaimed a particular application, reaffirmed the principle itself, reserved the right of interference, and held out

* See State Papers, p. 250*.

the ſtrongeſt encouragement to diſorder and revolt, by pointing out to the promoters of ſedition in what caſes they might rely upon the aſſiſtance of France. Such an explanation, far from being regarded as ſatisfactory, could only be looked on as a freſh avowal of thoſe diſpoſitions which had already been ſeen with ſo juſt an uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

The promiſe not to attack Holland was made, lord Grenville remarked, nearly in the ſame terms which had been uſed the preceding June; and M. Chauvelin was reminded that ſince the firſt promiſe the territory and neutrality of the United Provinces had been openly violated by France, and that, even at the moment of renewing the promiſe, a determination was avowed of maintaining thoſe injurious aggreſſions which had been committed againſt the Dutch.

On the ſubject of the Scheld, his lordſhip dwelt with conſiderable force. If indeed, he obſerved, the queſtion were of as trifling importance as M. Chauvelin had affirmed it to be, this would only prove the more clearly that it was brought forward for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England. But France could not be ignorant that the utmoſt importance was here attached to the principles which ſhe wiſhed to eſtabliſh by this proceeding, and the conſequences which muſt reſult from them, and that both would always be oppoſed by England with the whole of her force. The right of France to interfere, in any manner, with the Scheld, was poſitively denied in the ſtrongeſt terms.

The intentions of this country, and the conduct by which alone the French Government could give it ſatisfaction, were ſtated by his lordſhip in a manner ſo explicit as to leave no room for cavil or miſconſtruction. His ſentiments were thoſe of a patriotic and enlightened ſtateſman. They were, in ſubſtance, the ſame as had been communicated to the court of St. Petersburgh, in the ſcheme of negotiation which has already been deſcribed.

"England," ſaid his lordſhip, "never will conſent that France "ſhall arrogate the power of an- "nulling at her pleaſure, and under "pretence of a pretended natural "right, of which ſhe makes herſelf "the only judge, the political ſyſ- "tem of Europe, eſtabliſhed by ſo- "lemn treaties, and guaranteed by "the conſent of all the powers. "This government, adhering to "the maxims which it has followed "for more than a century, will alſo "never ſee with indifference that "France ſhall make herſelf, either "directly or indirectly, ſovereign "of the Low Countries, or general "arbitreſs of the rights and liber- "ties of Europe. If France is real- "ly deſirous of maintaining friend- "ſhip and peace with England, ſhe "muſt ſhew herſelf diſpoſed to re- "nounce her views of aggreſſion "and aggrandizement, and to con- "fine herſelf within her own ter- "ritority, without inſulting other "governments, without diſturbing "their tranquillity, without vio- "lating their rights."

That ill will againſt France, which had been attributed to this country, his lordſhip declared to have no exiſtence in fact. His majeſty had always been, and ſtill was, deſirous of a real and ſolid peace. The anſwer

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then concluded, with a short, but pointed, reference to that appeal which M. Chauvelin had so imprudently threatened to make to the people of Great Britain.

M. Chauvelin had scarcely opened his negotiation, and protested the pacific intentions of the French government, when a member of that government, who must have been thoroughly acquainted with its real sentiments and designs, gave a striking proof of the falsehood of those protestations which its agent had been instructed to make. With more zeal than discretion, Monge, the minister of marine, addressed to the different maritime towns Dec. 31. a circular letter, filled with the most virulent invectives against the king and the government of England, and calling loudly for the most vigorous efforts to accomplish their destruction. The co-operation which was looked for from the male-contents in this country, the minister did not attempt to dissemble. "The "king and his parliament," exclaimed he, "wish to make war "upon us; but will the English re- "publicans suffer it? Already these "free men testify the repugnance "which they feel to bearing arms "against their brothers the French: "well, then! we will fly to their "assistance, we will make a descent "in that island; we will hurl there "fifty thousand caps of liberty, "we will plant there the sacred "tree, and hold out our arms to "our republican brethren: the ty- "ranny of their government shall "soon be destroyed. May each of "us be strongly penetrated with this "thought." That no time might be lost in the execution of these brilliant plans, he conjured the sailors to hasten in crowds to the various ports, and he promised that their exertions in the cause of liberty should not fail of being rewarded in the most satisfactory manner. The jacobin clubs were also entreated to second, by their powerful influence, his patriotic endeavours.

The people of the sea-ports were not deaf to this animating call. They entered readily and ardently into the views of the minister. Brest, in particular, was so anxious to display its zeal, that it actually commenced hostilities upon an English vessel. The Childers sloop, cruizing off that harbour, was fired at by one of the batteries. She then hoisted the British colours, upon which the national colours, with the red flag over them, were immediately displayed by the forts, and a heavy cross fire was commenced from the whole upon the ship, which had been driven near them by the tide. Her destruction would have been inevitable, had not a gale, at that moment, fortunately sprung up, and enabled her to escape. Other maritime towns, not finding the same opportunity as Brest to express their sentiments by such decided action, contented themselves with assuring the minister that the advice he had given should be strictly attended to; but, lest this promise should be considered as a mere profession without meaning, they endeavoured to give weight to it by their unremitting activity in the equipment of privateers.

The news of the alien act being introduced into parliament was no sooner arrived in France than the minister for foreign affairs thought it necessary to call the notice of the convention to the subject, and to

apprize it of the steps which had, in consequence, been taken by the executive council. He introduced his information with a short sketch of other injuries which he pretended had been done to France by the English government, a more detailed account of which he promised should in a short time be ready. The warlike preparations carrying on in England were also touched upon by the minister, and, in doing this, a confession escaped from him that these preparations could not be considered as really formidable. The provisions of the obnoxious bill, which now called him forth, he represented not only as "rigorous, unjust, "unusual, and contrary to all the "usages observed by nations to-"wards each other," but as being in direct contravention of the commercial treaty which, in 1786, was concluded between the two powers. In support of this latter assertion he quoted a considerable portion of the fourth article of that treaty, by which full liberty of passing and repassing without hindrance, through each others territories, or of residing therein, is reciprocally granted to the subjects of the two states by the contracting sovereigns; but he prudently suppressed the conclusion, by which this favour is restricted to those "who shall behave and con-"duct themselves conformably to "the laws and statutes, and live "with each other in a friendly and "peaceable manner, and promote "concord by maintaining a mutual "good understanding." Towards the English residing in France he hardily declared that, even at the most stormy periods, extreme regard and attention had been shewn, though some of them had not always merited this friendly behaviour. After a few observations from some of the members, the intelligence given by the minister was referred to the diplomatic and marine committee.

Dec. 31.

No topics of accusation could be more unfortunately chosen, than those which were urged by M. Le Brun against the conduct of England. He must have relied greatly on the want of memory and information, or on the abundance of passion and prejudice, in his hearers and the public, before he ventured to depend upon such weak and insufficient auxiliaries. France herself, as he well knew, had been first guilty of violating that treaty which he so earnestly invoked in her favour. Her legislators had passed, in the preceding May, an act against aliens, similar in tenor to that of the British parliament, but more offensive and more onerous in its provisions. By this act of the national assembly, every foreigner, without any exception, was compelled, within eight days, to declare his name and character, his usual place of abode, and his abode at Paris, and also to produce his passport, if he had one, to the committee of the section, under severe penalties in case of omission. For a considerable period it had been impossible to travel in France without a passport, describing the person of the bearer, and subjecting him at every step to vexation and delay. The road he intended to take was also minutely specified, and a general clause was inserted ordering the arrest of any one who at all deviated from the route thus laid down. All this was assuredly a di-

rect breach of the article quoted from the commercial treaty, which of course was no longer binding upon this country. M. Le Brun was not a whit more lucky in his bold assertion that every kindness had been shewn to the English in France. The assertion was notoriously false. That it was so we have, in addition to public facts, the unexceptionable testimony of M. Kersaint, not one of the least zealous of the minister's own faction, who, as early as the eighteenth of September, had complained, in the assembly, of the scandalous treatment to which the British were exposed. His evidence is important in more than one point of view. "There remains," said he, "but one nation in Europe "whose neutrality as to the affairs "of France is decidedly pronounced;—it is England. Yet there "are no means left unemployed to "sour the minds of those English "who are now residing in France. "At this moment there are no obstacles which are not used to "shackle foreigners, and particularly the English. There is nothing which, since the tenth of "August, the commune has left "undone to irritate the latter, either by refusing them passports, "or by disturbing them in all possible manners at the places of their "habitation." From another part of his speech it plainly appears that nocturnal domiciliary visits formed a part of the irritating system which had been adopted by the commune. Since that period the evil had not been lessened, but, on the contrary, increased; and it was, therefore, an insolent mockery in M. Le Brun to talk of the kindness and attention which had been lavished upon English subjects residing in France.

The various documents on the negotiation with England, and the steps taken by the English ministry, had, at different times, been referred to the diplomatic committee. A report on the business was daily expected to be made. Accordingly, on the first day of the new year, the same Kersaint who has just been quoted, came forward with a sort of demi-official report, in which his own opinions and sentiments were strangely blended and confused with those of the committee. Sometimes he appeared to speak in his character of deputy, sometimes as the organ of his colleagues. This seemingly clumsy mode was, perhaps, adopted by the committee as leaving room for them to disavow any part which might prove offensive, if circumstances should afterwards render such a disavowal necessary. The deliberate act of the whole body might thus be conveniently represented as proceeding only from the individual. Jan. 1. 1793.

This non-descript production was of considerable length, and was not less remarkable for its absurdity of reasoning, and ignorance of facts, than for its undisguised rancour against the British government, which, at the very outset, was roundly asserted to be a despotism, and consequently hostile to the French republic. Yet, however contemptible this composition might be, in point of argument and political information, it was not without a claim to particular notice, as affording a clear insight into the judgment formed by the Girondists upon the state of parties and of public opinion in England, and also as developing with much precision their present hopes and intentions.

So little regard was paid to decorum that, even at the opening of this curious paper, a perſonal attack, equally falſe and indecent, was made upon the ſovereign of Great Britain; who was repreſented as cheriſhing in his boſom a hatred of France, ariſing from the fears he entertained of loſing his crown; and, leſt this inſult ſhould not be poignantly enough offenſive, it was alſo added that theſe fears alone had inſpired that intereſt which he had manifeſted in the fate of Lewis the ſixteenth. But the inveteracy of M. Kerſaint was not ſatisfied with a ſingle attack. In one place his majeſty was held up as ardently wiſhing for war; in another, as having for the gratification of his own paſſions compelled his miniſters to enter into the conteſt by which the American colonies were diſmembered from the empire; and, in a third, was openly threatened with an inſurrection of his people.

Much pains was beſtowed in fathoming and explaining what were ſuppoſed to be the plans of the Engliſh miniſter. To war he was conſidered as decidedly adverſe, becauſe it would put an end to the authority which he exerciſed. The objects he had in view were ſtated to be twofold; the firſt, to ſtop, by the dread of a maritime war, the republic in the rapid career of its victories on the continent, and the ſecond, to bring it to a peace with its enemies by the aid of his mediation. He was, however, haughtily told that he deceived himſelf; for that "free France was incapable "of fear, and would receive laws "only from herſelf." "It is fit "he ſhould know," exclaimed the reporter, "that you are not afraid "of kings, and that if you allow "them ſtill to exiſt as ſuch, you at "leaſt will have no treaties with "them, or only thoſe which are "ratified by their nations." The firſt cannon, it was added, which was fired at ſea, "would impoſe "upon the republic the duty of "emancipating Holland, Spain, and "America, an enterprize which was "by no means ſuperior, either to "her courage or her means."

From the party in oppoſition to the miniſtry, little hope ſeemed to be entertained by M. Kerſaint. It was but juſt mentioned, and that with a ſort of contempt. But the character of the great leader of that party was ſtrongly and angrily marked. "A friend of the rights of "man, and a flatterer of the king; "a criticiſer of the government," "and a ſuperſtitious admirer of the "Britiſh conſtitution; a popular "ariſtocrat and democratic royaliſt; Fox," it was ſaid, "had "but one end, that of raiſing himſelf upon the ruins of his rival, "and of avenging, once for all, "his many parliamentary defeats, "not leſs fatal to his intereſt than "they were to his glory."

The reporter next entered into a diſquiſition on the ſentiments of the Britiſh public. Ireland he conſidered, as "turning its gaze to"wards France, and as ſaying, "Come! ſhew yourſelves and we "are free!" Hopes as warm were alſo entertained from the Scotch, who "knew their rights and their "ſtrength," and rejoiced in the triumphs of the republic. On the hoſtility, therefore, of Ireland and Scotland to the Britiſh government, in caſe of a war, he appeared to

place an undoubting reliance. But with regard to the people of England, his expectations were less sanguine. The most profound address was, he asserted, made use of, to render the French name an object of hatred among them, and, so extensive was the influence of the ministry, that its efforts were but too successful. He did not, however, despair even here, if proper measures were taken. Knowing, from the experience of his party, what effect was to be produced by appealing to the passions of the lower orders, and desirous that, upon a favourable opportunity, a model for imitation should not be wanting, he gave a sketch of an inflammatory harangue, which might be addressed by a French admiral to the English seamen, on the eve of an engagement. His opinion of its efficacy was, indeed, very great, since he conceived that, if it could be heard by the whole English nation, the disquietudes of France would, perhaps, be at an end with respect to this country, which, instead of acting the part of an enemy, would then embrace the character of an ally.

A war with the whole of the maritime powers M. Kersaint considered as a necessary consequence of a war with England*. But so far was such an event from alarming him that he proposed to provoke it by a proclamation, declaring that in a contest between kings and the people, no nation could be suffered to remain neuter. The success of such a war he looked upon as undoubted, and his imagination painted to him, in the most magnificent and captivating colours, the immense plunder to be derived from the employment of piratical cruizers, and a spirited succession of marauding expeditions. Even the conquest of Great Britain seemed to be, in his opinion, a task of no great difficulty. Fishing-barks, he observed, were always ready to carry over a hundred thousand Frenchmen, for the purpose of signing, on the ruins of the Tower of London, with the people of England, then undeceived, a treaty, which should regulate the destiny of nations, and lay the groundwork for the liberty of the world. Having indulged in this brilliant sally, M. Kersaint, with much consistency, recommended to those he addressed to remain firm in their principles, and to avoid giving such provocation as might be the cause of a war.

This strange and diffuse jumble of ignorance and insolence was concluded by the following project of a decree, the object of which would have been sufficiently apparent, even had

* Though nothing can be more wretched in point of composition and argument, than this paper of M. Kersaint, yet, as it speaks the sentiments of his party, and was expressly referred to by Brissot, in his report of the 12th of January, a translation is here inserted of that portion of it which developes the plans of the ruling faction. It shews, in a striking manner, the unbounded ambition of the republican leaders, and their utter contempt of all moral obligations.

"I shall now proceed to examine the consequences of the war with which we are menaced, and to reason upon the hypothesis that a war with England will lead us into a war with all the maritime powers of Europe; let not this truth alarm us; our interest requires that in this contest there should be no neutrals; and,

had not the framer, in his preliminary matter, taken care to remove every doubt upon that ſubject.

"I. The miniſter of marine ſhall "immediately give orders, in all "the ports, for fitting out twenty "ſhips of the line and thirty frigates, and alſo for providing "them with ſix months proviſions, "and four months water. II. The "conſtruction

if we are compelled to this conteſt, I propoſe that we ſhould iſſue this general proclamation, addreſſed to every people, 'that in a war of kings againſt men, we can ſee only friends or enemies.' Policy counſels this reſolution, deſperate as it may appear to be, and I will develope to you the motives of it.—England is ſo preponderant a power in commerce and navigation, that all other people are in a manner only the factors of her merchants; France alone has riches and induſtry which ſhe can call her own; but Spain, Portugal, Holland, and the little republics of Italy, traffic upon the ſtock and the produce of the Engliſh induſtry, and the treaſures of the new world, and thoſe of Aſia, are now tributary to the active induſtry of the commercial men and manufactures of that nation. Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia, have in their naval ſtores an apparent commercial fund which ſeems to belong to them. But this ſtock is put in activity by the Engliſh monied men; and there cannot be found on the globe any lucrative branch of traffic which is not carried on to the profit of this people, who are eſſentially mercantile. I know that it is an hardy enterpriſe to challenge, without aſſiſtance, a world of enemies; but if great hazards are attached to this reſolution, it offers alſo great reſources. If the propoſition was that of attacking the nations themſelves, it would be a fooliſh one, and would not merit a diſcuſſion; but as, in this war, the people will be only a paſſive inſtrument, and as they will ſuffer loſſes without any indemnification, they will be the more eaſily convinced that it is unjuſt, and their wiſhes, while they combat us, will be at laſt for our triumphs." After ſome encouraging arguments founded on the examples of Athens and Holland in former times, M. Kerſaint thus proceeds—"If Spain, England, and Holland, attack us, Aſia and America call to us. Let us puſh with vigour our enterpriſes againſt theſe rich countries, and let us remember that it was the pope who gave America to Spain. If we conſider the vaſt field which this hardy reſolution opens to the courage and the activity of our ſailors, and the vaſt reſources with which it preſents you; if you fix your ideas on that multitude of veſſels richly laden, which will frequently be the prey of our cruizers; if you invite to a maritime war that crowd of daring men who are to be found in all the nations of Europe, and adopt them by aſſociating them to your enterpriſes; if the nation, whoſe maritime commerce muſt be ſuſpended from the moment that the war commences, if the nation directs its means and its enterpriſes, in concert with the government, to naval and military operations; if you attack at once, for the maritime war ought to be, in its very eſſence, an offenſive one, the richeſt poſſeſſions of Spain, of Portugal, of Holland, and of England; then you will ſee theſe powers, aſtoniſhed by their defeats, find their reſources at once dried up, for it is at the ſource of their treaſures that you will have directed your blows. The credit of England reſts upon fictitious riches; the real riches of that people are ſcattered every where, and are eſſentially of a moveable nature. Confined to the territory, the public fortune of England is almoſt entirely in its bank, and all this edifice is kept up by the prodigious activity of the maritime commerce. Aſia, Portugal, and Spain, are the moſt advantageous markets for the products of the Engliſh induſtry, we muſt ſhut them to the Engliſh, in opening them to all the world. We muſt attack Liſbon

and

" conſtruction of twenty-five ſhips " of the line; five being of one " hundred guns, ſix of eighty, and " fourteen of ſeventy-four, and " alſo of twenty frigates, each car- " rying forty twenty-four pounders, " ſhall be ordered in the national " and merchants' dock yards. III. " The executive council ſhall take " the moſt ſpeedy meaſures for arm- " ing

and the Brazils, and ſend an auxiliary army to Tippoo Sultan. Portugal is incapable of defending itſelf. The naval army, which will penetrate into the Tagus, after having exhauſted the country by contributions, and deſtroyed the arſenals, ought to terminate its ſucceſs by the capture and emancipation of Brazil. The expedition directed againſt the Engliſh-Indies will menace equally the Dutch eſtabliſhments, the important colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and the Iſland of Ceylon. You will find there only men enervated by luxury, and who will tremble before the ſoldiers of liberty. The Spaniard, at the bottom of his heart has a character of high ſpiritedneſs, which renders him worthy of being free. In Europe he will defend himſelf feebly for the cauſe of the Bourbons; in America, he calls you, and you ought to march to Mexico, in menacing the Engliſh; for this maſs of enemies will preſent you this precious advantage, that each of them will be forced to put himſelf on his guard, and that you will no where have more than one at a time to combat. The republics of Italy offer you maritime prizes, the loſs of which will fall on the Engliſh commerce, from the ſuperior intereſt which the merchants of London have in their cargoes. The ſtrength of theſe little ſtates, that even of Portugal is inſignificant, but may, in falling into your hands, ſerve to feed your own. England, Spain, Holland, and Ruſſia, diſplay a conſiderable numerical force in ſhips, but I ſee only the Engliſh and Ruſſians which can act together. Spain will be occupied with the defence of its numerous poſſeſſions. If you puſh the war in Zealand with vigour you will at the very firſt clip the wings of the ſtadtholder's naval force, and the patriotic party, which has long invoked you, when aſſiſted by you, will know perfectly well how to prevent their expanſion. If you direct the maritime war in a proper manner, it will indemnify you for the expences of the war by land; and perhaps, like the Athenians and Dutch, France, all powerful as its armies are, may owe to its naval forces the ſtrengthening of its liberty. All your poſſeſſions beyond ſea are at this moment only a burthen, which coſts you treaſures and returns you nothing. If the Engliſh ſeize upon them, your captures will be more lucrative, and the emancipation of Mexico will well repay the loſs of ſome little iſlands. But your colonies will defend themſelves valiantly, and it is poſſible that your enemies may fail in their enterpriſes; for a warlike ſpirit has been developed there by the civil conteſts; and the forces which circumſtances have compelled you to keep up there, and to ſend quite recently, will put them in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. I am of opinion that the parties will unite there, that they may remain Frenchmen, and that they will ſeize this occaſion of proving their attachment to the mother country. If they are ungrateful children, they neither merit your efforts to preſerve them nor your regrets. Finally, if England renders herſelf miſtreſs of your colonies, ſhe will be forced to guard them, and this burthen will weaken her, while your diſpoſable forces will enſure you elſewhere the moſt ample compenſations. Suppoſe that your enemies ſhould attempt landings on your coaſt, can you doubt that our brave national guardſhips would repulſe them? England, menaced with an invaſion, and having only her ſhips to defend her from it, will be conſtrained to reſerve a great part of her fleet and army to provide for her own ſecurity. George will always fear the viſit there of the friends of the

rights

"ing the coasts, and shall put in a "state of readiness, for being employed the ensuing spring, one "hundred battalions in the maritime departments, or in those "which border upon them. IV. "The committee of war shall immediately present its views on "the least onerous mode of obtaining this force, which shall be "particularly destined for the seconding of maritime enterprizes. "V. The committee of marine shall present estimates of the expences "which will be necessary for putting these plans in execution. "VI. The diplomatic committee "shall make its report on the situation in which the different agents "of the republic find themselves, "with respect to the governments "to which they are delegated. "VII. The executive council shall "present to the convention a memorial on the respective interests "of the French and English nations; and this memorial, approved by the convention, shall be "addressed in behalf of the French "people to the English people. "VIII. Commissioners sent to the "maritime departments shall make "an enumeration of such men as "can serve the republic in its naval army, and shall assure the inhabitants of the coasts, and the "mariners, that a considerable part "of whatever prizes they may capture from the enemy, shall devolve to them. IX. The committees of war, of finance, of "the colonies, and of the marine, "the diplomatic committee, and "the committee of constitution, "shall each name three of their "members, who shall meet under "the title of the committee of general defence, in a place set apart "for that purpose. This committee, in concert with the minister, shall be occupied, without "interruption, upon the measures "required by the approaching campaign, and on the present state of "affairs, and its reports shall be "constantly considered as the order "of the day."

Of these propositions the last was immediately put to the vote and carried. The remainder were postponed for further consideration.

In order that no means of annoyance and injury to England might be left unemployed, it was resolved, by the executive council, to dispatch M. Genet, as ambassador to America, for the purpose of inducing that government to form a junction with France, in the meditated war against this country. This resolution had been taken as early as the middle of December, but this

rights of man, and the alliance of the suburbs of St. Antoine and of the *Bul Friadi.** But the Russians! Well, then, will the Turks give no inquietude to the Russians? And Sweden, the only country which seems to hold out its hand to us, will it make no effort to stop the barbarians who menace its liberty? However this may fall out, the confederated Russians and Dutch will be held in check in the ports of England by our fishing vessels, always ready to transport there a hundred thousand Frenchmen; for it is by this expedition that we ought to terminate this quarrel, and it is on the ruins of the Tower of London that you ought to sign with the English people, then undeceived, the treaty which will regulate the destiny of nations, and lay the groundwork for the liberty of the world."

* This is the word in the original. To what M. Kersaint alludes is uncertain.

instructions

instructions were not signed till the commencement of the following year. He was authorized by these to offer great commercial advantages to the United States, under the hope "that they "would finally make a common "cause with the republic, in taking "such steps as exigencies might "require. Every possible means," it was said, must be employed, "to excite the zeal of the Americans;" and it must be confessed that, under this point of view, the choice of M. Genet for an ambassador was a politic measure, since no man could be less scrupulous than he was as to the means which he employed for the accomplishment of his purposes.

Jan. 3.

In pursuance of the instructions which he had received from M. Le Brun, M. Chauvelin recommenced his correspondence with lord Grenville, by a remonstrance against the act which related to aliens.*

Jan. 7.

The quality of plenipotentiary from the French republic, in which his majesty's ministers had refused to acknowledge him, and which he was not, as yet, authorized by his employers to claim, he again thought proper to assume. His grounds of objection were the same as those which had been stated †, by M. Le Brun, to the national convention. The conduct of ministers towards France was charged with malevolence and injustice, while that of France towards England was, on the contrary, represented in the most favourable colours. Either from a singular infelicity of reasoning, or a gross contempt of the government which he addressed, M. Chauvelin ventured to urge as a merit in his masters, and a strong proof of their amicable feelings, that flattering reception which had, at different times, been given by them to deputations from the seditious societies of this country, and which had formed one of the subjects of complaint in the letter of lord Grenville. M. Chauvelin demanded, in conclusion, a clear, speedy, and categorical answer, whether it was intended by the bill to include the French, as well as other aliens, under the general denomination of foreigners.

This letter, as the writer must certainly have foreseen, was immediately returned, as totally inadmissible ‡, M. Chauvelin assuming in it a character which was not acknowledged.

Not discouraged by this rebuff, M. Chauvelin, on the same day, addressed a letter § to his lordship, complaining of the prohibition which the government had issued against the exportation of corn; a measure which he was pleased to consider as "an act of perfidy," intended to excite commotions in France.

To this letter lord Grenville concisely replied ‖ by reminding M. Chauvelin of a conversation which, at the latter end of November, they had held together, on the manner of conducting their correspondence; and by informing him that no further explanations could be entered into, till the result of the resolutions taken in France, with respect to his letter of the thirty-first, was known by his majesty's ministers.

This result was soon obtained.

* See State Papers, p. *253.
† See page, 179.
‡ See State Papers, p. 256*.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid. p. 257*.

The

The executive council itself thought fit to reply, in an official note,* to the objections of lord Grenville. This note was long, written Jan. 7. in a flippant style, and wholly unsatisfactory. In substance it was nearly the same as that which had been presented by M. Chauvelin. It commenced by expressions of a desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England; yet, even here, it was arrogantly intimated that a rupture between the two governments would be a favourable circumstance for the interests of the French republic. The explanation of the decree of the nineteenth was confined to the same ground which had before been taken, and the same reservation of the principle was expressly made. As to the security of Holland, it was presumed that the English ministry was perfectly satisfied on that point. The Scheld was the last subject which remained for discussion. In spite of what had been urged by lord Grenville, the question was again asserted to be of trifling importance, absolutely indifferent to England, and of little interest to Holland; and the consequence which had been attached to it, by the English ministers, was placed to the score of warmth and prejudice. The right of France to break those stipulations which opposed the opening of the Scheld had been denied, in the most decided manner, by his lordship, who had also declared, with equal force, that this country would never suffer such a right to be assumed. In opposition to this it was asserted that, if the right of nature, and not of nations, were consulted, not only France, but all the nations of Europe were authorized to break them: no doubt could remain upon that point. The reasoning of the executive council, in support of this assertion, was not less extraordinary than the assertion itself. The emperor Joseph, it was intimated, had been a tyrant, he had concluded the treaty with Holland without the participation of the Belgians, and the treaty was, therefore, to be considered as a mere nullity. It was, however, denied that the republic meant to establish itself the universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. The occupation of the Netherlands, by the French forces, was claimed, not merely till the end of the war, but for a further period, indefinite in its duration, and which the republic alone was to limit according to her pleasure.

The winding up of this note contained, in effect, though not in terms, a declaration of war. No satisfaction, it is evident, had been offered upon any one of the points on which lord Grenville had called for it; and it was now made known that none would be given. "After "so frank a declaration, which "manifests," say the executive council, "such a sincere desire of "peace, the minister of his Britan-"nic majesty ought to entertain no "doubt respecting the intentions of "France. But if these explana-"tions appear to them insufficient, "and if we are still obliged to hear "the language of haughtiness, and "if hostile preparations are conti-"nued in the ports of England,

* See State Papers, p. 258*. This note is there, by mistake, dated on the 4th instead of the 7th of January.

"after

" after having done every thing in " our power to maintain peace, we " will prepare for war, conscious " at least of the justice of our cause, " and of the efforts we have made " to avoid that extremity. We " shall combat with regret the " English, whom we esteem, but " we shall combat them without " fear."

That this note was considered by the members of the executive council as shutting the door upon all negotiation is apparent from the evidence of their own conduct. On the very day in which it was drawn up they deliberated upon measures hostile to Great Britain; and letters were, in consequence, dispatched to the maritime towns, to stimulate the exertions of the people in fitting out cruizers and ships of war. The commentary of the council *, on the decree of the fifteenth of December, was also transmitted, on the succeeding day, to the generals and commissioners in the Netherlands; and, after an interval of two more days, it was followed by an order to Miranda † to make an attack upon Zealand. Dumourier, Jan. 10. then at Paris, arranging the plan of the ensuing campaign, was likewise desired by Le Brun to pay no regard whatever to the negotiation, which was carrying on with this country.

Another proof of the little sincerity of the executive council in their professions of peace was, in a short time, given. Five days after the explanatory note had been transmitted to London, and even before it had been received by the British cabinet, the committee of general defence sent up to the convention a virulent Jan. 12. report ‡ on the differences subsisting between England and France. This composition was also avowedly intended to serve in some measure as an appeal to the English nation, which, with no less insolence than falsehood, was said to be led astray by the manœuvres of its government. Such an appeal, it has been already seen, had been threatened by M. Chauvelin. The author of this composition was Brissot; and an instrument better qualified for such a purpose could not well have been chosen. A state paper breathing more of a malignant and insulting spirit was never penned. Under the old diplomacy, even declarations of war had preserved, in speaking of the most inveterate enemy, more of decorum and dignity than was now shewn by M. Brissot, in his mode of treating a power which had, perhaps, been only distinguished by too great an aversion from taking up arms against the common disturber of mankind. After the appearance of such a production it was impossible, for an instant, to believe that the heads of the republic had any desire to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the government of this country. M. Brissot, indeed, took some pains to prevent the language he used from being considered as the effect of heat and passion; for he prefaced his invective with an avowal, that the subject had been examined in the committee with the greatest attention,

* See page 156.

† See "Notes sur les Memoires du general Dumourier, ecrits par lui meme, et correspondance avec le general Miranda, relativement à la campagne de Belgique," part 2, p. 9.

‡ For a correct translation of this interesting document, see State Papers, p. 268,

that

that it had been profoundly discussed, and that what he now brought forward was the result of conviction.

The report opened with an assertion, notoriously false, that the complaints of the British cabinet had no foundation, but that the French republic had the most well-grounded grievances to urge against the cabinet of St. James's. From this assumed fact the adoption of the most vigorous measures was deduced as a necessary consequence. One truth, however, here escaped from M. Brissot. He owned that the English ministry had preserved an exact neutrality till the tenth of August. But from that day he chose to date the commencement of their hostile intentions.

The recal of lord Gower afforded the first subject for cavil. No dissatisfaction had been manifested by M. Le Brun, when this event was officially notified to him;* but it was now discovered that to recal the English ambassador was to intermeddle with the government of France, since this recal implied a disapprobation of its measures. The diplomatic scruples of the British ministry were, however, supposed to have been quieted by the subsequent victories of Jemappe and Spire, and by the conquest of Savoy and Brabant, which taught them that the republic would consolidate itself, and bear the torch of revolutions all over Europe; and led them, under the influence of this idea, to the establishment of an amicable negotiation.

Of this negotiation M. Brissot gave an account highly favourable to his friends, but in which little regard was paid to the truth of the assertions. The whole correspondence of the persons diplomatically employed by France marked, he said, the superiority of the free man over the agent of despotism. It was by this latter injurious appellation that he thought fit to designate the British minister; and thus, in reality, to attack the sovereign himself. Neither should it be forgotten that the overthrow of all despotic authorities was a fundamental article in the creed of the new republic. From his praises of the republican negotiators M. Brissot passed, by an easy transition, to a vehement abuse of the king, the lords and commons, the prime minister, and the measures which had been taken in this country to stop the alarming progress of democratic doctrines.

Upon the grievances complained of by the British cabinet the reporter commented in language of unqualified asperity and contempt. On every point, however, his condemnation was decidedly pronounced by his own lips. It was frankly owned that the opening of the Scheld was contrary to numerous treaties, but the act was defended, as it had before been, on the ground of natural right, and was represented as both just and magnanimous. Could the republic, it was asked, allow the slavery of one of the finest Belgic rivers to remain? Ought it to violate the principles which had always directed its arms, the principles of eternal justice? By what title, it was arrogantly demanded, had nature given to the Hollanders such an exclusive right to the Scheld? Was it to their la-

* See Annual Register for 1792, State Papers, p. *327.

bours,

bours, to their industry, that the river owed its existence? In asking this question M. Brissot displayed either a profound ignorance, or something still more disgraceful. He knew, or he ought to have known, that his question had already been satisfactorily answered in the affirmative. At the period when the emperor Joseph was attempting to do what the republic had now done, the Dutch, finding that solemn treaties, concluded during the course of nearly a century and a half, were set at nought, defended their right to shut up the Scheld, on the additional ground of the river having owed, in fact, its existence to them; since it was by the incessant toil of their ancestors that its banks were originally formed, and its stream prevented from wandering, idly and unnavigably, over a wide extent of surrounding country.

The stadtholder was depicted as a tyrant and a traitor, who had sacrificed his country, and prostituted its resources, and its honour, to the English ministers. Two days previous to the presenting of this report it has been seen that an order had been dispatched from Paris to general Miranda, to prepare for an immediate expedition against the province of Zealand. Evidence to the injustice of this order was now incautiously given by M Brissot. The aggression of the stadtholder, or the insurrection against him of a majority of the Dutch, were the only cases, he said, in which France would believe it her duty to carry her arms into the United Provinces; these cases did not exist; France, therefore, was tranquil, and wished to remain so. Yet, after this glaring contradiction, M. Brissot could venture to complain because the British cabinet had not been contented with a bare assertion of the executive council, that its intentions with respect to Holland were entirely pacific.

The other heads of accusation against France were rapidly passed over. The decree of the nineteenth, which was one of the principal causes of the dissatisfaction shewn by this country, and which M. Brissot himself at a subsequent period branded with the character of absurd, impolitic, and justly exciting the inquietudes of foreign cabinets,* was now considered as a thing which required no explanation, and it was contemptuously asked, how England could take it into its head that a nation which had declared the greatest respect for the independence of all people, wished to protect the malecontents every where. A distinction, by which the reporter and his friends stood self-condemned, was indeed made between insurrection and revolt; the former of which was declared to be the act of a majority, the latter of individuals, and it was

* See "J. P. Brissot, a ses Commettans," p. 88 of the London edition. He there considers this decree, the justice of which we have seen so repeatedly and obstinately maintained, as the principal cause of the war. The war he expressly says might have been avoided. It does not appear, however, that his indignation was so much excited by the war itself, as by the manner in which it had been conducted. An offensive war, on the plan, and described almost in the language, of M. Kersaint,† was the object of M. Brissot.

† See note, page 183.

confessed

confeſſed that to protect a revolt was to commit an act of injuſtice.

In the ſame ſpirit of veracity which animated all the preceding part of this report, the ſubjugation of the Netherlands was ſaid to have been occaſioned by the hoſtile conduct of the emperor to France; and the deſign of forcing a conſtitution upon the Flemings was indignantly repelled, though it was notorious that the laſt article of the decree, paſſed on the fifteenth of December, had denounced the moſt inveterate hoſtility againſt every people who ſhould have the temerity to reject a republican form of government. The charge of pillaging the Low Countries was alſo treated as a groſs calumny: M. Briſſot had not the foreſight to diſcover that, at a future period, he would be obliged to bring forward, as one of the heavieſt charges againſt his political antagoniſts,* that very fact the exiſtence of which he now unblushingly denied.

The complaints againſt the republic being diſpoſed of, in this ſummary manner, the reporter, in his turn, aſſumed the character of an accuſer. The armaments carrying on in England, the ſuccour afforded to the unfortunate emigrants, the alien bill, and the act prohibiting the circulation of aſſignats, formed the principal charges againſt this country. The laſt of theſe meaſures he deſcribed as a declaration of war againſt their means of finance, and the alien bill as ſolely directed againſt the patriots who triumphed in France. His arguments were merely a repetition of thoſe which had before been uſed by M. M. Chauvelin and Le Brun.

After a long chain of reaſoning, upon the intentions of the Engliſh miniſtry, M. Briſſot finally decided that active hoſtility was not, at this moment, deſigned by them againſt France. The war which they had reſolved upon was, according to his opinion, a war of preparations. But it was neceſſary, he told his hearers, to put an end to this ſtate of uncertainty; to force the Britiſh cabinet to give ſuch an explanation as ſhould tranquillize the republic for ever; or, if this could not be obtained, to draw the ſword againſt England.

Having thus recommended war, he next endeavoured to prove that it might be entered into with every proſpect of advantage. With this view he delineated this country as divided in itſelf, overburthened with debt, weak in population, deficient in reſources, and without a ſingle friend or ally on whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe could really confide. Whether he looked to Ireland, or to Scotland, to our eaſtern, or weſtern poſſeſſions, he ſaw nothing but the obvious indications of feebleneſs and diſunion. Having drawn this gloomy and diſcouraging picture of our condition, M. Briſſot thought it neceſſary to diſclaim all deſire of afflicting the Engliſh nation, in which France could ſee only brothers. It was, perhaps, in conſideration of what he owed to the fraternal duty, that M. Briſſot condeſcended to give ſome advice to the Engliſh people, upon the important ſubjects of morality, univerſal juſtice, and the free exertions of induſtry and commerce.

This voluminous report was cloſed by the project of a decree, con-

* See "Briſſot a ſes Commettans," page 103 to 112.

fiſting

sisting of four articles, by which the executive council was charged to demand a prompt redress of the injuries which had been done to the republic; and, in case redress was denied, to take the necessary measures for repelling aggression.

The report and the project of a decree were ordered to be printed, and an early day was appointed for taking them into consideration.

Those measures for repelling aggression, the necessity of which M. Brissot had intimated, were the next day proposed to the convention, by M. Kersaint,* Jan. 13. in

* As this decree forms a necessary supplement to the report of M. Brissot, by which it is referred to, a translation is given.

M. Kersaint. "Citizens, I believe that I proved, on the first of January, that we were in a situation to oppose a firm resistance to the English nation, to render at least uncertain the success of its ambition to domineer over all the maritime powers of Europe, and to make it feel that, if it forced us to combat, that war which was represented to it as so easy, would be a terrible war; for a combat between two nations who wish to be free is a combat to the death, and can only finish by the destruction of the one or the other,—I shall, therefore, not make any report. I shall pass directly to the pressing measures which I am charged to present to you on the part of your committee of general defence."—Kersaint then read his decree. After a short discussion it was adopted as follows: "The national convention, informed by the minister for foreign affairs, of the extraordinary preparations of England; considering the change in the conduct of the government of that country, relative to the character of neutrality which it had hitherto preserved as to the affairs of France, and having heard the report of its committee of general defence, on the necessity of taking vigorous measures capable of repelling an unjust aggression and of making the maritime interests of the republic respected, decrees—I. That the minister of marine shall immediately give orders in all the ports for arming 30 ships of the line, and 20 frigates, independently of the 22 ships of the line and 32 frigates already armed, which will raise the maritime army of the republic to 52 ships of the line, and 52 frigates. Provisions shall be ordered in proportion. II. There shall be immediately put on the stocks 25 ships of the line; 5 of 100 guns, 6 of 80, and 14 of 74; 20 frigates, 8 of 40 guns, 24 pounders, and 12 of 36 guns, 18 pounders; 20 corvettes, and 6 bomb vessels; and the refitting and reparation necessary for putting all the vessels, frigates, and other ships of the republic in a state fit for sea shall also be ordered. III. The executive council shall take the most prompt measures for assuring the arming of the coasts, and for putting in a state to be employed in their defence, the ensuing spring, one hundred battalions in the maritime departments, or those which border upon them. IV. That registers shall be opened in the municipalities of the 84 departments, for inscribing the names of young men, of any stature, but without infirmities, from the age of sixteen to twenty one, who are willing to serve the republic by sea. V. The committee of marine shall present a project of a decree to fix the number of volunteers who shall enter for sea service, and to regulate the quota of the departments in proportion to their population; observing that this levy shall, however, not exceed 200 men for any of the inland departments. VI The committee of war shall immediately present its ideas, on the least onerous means of arming 100 battalions for the defence of the sea coasts. VII. To secure the execution of these measures of general defence, the national treasury shall keep at the disposal of the minister of marine a sum of thirty millions on account of

in the name of the committee of general defence. In ſubſtance they were nearly the ſame as, but ſomewhat ſtronger than, thoſe which he had recommended on the firſt of January. To the ſentiments which he had then delivered he now alſo referred, as rendering any report at this moment entirely unneceſſary. The decree which he preſented was paſſed, after a ſhort diſcuſſion. By ſome extraordinary overſight, M. Kerſaint inſerted, and the convention ſuffered to ſtand, in the preamble of this decree, a phraſe directly contradicting all that had been ſaid by the French miniſters and orators, on the ſigns of ill will diſplayed by this country to France, immediately ſubſequent to the tenth of Auguſt. England, it was here owned, had preſerved, nearly down to the period of this decree, her neutral character.

the extraordinary funds which may be found neceſſary for carrying on the war. The convention likewiſe charges its committee of marine to preſent to it, without delay, a ſtatement of the expences which will be neceſſary for the extraordinary ſervice of the marine in caſe of a war, to the end that it may conſider on the means of providing for them. VIII. Orders ſhall be given in the founderies of the republic for the founding of 600 iron thirty-ſix pounders, 800 twenty-four pounders, 600 eighteen pounders, 400 twelve pounders, and 300 eight-pounders, proper for the ſervice of the marine and the coaſts; and alſo for caſting 400 carronades, thirty-ſix pounders. IX. The diplomatic committee ſhall make its report on the ſituation in which the different agents of the republic find themſelves with reſpect to the governments to which they are delegated, the dignity of the republic not permitting that they ſhould remain any longer in the ſituation in which ſeveral of them now are. X. The executive council ſhall preſent to the convention a memorial on the reſpective intereſts of the French and Engliſh nations; it ſhall conſider them in connection with that which is moſt dear to them, the defence of their liberty; and this memorial, approved by the convention, and ſealed with the ſeal of the republic, ſhall be addreſſed to the Engliſh nation and to its government. [The conſideration of the ninth and tenth article was adjourned by the convention for three days.] XI. Commiſſioners, taken from the convention, ſhall be ſent to all the ports and arſenals of the republic, and into all the maritime departments, to inform the French mariners of the cauſe and object of the war with which France is menaced, and theſe commiſſioners ſhall make an enumeration of the men who can ſerve the republic in the naval army. They ſhall receive the voluntary engagement of thoſe who ſhall firſt devote themſelves to this ſervice; they ſhall aſſure the inhabitants of the coaſt and the mariners, that the republic will take care, during their abſence, of their wives and children, that their pay ſhall be augmented, and that a conſiderable part of ſuch prizes as they may take from the enemy, ſhall devolve to them. Finally, they ſhall take all ſuch meaſures as they may deem neceſſary, either in the ſea ports, or on the coaſts, to aſſure the ſucceſs of the war, ſhould it take place, and to put the maritime frontiers of the republic in a reſpectable ſtate of defence; they ſhall correſpond with the committee of general defence on this ſubject, and ſhall give an account of their operations to the convention; they ſhall, when they think it proper, concert them with the agents of the executive power and with the miniſters, and all neceſſary powers to this effect ſhall be delegated to them. XII. The committee of marine ſhall immediately make the report with which it has been charged on the letters of marque, and on the regulations to be obſerved by thoſe who fit out privateers, in caſe of a war with England."

On

On the same day that M. Kersaint was thus employed, the note of the executive council was remitted to lord Grenville by M. Chauvelin, who, in a previous * letter, had declared the commercial treaty to be no longer in force. An answer † was, in a few days, returned by his lordship. It declared, in concise but strong terms, that the explanations given by the council were wholly unsatisfactory, and that the threats which had been used, concerning the preparations of England, could only be considered as additional grounds of offence. M. Chauvelin was, nevertheless, informed that any further explanation would be willingly attended to. But he was, at the same time, unequivocally given to understand that, under the existing state of affairs, all those measures would be continued which England might think necessary to ensure her own safety, and that of her allies.

Jan. 18.

Credentials had been transmitted to M. Chauvelin by the executive council; and, though no satisfaction whatever had been offered to the English government, though his employers had plainly announced their resolution of preparing for war, and though it was not to be imagined that, in the present situation of things, the British ministry would unwisely accede to the demand of acknowledging the French republic, M. Chauvelin, even before he had received the answer of lord Grenville to the note of the thirteenth, resolved to bring the question of his recognition to a final issue. With this view he, on the seventeenth, addressed his lordship in a letter, § the style of which was still more offensive than that which he had adopted in his former communications. He desired, in the first place, an immediate interview, for the purpose of knowing whether it was the intention of his majesty to receive, or not, his letters of credence; and, insinuating that the secrecy of his correspondence with France had been violated, he proposed that his lordship should at once refuse to hear him, or should give orders to respect his couriers, and his letters, as well those he might send as those he might receive. Adverting to the Alien act, he denied its power to include him in the scope of its action, and he added, in an insolent tone, that even were the bill intended to operate against him, as well as against other foreigners, he would not submit to it, and that all the persecutions which it might please his Britannic majesty to make him endure, would fall upon the French nation, of whom he claimed to be the avowed and acknowledged organ. After this "candid declaration," as he called it, he concluded by informing his lordship that, in the conversation he wished to hold with him, he should, in addition to the other questions which he had to ask, require to know what conduct his majesty's ministers meant to observe towards him and his household, in consequence of the law which had been recently enacted against all foreigners.

To this letter a short answer ‡ was returned by lord Grenville. A refusal to receive the letters of credence was, under the present cir-

* See State Papers, p. 258*. † Ibid. p. 261*. § Ibid. p. 263*.
‡ Ibid. p. 264*.

cumſtances, given; and M. Chauvelin was apprized that, although as an agent, charged with confidential communications, he might have relied upon ſafety for his letters and meſſengers, and as miniſter from the king of France would have enjoyed all the exemptions allowed to public miniſters, yet as a private perſon he could not but return to the general maſs of foreigners reſident in England.

The heads of the republic having refuſed all ſatisfaction on the points in diſpute, a war between France and England became, in conſequence, inevitable. Accordingly, either before, or directly upon,* the arrival at Paris of lord Grenville's anſwer to the note of the thirteenth, orders were diſpatched by the executive council for the recal of M. Chauvelin. Intelligence of the death of Lewis the XVIth had, however, in the mean while, reached this country. As, therefore, the diplomatic character of M. Chauvelin no longer exiſted, as no hope remained that the republic would remove the fears and ſuſpicions of Great Britain, and as even it would have been dangerous to ſuffer in the kingdom a man who, from his manners, principles, and connections, could only be conſidered as a rallying point for the ſeditious, his majeſty's miniſters determined upon giving him notice † to retire from the Britiſh territories. Eight days were allowed him to prepare for his departure.

The perſons who held the reins of government in France had long reſolved upon commencing a war, but general Dumourier, who was then at Paris, knowing that ſo early a declaration of it would materially impede the execution of his plans againſt Holland, made, with the conſent of a part of the council, an endeavour to protract the negotiation.‡ For this purpoſe he diſpatched M. de Maulde to the Hague, with a letter for lord Auckland, in which he requeſted an interview with his lordſhip, and expreſſed a hope that the reſult of it would be favourable to the two nations and to humanity. M. Maret was at the ſame time ſent to London, to know whether the Engliſh miniſter would conſent to treat with M. Dumourier, if he ſhould be ſent to England on a pacific miſſion. No ſteps were taken by M. Maret on his reaching London. Dumourier

* Lord Grenville's anſwer is dated on the 20th of January, and on the 23d Dumourier informed Miranda that orders had been diſpatched for recalling Chauvelin.

† See State Papers, p. 264*.

‡ That ſuch was the only intention of M. Dumourier there remains not the ſhadow of a doubt, though, in his Memoirs, he labours hard to prove that his intentions were really pacific. His correſpondence with Miranda affords, however, ſtriking proofs that his aim was merely to amuſe the Engliſh and Dutch governments, till he had put his army in a ſituation to commence hoſtilities with complete effect. One inſtance will ſuffice. It occurs in a letter to Miranda, dated the 19th of February 1793. "The delays which I experience," ſays he, "put me "greatly out of patience, and would put me ſtill more ſo, if your letter of the "eighteenth did not prove to me that the ſame delays are experienced by yourſelf. "*This fully juſtifies the opinion which I always entertained, that too much pre-*"*cipitation was uſed in declaring war. The negotiation ſhould have been ſpun* "*out till I was ready to enter Holland, and beſiege Maeſtricht.*"

quitted

quitted Paris on the twenty-ninth, and, on his arrival at Antwerp, was informed by DeMaulde that his lordship had expreſſed the greateſt pleaſure at the opening which was afforded by the general's letter, and had promiſed to communicate the propoſition to the grand penſionary, Van Spiegel. The latter readily conſented to join in the conference, and meſſengers were, in conſequence, ſent off by lord Auckland, to the Britiſh miniſtry, for authority to treat with the general. Little as was to be hoped from any further treaty, the miniſters, notwithſtanding, tranſmitted, without delay, the permiſſion which had been aſked by his lordſhip. Of this circumſtance Dumourier was immediately apprized. It had been previouſly ſettled that the meeting ſhould take place on the tenth of February, and on board one of the prince of Orange's yachts in the Moerdyke.

The French government, however, ſoon thought proper to put an end to this farce of negociation, which it had ſuffered Dumourier to commence. It reſolved upon immediate war. In purſuance of this reſolution M. Briſſot, on the firſt of February, brought up, from the committee of general defence, a report * on the hoſtilities of the king of Great Britain, and the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces. Of this report he was himſelf the author, and it was accordingly filled, as might be expected, with the groſſeſt invective againſt his majeſty and the prince of Orange. The former was treated as a tyrant, who wiſhed to ſhed the blood of his ſubjects, and the latter as his paſſive inſtrument. War againſt French liberty had, it was ſaid, long been meditated by the king of England, and was, at laſt, in effect declared, by the ſteps he had lately taken. Even pity for the fate of Lewis the ſixteenth was, by this humane reporter, conſidered as an act of hoſtility againſt the French republic. The people of this country, it was allowed, were at preſent favourable to the war, but comfort was found in the hope that they would ſoon be undeceived, and then, indignant at having been ſeduced, enlightened too by the example of France, they would do ſpeedy juſtice on the conſpirators in place. From Ireland an effectual, and almoſt univerſal co-operation in the cauſe of republicaniſm was confidently expected.

Feb. 1

The extent and the dangers of the war which he called for, M. Briſſot did not attempt to conceal from his hearers. It was, he told them, all Europe, or rather all the tyrants of Europe, with which they were now to contend, by land and ſea. They had no allies, or rather all the people were for them; but the people, chained as they were, could do nothing; thoſe chains muſt fall before the people could act. All your means, therefore, exclaimed he, are in yourſelves, in yourſelves alone. They muſt, he forewarned them, prepare to conſider all Frenchmen as one great army, all France as a camp, in which war and only war ſhould be thought or ſpoken of; they muſt prepare to forget every thing but this grand and paramount object; and muſt

* See a tranſlation of this document, in the State Papers, p. 286*. There is a miſprint in p. 291, five lines from the bottom: for emperor of Ruſſia, read the emperor and Pruſſia.

learn, by frugality and privation, to ſuffer thoſe hardſhips and reverſes to which they might probably be expoſed. Supernatural efforts, and a ſucceſſion of ſacrifices, he conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary to accompliſh their purpoſes. But the prize which he held out to them as the reward of their exertions, was indeed ſplendid, for he reminded them that, if they were victorious, the Univerſe was theirs. To England he predicted national bankruptcy, and the overthrow of her monarchy, within the period of leſs than a year. He did not, however, neglect to make the uſual diſtinction between the governors and the governed, the latter of whom ought to be ſpared as much as poſſible; and he wound up the whole by a whining declamation on the calamities and horrors of a ſtate of warfare; a ſtate into which he and his colleagues were, at this very moment, violently precipitating their unfortunate country.

In order to make up in number what was deficient in ſtrength, no leſs than eighteen pretexts were aſſigned for a declaration of war. Of theſe ſome were falſe, ſome might have been done away by France herſelf, and the remainder were of ſo frivolous and captious a nature as manifeſted an eager deſire, in the French government, to ſeize upon the moſt trifling circumſtance as a cauſe of quarrel. The neutrality of England previous to the depoſition of Lewis the ſixteenth, had, more than once, been acknowledged by M. Briſſot and the reſt of his party; but now, though no direct charge was brought forward, an inſinuation was thrown out that, even before the tenth of Auguſt, ſentiments adverſe to France had been cheriſhed by this country. A more offenſive colour was given to the whole, by an affectation of conſidering every meaſure complained of as the immediate and perſonal act of his Britannic majeſty; thus tacitly holding up the ſovereign to the hatred and indignation of his people, as the ſole cauſe of calamity and bloodſhed.

To declare war againſt the Engliſh, it was ſaid, was to declare it againſt the ſtadtholder of Holland: the latter was, therefore, comprehended in the ſcope of the decree which was propoſed by M. Briſſot. Several accuſations in ſupport of this meaſure were, however, produced by the reporter againſt his ſerene highneſs; but they were all equally falſe and futile with thoſe which had been antecedently urged againſt the conduct of Great Britain.

M. Briſſot concluded by moving that the national convention ſhould paſs a decree, declaring, in the name of the French people, that the republic was at war with the king of England, and the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces. He propoſed, alſo, two other articles, authorizing the executive council to diſpoſe of the land and ſea forces, in whatever manner it might think neceſſary to maintain the independence, dignity, and intereſt of the French nation.

Cordially as the factions hated, and conſtantly as they thwarted each other, they, nevertheleſs, united, as to the object now before them, in the moſt perfect harmony. Of more than ſeven hundred members not one was heard to raiſe his voice, and proteſt againſt involving his country ſtill deeper in the loſſes and miſeries, to which a war, even the

the moſt ſucceſsful, muſt inevitably give birth. Ducos, in a paſſionate invective, ſeconded the propoſal of M. Briſſot, and the decree, without further conſideration, was paſſed, by the unanimous vote of all the members preſent.

An addreſs to the Engliſh nation, againſt its government, was next moved for by Fabre d'Eglantine, and he was warmly ſupported by Barrere, Camille Deſmoulins, and others. It was oppoſed by Marat, as uſeleſs if not prejudicial; but ſome of his friends having remonſtrated with him upon his oppoſition, he retracted it, on the ground of their having aſſured him that the propoſed addreſs, though of no effect as to England, would be ſerviceable in the departments. The queſtion was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

Thus, after a ten years peace, during which ſhe had recovered from the wounds inflicted upon her in the unhappy diſpute with the American colonies, was Great Britain once more forced to take up arms; not merely for the preſervation of exiſtence, as in former ſtruggles, but of every thing by which exiſtence is rendered dear. The conteſt was of a kind hitherto unexampled. To fleets and armies her adverſary now joined the more dangerous weapon of diſorganizing principles, on which was placed, and not without cauſe, the principal reliance. On the part of this country nothing had been omitted to avoid a rupture with France. More had, in truth, been done and ſuffered, for this purpoſe, than was reconcileable with the national dignity, or with any known maxim of a ſound and enlightened policy. It was remarked, by ſtateſmen of no mean experience, that the miniſter, anxious only for the extenſion of commerce and manufactures, abſorbed in ſchemes of finance, and forgetting that riches by themſelves are not ſtrength, had paid too little attention to objects of a more elevated kind; and that, from this cauſe, either ſhutting his eyes to future conſequences, or obſtinate in hoping, againſt all probability, for a change in the conduct of a government eſtabliſhed in treaſon and blood, and avowing itſelf the deſtroyer of all legitimate authorities, he had tamely ſuffered that monſtrous tyranny to fix itſelf firmly in the center of Europe, to diſſeminate, from the very commencement of its exiſtence, the ſeeds of rebellion in other ſtates, to diſmember Italy, to domineer in the Mediterranean, to endanger the empire, to overrun the Netherlands, to menace Holland, and laſtly, as might have been early foreſeen, to form alliances with the diſaffected in theſe kingdoms, and to meditate the total ruin of our happy conſtitution.

Here cloſes our examination of the conduct of France to foreign powers, a conduct which we have fully demonſtrated, both in this and the preceding volume, to have been ſtrongly and uniformly expreſſive of a malignant and hoſtile ſpirit. This taſk performed, we muſt turn our attention to the proceedings of thoſe armies, whoſe ſucceſſes had been hitherto ſo rapid, and to which the French rulers confidently looked up for a vigorous and efficient ſupport of their intrigues and their doctrines in the ſurrounding countries.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the armies resumed. Disagreeable situation of Dumourier. He resolves to visit Paris, and endeavour to obtain a repeal of the decree passed on the 15th of December. Issues, previous to his departure, a proclamation convoking the primary assemblies of the Netherlands. Reasons for this measure. He arrives in Paris. His apprehension of danger. Draws up four memorials to the Convention. They are neglected. Order dispatched to Miranda, to attack the Dutch provinces. Dumourier foiled in his attempt to obtain a repeal of the decree of the fifteenth. Exposed to much mortification during his stay in the capital. He sets off to join his army. Dissatisfaction of the people of the Netherlands against France. Infamous conduct of the commissioners in the Netherlands. Remonstrances sent to the Convention against the decree of the fifteenth. The Convention passes a law, ordering the decree to be obeyed. The French government resolves to unite the Netherlands to France. Arts used to corrupt the populace, and dispose it to forward the union. Manner of composing and holding the primary assemblies. War against Holland. Plan of attack formed by Dumourier. Resolves to push into the heart of the United Provinces. Account of his projects in case of success. Plan of the campaign for the army on the Meuse. Number and state of the army for the invasion of Holland. Proclamation against the Stadtholder issued by Dumourier. Manifesto of the States in answer. Declaration of the Stadtholder. Army advances into the Dutch territory. Orders of Dumourier not observed. His indignation at the slowness with which the citizens of Antwerp contributed to a loan. Threatening letter to the magistrates. Preparations for crossing the Bies Bosch, and entering into the province of Holland. Shameful surrender of Breda. Punishment inflicted on the governor by the States. Decree respecting the future government of the United Provinces, passed by the Convention. Address to the Batavians. Klundert taken. Gertruydenberg surrendered. Bernecron ordered to besiege Williamstadt. Spirited defence of that place. Dumourier on the point of embarking with his army to cross the Bies Bosch. Operations on the Meuse. Stephanswerd, and Fort St. Michael taken by the French, who are disappointed in their designs upon Venlo. Siege of Maestricht by Miranda. The place defends itself with great gallantry. General Clairfayt passes the Roer, and surprises the French cantonments. The French entirely routed. The Prince of Saxe-Cobourg assumes the command of the imperialists. He defeats the republicans near Aix-la-Chapelle. Miranda raises the siege of Maestricht. Success of the Prussians on the Lower Meuse. They defeat the French at Bruggen. Ruremonde, Fort St. Michael, and Stephanswerd abandoned by the French. General Miranda attempts to cover Liege. He is defeated at Tongres, and retires to St. Tron. Liege evacuated by the French. Fine imposed upon the city by the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg. Effect of these disasters on the Parisians, the Commune, and the Convention. Measures adopted by the Convention. Dumourier ordered to join the army in the Netherlands. He obeys. Bad state of affairs on his arrival. Disorganization of the army. Mortal hatred of the Flemings to

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the French. Insurrections in various quarters. Steps taken by Dumourier to pacify the Flemings. He addresses a severe letter to the Convention on the state of affairs. The Commissioners in the Netherlands remonstrate with him upon his proceedings. He remains firm in his purpose. New distribution of his force. The Austrians capture Tirlemont. Are driven from it next day by the French. Dumourier resolves to hazard a battle. Situation of the Austrians. Battle of Nerwinde. The French army entirely defeated. Dumourier retreats to Louvain. Is again defeated near that place. Armistice agreed on with the Austrians. Dumourier determines to take arms against the Convention. Enters into a treaty with the Austrians. Terms of the treaty. Retires with his army to Tournay. Is visited there by three members of the Jacobin club. The Convention passes a decree, ordering him to appear at its bar. He fails in an attempt upon Lisle and Valenciennes. Arrests the Commissioners sent by the Convention to attend him to Paris. The Convention declares him outlawed, and sets a price on his head. He publishes an address to the French nation. Proclamation of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg. Dumourier narrowly escapes being assassinated. He is deserted all at once by his army. Takes refuge in the Austrian camp. Second proclamation of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg revoking the first. Dumourier quits the Austrian army. Conclusion.

THE campaign in the Netherlands had been brilliant and prosperous; it had given a large increase to the reputation of Dumourier; yet, at its close, far from feeling the elation of victory, he was overwhelmed with disappointment and chagrin. His army was in a shattered state, and exposed to numerous sufferings. But this circumstance, though sufficiently mortifying, was not the principal cause of the dissatisfaction which he felt. His popularity in the Belgic provinces had received a rude shock from the decree of the fifteenth of December, which, in direct contradiction to his manifestos on entering the country, had usurped an almost boundless authority over the people of the Netherlands. To obtain the repeal of this obnoxious decree, he dispatched general Thowenot to the capital, but without producing the desired effect. Baffled in this attempt he determined to visit Paris himself, and accordingly demanded leave of absence for that purpose. The permission was not easy to procure. None of the factions were desirous of his presence, and it was not till after he had experienced many difficulties, and threatened to resign the command, that his request was, at length, granted.

Previously to his departure, he issued a proclamation, calling upon the Netherlanders to unite in primary assemblies, and elect deputies for a national convention. The number of deputies was fixed, for the whole of the provinces, at two hundred and seventy-nine, who were to hold their sittings at Alost; a town which was chosen in preference to Brussels, as being less subject to the tumultuous movements of a jacobinical rabble. By an article in the decree of the fifteenth of December, it was enacted that, as soon as any of the conquered countries should have established a popular government, the decree should, as

to

to them, no longer remain in force; and it was this which induced the general to haſten the meeting of a Belgic convention.

It was on the firſt day of the year that Dumouriez reached Paris, where he appeared with the air rather of a fugitive than of a conqueror. To avoid the cenſure of Marat, and his other enemies, he determined to forbear from viſiting the public places, and to live with the greateſt privacy. Conceiving his perſon not to be ſafe from the daggers of aſſaſſins, he thought it prudent to carry piſtols with him, whenever he went abroad, and the precaution was not wholly unneceſſary.

The firſt five days after his arrival were ſpent in his chamber, upon the compoſition of four memorials, reſpecting the decree of the fifteenth, the ſupply of the army, and the plan of the enſuing campaign. Theſe memorials were ſent to the convention, accompanied by a letter to the preſident. No notice was for ſome time taken of them. The general having preſſed in the ſtrongeſt manner for their being put under examination, they were, at laſt, referred to the committee of general ſafety, by which alſo they were treated with the moſt mortifying neglect.

The negotiation with Great Britain was ſtill carrying on; but, as this was evidently done by the executive council for the ſole purpoſe of gaining time, M. Dumouriez diſpatched inſtructions to Miranda, to undertake an expedition againſt Dutch Flanders, and the province of Zealand, and likewiſe to ſeize upon the fortreſs of Venlo, and to inveſt that of Maeſtricht. The plan of attacking Zealand was, however, rendered extremely hazardous, if not abſolutely impracticable, by the preſence of a ſmall Engliſh ſquadron, and was, therefore, abandoned, on the repreſentations of Miranda.

Jan. 10.

One great end of Dumouriez's journey to Paris had been to procure the repeal of the celebrated decree of the fifteenth of December; or, at leaſt, the ſuſpenſion of it, as far as regarded the Belgic provinces. In this object he completely failed. The decree was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by its projector, Cambon, who was ſeconded, in the moſt effectual manner, by the whole of the executive council. So far indeed was the council from paying any reſpect to the ſolicitations of Dumouriez that, even while he was pleading for the revocation of the decree, it appointed thirty-two agents, under the title of commiſſaries, to enforce, in the Low Countries, a rigid obſervance of the law.

Having arranged the plan of the campaign, the general left Paris on the twenty-ſixth of January. During his ſtay he had been expoſed to the moſt poignant mortifications. The Girondiſts had treated him with indifference or contempt; the Jacobins with enmity. Robeſpierre was his inveterate foe, and would have procured his arreſt,* had he then poſſeſſed ſufficient influence. Bands of federates had, in his hearing, threatened to place his head on a pike; and, in one inſtance, he had been compelled to ſave himſelf from their fury by a precipitate retreat. The weak ex-

* See "Memoires ſur la revolution, ou expoſé de ma conduite dans les affaires, et dans les fonctions publiques, par D. J. Garat," p. 57.

ertions

ertions which, as he tells us, he made in behalf of the unfortunate Lewis, were productive of no other effect than that of exciting ſuſpicions unfavourable to his character. By ſome of his enemies he was accuſed of being far more intereſted for the deſigns of the Orleans faction than for the fate of his ſovereign. That he intrigued with that faction is not improbable, but the purport of his intrigues remains, and will perhaps for ever remain, involved in profound obſcurity.

It was not without good reaſon that the people of the Netherlands felt exaſperated at the iniquitous decree, which owed its origin to Cambon. The law itſelf was tyrannous, and the manner in which it was carried into execution was ſtill more ſo. By the commiſſioners, and other agents, ſent into the Low Countries from France, the moſt deſpotic authority was aſſumed. Affecting a military pomp, and ſurrounding themſelves with wretches of an abandoned character, theſe men, vulgar, ſanguinary, and rapacious, deſpoiled the places of public worſhip, perſecuted the clergy, put under ſequeſtration the national and eccleſiaſtical property, pillaged individuals, and filled the priſons with crowds of the moſt reſpectable and wealthy citizens. Nothing, not even the ſepulchre of the dead, was ſafe from their avarice and cruelty.

From all quarters remonſtrances againſt the decree were poured in upon the convention. The proviſional repreſentatives of Bruſſels were among the foremoſt to expreſs their ſentiments of diſapprobation. Their addreſs was drawn up in a ſtyle of great freedom and energy, and denied, in the moſt unequivocal terms, the right of France to exerciſe the revolutionary power in the Belgic provinces. The decree, and eſpecially that article of it which aboliſhed all the exiſting impoſts, was criticiſed with much ſeverity and juſtice, and was branded as at once impolitic and criminal. The framers of this addreſs, though prudence forbade their expreſſing themſelves too freely, were, doubtleſs, not unaware that the ſuppreſſion of taxes had been decreed in order to purchaſe the ſupport of the lower claſſes, and to render the conquered countries dependent on the will of France, by compelling them to borrow, for the inevitable expences of their government, the diſcredited aſſignats of the republican treaſury. Bold as the repreſentatives of Bruſſels were, they were, nevertheleſs, exceeded in boldneſs by thoſe of Louvain. The latter, truly declaring the law to have been made by perſons not inveſted with any legal power to do ſo, publiſhed a ſolemn proteſt againſt it, and announced their reſolution of collecting the uſual impoſts within the limits of their juriſdiction. Theſe examples of firmneſs were not loſt upon the people of the Netherlands. That ſpirit of reſiſtance to oppreſſion, which had diſtinguiſhed the anceſtors of the Flemings, and which they had themſelves diſplayed, when rouſed by their miſjudging ſovereign, Joſeph, began once more to manifeſt itſelf in their language and conduct. Remonſtrances, and ſigns of hatred made, however, no impreſſion on the convention, which ſometimes contemptuouſly neglected them, and at others endeavoured to counteract their effect by procuring addreſſes of a favourable

favourable tendency from the various jacobin clubs which had been eſtabliſhed by its agents in the principal cities of the Low Countries.

But, leſt any lingering hope might yet remain that the act of the fifteenth would be repealed, it was thought requiſite by the convention to promulgate a law which ſhould put an end to all doubt or hope, upon that important ſubject. On the laſt day of January, therefore, a decree was paſſed, which, ſtigmatiſing as hoſtile to the ſovereignty of the people all oppoſers of the former decree, demanded obedience for the future, and threatened to treat as enemies of the republic thoſe diſtricts which ſhould refuſe to convene, within fourteen days, their primary aſſemblies. In thoſe aſſemblies the citizens were invited to deliberate freely upon the form of government which was moſt agreeable to their wiſhes.

The permiſſion, ſo graciouſly beſtowed, to meet and to deliberate, was, in truth, only a form and a nullity. An union of the Netherlands with France was irrevocably decided on by the rulers of the latter country. This means of recruiting their finances was too precious to be relinquiſhed. To obtain the free conſent of the people to ſuch a meaſure was aſſuredly a hopeleſs taſk; but this it was not intended to undertake. A readier mode of accompliſhing the deſign was at hand, and was adopted without heſitation. The firſt ſtep was to reduce the Netherlands to ſuch a deplorable ſtate of anarchy as might compel the inhabitants, in deſpair, to ſeek a refuge from it, even in the arms of France. The next was to ſeduce the vulgar, and to enable them to bear down and ſilence the ſuperior orders. With this view the loweſt of the populace, in all the principal towns, were taken under the protection of France, encouraged to exceſſes of every kind, flattered with the proſpect of future rewards and immunities, and kept in a ſtate of continued riot and intoxication, by largeſſes of money from the republican treaſury. Their morals were ſtill further corrupted, and their paſſions inflamed, by handbills, by harangues, and by the repreſentation of dramas, breathing an irreligious and revolutionary ſpirit. Then, formed into jacobin clubs, and taught to believe themſelves ſovereigns, they exerciſed an inſolent and uncontrouled ſway over their fellow citizens. In Bruſſels, a regiment, ſelected from the dregs of mankind, and aptly called the legion of Sans Culottes, ſpread conſternation through the city by its licentiouſneſs and ferocity. Yet, to the honour of the Flemings, it muſt be recorded, that, in ſpite of the arts which were inceſſantly employed, the proſelytes made by French principles were comparatively few in number, even from that humble claſs of ſociety which is the moſt expoſed to be miſled by the deſigning and the wicked. The faith and the conſtitution of their forefathers ſtill preſerved an unimpaired influence over the minds of a vaſt majority.

The meeting of the primary aſſemblies at length took place. Never before had a free people been inſulted by ſo glaring and infamous a mockery. Theſe pretended aſſemblies were, for the far greater part, compoſed of a preſident, a ſecretary, and a few aſſiſtants, who were

were paid by the French commissioners. In some places a crowd of idle people attended, from motives of curiosity; but the list of respectable citizens who appeared was in general small indeed. The act of union was read, frequently without being understood by the hearers, was signed by those who had been hired for that purpose, and was then transmitted to the convention, as the unbiassed and unanimous expression of the public choice. At Mons, Brussels, and many other towns, this unanimity was not, however, obtained without first silencing, by the sabre and the musket, those who had the hardiness to manifest any signs of disapprobation.

Such was the state of affairs in the Netherlands, when the convention declared war against the Dutch, with the hope of having another country to plunder, and another people to enslave. Dumourier was charged with the execution of its ambitious projects. In the contemplation of this new and splendid task, he forgot, for a time, all his former chagrin. He resolved instantly to commence the career which was opened to him, and to penetrate, by an untried route, into the very heart of the United Provinces.

The better to conceal his real intentions, the general made a semblance of adopting the scheme which was laid before him, by the committee of rebel Dutchmen, assembled at Antwerp. Zealand was the province against which these men were anxious that his efforts should be directed; and their hopes of success, from an expedition in that quarter, were of the most sanguine kind. Their design was to pass the Scheld with several thousand troops, traverse the island of South Beveland, and seize upon that of Walcheren, which they were informed the Stadtholder was preparing to fortify, as a retreat in case of misfortune, and which, at this moment, was not defended by more than twelve or fifteen hundred undisciplined soldiers.

The plan which he determined to put in execution was of the most daring and decisive nature. It was, in truth, to use his own emphatic language, nothing less than passing an army through the eye of a needle. Marching straight forward with a considerable part of his forces to the Bies Bosch, he resolved to cross that arm of the sea at Moerdyke, and disembark at Dort, where he would be joined by a great number of republicans, who had collected together forty thousand stand of arms, for the use of their faction and its French allies. Thence, rapidly advancing by Rotterdam, Leyden, and Haarlem, he meant to push his victorious career to the gates of Amsterdam, which, he entertained no doubt, would be joyfully opened by the numerous enemies of the stadtholder's government. At the outset of his expedition, Breda and Gertruydenberg on his right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on his left, were to be held in check by divisions of sufficient strength for that purpose. His operations were now to be seconded by Miranda, who was instructed, as soon as he should receive advice of the capture of Dort, to put himself in motion, on the side of Maestricht, with five-and-twenty thousand men, and attack Nimeguen,

guen, at which place he would be joined from Utrecht by the successful army of general Dumourier.

The ulterior projects of the general, if we may believe the account of them which he has given in his memoirs, were vast and magnificent. Having once made himself master of the United Provinces, he designed to re-model the government, fit out a fleet to secure the Dutch colonies, exclude from the Batavian territories the emissaries of jacobinism, annul in the whole extent of the Netherlands the decree of the fifteenth of December, ensure to the people the free choice of a constitution, and, lastly, to unite the seventeen provinces into one republic, or, if that were found impracticable, to form them into two separate republics, which should be firmly connected by the ties of an offensive and defensive alliance. A suspension of arms was then to be offered to the Imperialists, and an assurance of perfect neutrality given to this country. An army of eighty thousand men was next to be raised by the new states, and a proposition made for a treaty of friendly union with France, on condition that the latter power should consent to restore the order of things which was established in 1789. In case of this proposal being rejected, the troops of the line, joined by forty thousand Dutch and Flemish soldiers, were to march to Paris, dissolve the convention, and annihilate the influence of the jacobins. Such is the splendid picture which M. Dumourier has drawn of his designs. His political adversaries, and perhaps with abundant justice, loudly accused him of being solely actuated by motives of ambition, and with having flattered himself that, under some or other title, he should succeed in obtaining a sovereign authority over the Belgic provinces.

While Dumourier was overunning Holland, active operations were to be carried on in the Low Countries. To secure a firm footing in the Netherlands, it was absolutely necessary to obtain possession of Maestricht and Venlo. Miranda was accordingly ordered to appear before the former place, with a corps of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, and neglecting the slow formalities of a siege to rely upon shells and red-hot shot alone for the reduction of the fortress. Another division, under Champmorin, was, at the same time, to advance against Venlo. By the occupation of these towns, the navigation of the Lower Meuse would be secured, and a barrier established of sufficient strength to stop the progress of the Austrians and Prussians. It was likewise thought proper that a part of the means to be employed in defence of the Belgic provinces should be furnished by those provinces themselves; and general Thowenot was, in consequence, charged with the levy and formation of twenty-five Flemish battalions, each consisting of eight hundred men.

Every nerve was strained to put in motion the army which was destined for the conquest of Holland. In ten days it was completely ready. It consisted, if we may credit the assertions of its leader, of only thirteen thousand seven hundred effective men, with twelve cannon, twice as many mortars, and four howitzers. Nor did the troops compensate by their superior excellence for their deficiency in point of numbers. They were, at least in great part, undisciplined, and addicted to plunder.

plunder. With this imperfect and ill conſtituted force was undertaken the ſubjugation of a ſtate which had baffled the numerous armies of Lewis the fourteenth, under the direction of the moſt conſummate generals. Thoſe armies, however, had relied upon their own exertions alone, while Dumourier calculated upon receiving aſſiſtance from the diſaffected at every ſtep of his progreſs.

As a preliminary ſtep to his invaſion, the general iſſued from his quarters at Antwerp a proclamation * to the Batavians, inviting them to revolt againſt the legitimate authorities. In this ridiculous and inſolent paper, invective and falſehood ſupplied the place of calm dignity and ſound argument; and ſuch an ignorance or perverſion of hiſtorical facts was diſplayed, as reflected upon its author no trifling diſgrace. In the uſual ſtyle employed by the French agents and commanders, the ſtadtholder was treated as a petty deſpot, and the people were invited to free themſelves from his yoke. Traitors were aſſured of diſtinguiſhed honours and rewards, while ſevere vengeance was denounced againſt all thoſe who ſhould venture to perform their duty in defence of their country.

Such was the contempt of the ſtates-general for this libel, that they reprinted it at full length in a manifeſto † which they publiſhed in reply, and which was indeed a maſterly refutation and expoſure of M. Dumourier's errors and abſurdities. This manifeſto of the ſtates was followed by a declaration ‡ from the ſtadtholder, expreſſive of his ſincere regard for the liberty and ſafety of the commonwealth, and of his firm reſolve to hazard both property and life to ſecure them unimpaired.

The whole of the invading force entered the Dutch territory on the ſeventeenth of February, and was cantoned between Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, where it waited the arrival of its artillery and of its commander, who was detained at Antwerp by the neceſſary arrangements for the conduct of the campaign in various quarters. To open the way for the ſubſequent operations, general Berneron, who led the advanced guard, was ordered to puſh forward, to the ſhores of the Bies Boſch, a corps of nearly a thouſand men, under the Dutch refugee, Daendels, for the purpoſe of ſeizing upon all the veſſels that could be found; to take himſelf a poſition on the Merk, and to throw a bridge over that river, that a ſafe communication might be maintained with the diviſion of Daendels. In ſuch tranſports as could be got together at Moerdyke and other places, troops were to be ſent againſt Dort, the ready ſubmiſſion of which was expected, and where more than a hundred large veſſels would be procured for the conveyance of the republican army. This done, all the reſt, it was thought, would be eaſily accompliſhed.

After a delay of five days the general joined his forces. To his infinite ſurpriſe and mortification, he found that the orders which he had given had been wholly diſregarded. The advanced guard ſtill remained on this ſide the Merk, and time had been thus afforded to the Hollanders to withdraw their ſhip-

* See State Papers, p. 332 *. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. *331.

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ping to the oppoſite ſhore of the Bies Boſch, and to ſtation in the channel three armed veſſels to oppoſe the paſſage of the enemy.

On the back of this vexation came another of a different kind. Previous to his leaving Antwerp, he had opened a loan for the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand florins. Diſguſted at the behaviour of the French, the inhabitants came forward with ſuch tardineſs, that he now thought it neceſſary to quicken their ſubſcriptions by a threatening letter, addreſſed to the adminiſtrators and municipal officers, who were charged with the heinous offence of loving their old feudal conſtitution, and ſtirring up a hatred of France in the breaſts of their fellow-citizens. As a puniſhment for this crime, they were deprived of their offices, and were informed that, if the loan were not filled in eight days, they ſhould be ſent priſoners to the citadel of Liſle, not only as hoſtages for the ſum demanded, but alſo for the future conduct of the inhabitants of Antwerp. To the latter a gentle hint was likewiſe given. They muſt, they were told, be either the faithful friends or the enemies of the republic, and, in the latter caſe, they might eaſily judge that the puniſhment would be prompt. By the help of this intimidatory epiſtle, a part of the loan was, at laſt, raiſed.

The plan of operations againſt Holland being ſomewhat deranged by the negligence of thoſe who were charged with the commencement of its execution, a few changes and modifications were in conſequence made, to accommodate it to the preſent circumſtances. An immediate paſſage, as had been firſt intended, of the Bies Boſch, was become impracticable, but preparations were begun for an embarkation at no diſtant period. In the neighbouring canals twenty three-decked veſſels, of various ſorts and dimenſions, had been found, which it was reſolved to convert into tranſports; and carpenters and ſailors, to fit out and navigate them, were drawn from all quarters by the promiſe of extraordinary pay. Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenbergen were, at the ſame time, ſtrictly blockaded; ſome fortified poſts in front of thoſe towns were occupied by detachments; the communication between Klundert and Williamſtadt was cut off, and the attack of both thoſe places was committed to general Berneron.

The ſiege of a far more important fortreſs than either of theſe, that of Breda, was entruſted to general Darçon, the projector of the celebrated floating batteries which were deſtroyed before the rock of Gibraltar. In the annals of the United Provinces, Breda was already rendered famous, from the gallant manner in which, during a rigorous inveſtment of nearly ten months, it was defended by the brave Juſtin of Naſſau againſt the aſſaults of that able commander the marquis of Spinola. At this moment it was in a ſtate to mock all the efforts of a much better provided foe than that by which it was now threatened. The works were in good condition, and, in great part, covered by inundations, two hundred pieces of artillery were mounted upon the ramparts, and the garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand three hundred infantry, with a regiment of cavalry. Nothing was wanting

wanting but a second Juſtin of Naſſau, to make Breda almoſt impregnable.

It was before a fortreſs ſo ſituated, and ſo appointed, that Darçon appeared with a force amounting to leſs than five thouſand men, with only four mortars, four howitzers, and a ſlender ſupply of ammunition. Diſdaining the formalities of a regular approach, as knowing them perhaps to be unneceſſary, he raiſed a battery within a ſhort diſtance of the town, and begun a cannonade and bombardment. A firing was kept up on both ſides for three days with little effect. In this time the beſiegers had expended nearly the whole of their bombs, and were reduced to an incapability of continuing their operations. A ſecond ſummons was, therefore, ſent to the governor, count Byland, aſſuring him that Dumourier was advancing with the whole of his army, and that if a capitulation were any longer delayed, no quarter would be given. Though little damage had been done in the town, and he had ſcarcely loſt a man, and though his troops were full of bravery and goodwill, this deſpicable noble, either ſtruck with terror, or bought by republican gold, conſented to deliver up to the enemy the charge which had been confided to him. The garriſon was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and the liberty of ſerving immediately in the army of the ſtates. Five thouſand muſkets, two hundred and fifty cannon, and three hundred thouſand pounds of powder, were furniſhed to the victors by this eaſy conqueſt. The eſtates and revenues of the prince of Orange were immediately confiſcated by the committee of Batavian rebels, and his palace was plundered of every thing valuable.

For this diſgraceful ſurrender, count Byland was tried by a court martial, which condemned him to be deprived of all his military honours in the preſence of the garriſon he had betrayed, to have a ſword paſſed over his neck by the common executioner, and, laſtly, to be immured for life in the caſtle of Loveſtein, once the priſon of the learned and illuſtrious Grotius. Seventeen of his officers, who aſſented to the capitulation, were alſo puniſhed by a ſentence of confinement for fourteen months. The guilty were beſides amerced in the amount of the expences incurred by the proceſs againſt them.

The convention received the intelligence of the rapid progreſs of Dumourier with the moſt lively ſatisfaction. It already anticipated an entire dominion over the United Provinces. But to no one did the proſpect of domineering over Holland afford more gratification than to Cambon, whoſe imagination diſplayed to him the hoarded riches of the Dutch flowing in a full ſtream to fructify the exhauſted ſoil of the republican treaſury. For a revolution of property in that country he had loudly, and rather imprudently, declared,* even in the preſence of the Dutch refugees themſelves. He now ruſhed forward with a long decree, conſiſting of twenty-eight articles, on the confiſcation of loyal property, and the eſtabliſhment of a proviſional government. To win the affections of the vulgar, one or two of thoſe

* See "Briſſot a ſes Commettans," p. 112.

impoſts which were ſuppoſed to weigh the moſt heavily on the inferior claſſes were aboliſhed, as immoral and illegal. By the preamble of this decree, the exerciſe of the revolutionary power, in all ſtates where the republican arms might penetrate, was claimed for France, as a matter of obvious and indiſputable right. The moſt offenſive part of the law of the fifteenth of December was alſo recited and confirmed. This decree was paſſed without any diſcuſſion. It was followed by a proclamation to the Batavians, from the pen of Barrere. This compoſition was made up of an invective againſt the ſtadtholder and his partizans, blended with the uſual common-place phraſes about ariſtocracy, feudal oppreſſions, liberty, and equality.

Klundert was the next place which fell into the hands of the French. It was defended with much courage for ſeveral days. The governor, at laſt, finding it impoſſible to hold out any longer, and ſeeing no hope of ſuccour, determined to ſpike his artillery, and retire with his garriſon to Williamſtadt. He was intercepted in his way thither, and, after a gallant reſiſtance, was killed on the ſpot. The troops, with the exception of a few, were made priſoners. The victors found in Klundert more than fifty pieces of cannon, ſeveral mortars, a quantity of ſhot and ſhells, and eighty thouſand pounds of powder. The diviſion which had performed this ſervice was ordered to attack Williamſtadt.

After the capture of Breda, general Darçon marched to beſiege Gertruydenberg, a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs, ſituated on an arm of the Bies Boſch. This place, covered by inundations, and by a double line of outworks, and containing nine hundred infantry, with a regiment of cavalry, was capable of the moſt vigorous defence. At the firſt ſhot, however, the exterior works were abandoned, and the place itſelf was given up before the batteries of the enemy were in readineſs to fire. Here alſo an immenſe military booty was taken. One hundred and fifty cannon, two thouſand five hundred muſkets, and a large quantity of ammunition and ſtores, added to the means which the captors already poſſeſſed of further conqueſt. But the moſt valuable acquiſition was that of thirty tranſport veſſels of various dimenſions.

With the ſtores and cannon taken at Klundert, Berneron haſtened to commence the ſiege of Williamſtadt. On his appearance before the town, he ſent a verbal and laconic meſſage to the governor, Boetzelaer, deſiring to know whether he would ſurrender or not. The brave commander replied, with more than equal brevity, by a ſingle negative. A ſecond and written ſummons was next ſent, exaggerating the force of the beſiegers, profeſſing much humanity, and threatening the governor with the loſs of his head, if he perſiſted in an uſeleſs reſiſtance. This was anſwered with the ſame firmneſs as the former had been. Finding that threats were ineffectual, Berneron had recourſe to more powerful agents. Batteries were raiſed, and a bombardment was opened upon the place. But the governor was as little to be intimidated by arms as by menaces. Well ſupplied with all neceſſaries, and ſeconded by ſome armed veſ-

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ſels, he kept up a heavy and judicious fire, and haraſſed the aſſailants by frequent ſorties, in which they ſuffered conſiderably. The ſiege was, nevertheleſs, ſtill continued, though with little proſpect of a favourable reſult.

Dumourier, meanwhile, was buſily employed in taking meaſures for the furtherance of his ſchemes. The equipment of the veſſels which he had been ſo fortunate as to obtain was nearly completed. To aſſiſt in navigating them, he ſelected, out of the reinforcements which were daily ſent from France, four or five hundred men accuſtomed to maritime occupations. Pilots acquainted with the intricacies of the intended route were alſo procured. A flotilla of twelve ſail had been collected by the Dutch, to bar the paſſage; but this, it was hoped, might be met and combated with advantage. Only a few days were expected to elapſe before the embarkation took place. The whole of the army deſigned for the invaſion of Holland was already encamped on the borders of the Bies Boſch, whence its commander viewed, with impatient eyes, the ſhore which, he flattered himſelf, would be the ſcene of his triumphs, but which he was never to tread with hoſtile feet.

The pleaſing illuſions which had ſo long delighted him were at laſt diſſipated. That tide of ſucceſs by which the French had been hitherto borne on, was now deſtined to turn againſt them, and to run in an adverſe direction, with more than equal rapidity. From the deſign of ſubjugating the United Provinces, Dumourier was imperiouſly called off, by the neceſſity of defending his conqueſts in the Netherlands, againſt a powerful and victorious enemy.

Affairs on the Flemiſh frontier wore a proſperous aſpect for ſome time after the opening of the campaign. Stephanſwerd, on the right bank of the Meuſe, was ſurpriſed by general Champmorin, without the loſs of a man. From this place Champmorin proceeded to Fort St. Michael, on the left bank of the river, which was abandoned at his approach. The main object of his expedition was, however, unattainable. Venlo, ſituated oppoſite to Fort St. Michael, was already occupied by a large body of Pruſſian troops, and the French were thus prevented from ſecuring a ſolid footing on the Lower Meuſe.

The poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht was of ſtill greater importance than that of Venlo. The place was inveſted by general Miranda, on the twentieth of February, with an army of twenty thouſand men. In the town was a reſpectable garriſon, under the command of the prince of Heſſe Philipſtal; and a body of emigrants, headed by a gallant and excellent officer, the marquis d'Autichamp. A ſummons to ſurrender, drawn up in threatening language, and accompanied by an imperious addreſs from the Batavian rebels, was anſwered by the governor with a decided negative. Batteries were then raiſed by the beſiegers, and a furious bombardment begun, to which the garriſon replied with equal ſpirit. Advice of the ſubmiſſion of Breda having, in a few days, been received by Miranda, he communicated the intelligence to the prince of Heſſe, and a ſecond time counſelled him to accept a capitulation. The ſame anſwer was returned as before.

Irritated at the courageous resistance he met with, Miranda ordered furnaces to be erected for heating shot, and an additional supply of artillery to be hastened to the camp. But he was not suffered to put into execution those vigorous measures upon which he had determined.

In spite of numerous privations, the rigor of the season, and the proximity of an enemy, far superior to him in numbers, general Clairfayt had, with admirable perseverance, maintained, during the winter, his position behind the Erfft. Here he had waited for reinforcements, raised the depressed spirits of his troops, and formed plans of future action, which should retrieve the losses of the late unfortunate campaign. The time was at last come to put those plans in execution. He saw, with pleasure, that the French army was scattered in cantonments over a wide extent of country, that its discipline was relaxed, that it took no precautions against danger; and he framed his resolutions accordingly.

Having made the requisite preparations, he crossed the Roer with his army, between Dueren and Juliers, on the last night of February, and burst like a torrent upon the the republican quarters. This sudden blow was entirely unforeseen and unguarded against. It spread dismay and confusion on all sides. Some divisions of the French precipitately fled without fighting; others endeavoured to resist, but in vain, for their resistance only augmented the slaughter, without affording a single hope of maintaining their ground. The discouragement and rout soon became general, and the discomfited troops, to whom in case of defeat no rallying point had been indicated by their chiefs, retreated beyond Aldenhoven, in a state of the utmost disorder. Their loss, in prisoners, was six hundred men; in killed and wounded, more than twice that number. Twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military chest, were abandoned to the Austrians, whose total loss did not exceed one hundred men. In this engagement the archduke Charles eminently distinguished himself by the intrepidity with which he attacked, and carried, several batteries of the enemy.

The supreme command of the army was now assumed by the prince of Saxe-Cobourg. No time was lost by the prince in following up the success which had been obtained by general Clairfayt. A little recovered from its panic, the French army had taken a position in front of Aix-la-chapelle, where it seemed disposed to make a resolute stand. Here it was attacked by the Austrians, and, after a short but bloody conflict, was totally defeated. Nearly four thousand men were left on the field of battle; sixteen hundred prisoners, and more than twenty pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the victors. The terrified remnants of the republican army, without attempting to rally in the advantageous post of Herve, continued their flight, till they found a momentary refuge in the city of Liege. These reverses of fortune having rendered it impracticable to continue the siege of Maestricht, Miranda drew off his forces from before that place, and retired to Tongres. March 3.

The Prussians at Venlo were not left

leſs active than their allies. On the ſame day in which the combat of Aix-la-chapelle was fought, they marched towards Ruremonde, under the command of prince Frederic of Brunſwick, made themſelves maſters of ſome batteries at Swalmen, and having brought the French to action, near Bruggen, gained a complete victory. Seven hundred of the enemy were made priſoners, and thirteen hundred killed and wounded. Ruremonde, Fort St. Michael, and Stephanſwerd, were immediately evacuated by the republican generals, who retreated to Dieſt, in the duchy of Brabant. The whole courſe of the Lower Meuſe was thus in the power of the Pruſſians.

To cover Liege, general Miranda poſted a corps of troops between that place and Maeſtricht, on the heights of Haccour, deſtroying, at the ſame time, the neighbouring bridge over the Meuſe at Viſet, to prevent the prince of Saxe-Cobourg from penetrating in that quarter. Theſe precautions were, however, ineffectual. The Auſtrian army having croſſed the Meuſe at Maeſtricht, the archduke Charles, with a ſtrong column, advanced againſt that diviſion of the French which was ſtationed at Tongres. After a ſhort reſiſtance, the place was carried, and the vanquiſhed enemy fell back upon St. Tron. Liege was no longer tenable. Arms had been put into the hands of the democratic party, but its courage was completely overwhelmed by the dread of approaching puniſhment. An immediate evacuation of the city was reſolved upon, and was carried into effect with every ſign of terror. Such was the conſternation that nothing was carried away, nothing deſtroyed. Forty-eight pieces of cannon, forty thouſand muſkets, large quantities of clothing, immenſe magazines of corn and forage, even the baggage of the army, became the prey of the conquerors. The garriſon, and the detachments in the vicinity, made the beſt of their way to join Miranda at St. Tron. The prince of Saxe-Cobourg, on his entrance into the place, reſtored the ancient magiſtrates, gave orders for the proſecution of thoſe who had been active in revolutionary proceedings, and levied a contribution of ſix hundred thouſand florins, to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, as a recompenſe for their vigorous exertions ſince the opening of the campaign.

March 4.

After a ſhort ſtay at St. Tron, to collect the ſcattered corps, Miranda continued his retrograde movement, and finally encamped behind the canal of Louvain. The Auſtrians, on their ſide, advanced with the whole of their forces to the neighbourhood of Tirlemont; having, in the ſhort ſpace of ten days, driven the army of the republic from the banks of the Roer to thoſe of the Dyle, and thus reſcued the duchies of Gelders, Juliers, and Limburg, with the principalities of Liege and Stavelo, from the tyranny and exaction of France.

In the minds of the Pariſians the melancholy tidings of theſe diſaſtrous events excited a ſerious alarm. The members of the commune, above all others, were, or from motives of policy affected to be, ſtruck with terror. It ſeemed as if, in their bewildered imaginations, they already ſaw the axe of the executioner ſuſpended over their

heads. A proclamation, exaggerating the danger, was addreſſed by Pache to his fellow citizens; the play-houſes were ſhut, and a black ſtandard was hoiſted, to announce that the country was in peril. By the convention the news was heard with mingled grief, ſurpriſe, and anger. Commiſſioners were directly named to rouſe the courage of the ſections and of the departments, all leave of abſence given to officers or ſoldiers was peremptorily revoked, and orders were diſpatched to Dumourier to put himſelf, without delay, at the head of the diſcomfited army in the Netherlands. Some inſinuations having been thrown out againſt the general, in the debates which took place on theſe meaſures, his character was warmly defended by Danton and Lacroix, who bore flattering teſtimony to his military talents.

Convinced of the abſolute neceſſity that exiſted for his preſence in the Low Countries, no leſs to regain the good will of the people, than to reanimate the courage of his own army, and ſtill hoping that his ſucceſs in this twofold taſk would enable him to return and purſue his career in the United Provinces, M. Dumourier decided upon obeying the orders which he had received from the national convention. The command of the forces in Holland he left to general De Flers, with inſtructions to attempt the paſſage of the Bies Boſch as ſoon as poſſible. Berneron was authoriſed to continue the ſiege of Williamſtadt, while Bergen-op-zoom and Steenbergen were to remain cloſely blockaded. Every thing being thus arranged to his ſatisfaction, the general departed, on the ninth of March, for Antwerp.

On his arrival in the Low Countries he found the ſituation of affairs far more deſperate than he had conceived it to be. The army was in a ſtate of utter diſcouragement from the defeats it had ſuſtained. Deſertions were frequent, officers and men quitted their ſtandards in crowds, and returned into France; and the diſcipline of thoſe who remained was entirely deſtroyed. In the diſorderly retreat from Aix-la-chapelle, no route had been laid down for the artillery, and the officers, on conſultation among themſelves, had determined upon conducting it into the French territory. A part of it was already at Tournay. The treaſurer of the army had alſo retired to Liſle, with the military cheſt, containing two millions of livres. The cheſt, and the artillery, was commanded to join the camp, and the governors of the frontier towns were deſired to ſend back all thoſe ſoldiers who had ſtolen away from their colours.

But it was not from the ſtate of his army, unpromiſing as it appeared, that he felt moſt chagrin and apprehenſion. His chief alarm aroſe from the marked averſion which was diſplayed towards the French by the great body of the Netherlanders. Obedience and confidence might, he well knew, be reſtored by time and care, to thoſe under his command; but the alienated attachment of an injured and inſulted people was not eaſily to be regained. From their pretended deliverers, the inhabitants of the Low Countries had ſuffered every thing which could be inflicted by brutal violence. Extortions

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of all kinds were among the leaſt of the evils to which they had been compelled to ſubmit. Tenacious of their religion, almoſt beyond any other nation, they had endured the bitter anguiſh of ſeeing their paſtors reviled, impriſoned, or baniſhed; their rites and ceremonies turned into mockery; their temples profaned, and their ſhrines mutilated, by impious hands; and even thoſe veſſels which were conſecrated to the moſt ſolemn of purpoſes, torn from the altar, and committed to the crucible, to gratify the unbounded avarice and rapacity of the baſeſt of mankind. The civil liberty too which they had been promiſed, they diſcovered to be a deteſtable and degrading ſlavery; a pretence to obtain the maſtery of their lives and properties. In their perſons they had not been leſs outraged than in their feelings. Crimes of the moſt enormous magnitude were perpetrated by the republican ſoldiery with complete impunity. The miſerable peaſants were ſeen to beg for mercy on their knees from theſe ferocious ruffians, and to beg in vain. In the towns the citizens were dragged from their homes, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, and thrown into dungeons, to ſerve as hoſtages for the peaceable behaviour of their countrymen. Such inſupportable tyranny produced its natural effect. Goaded, at laſt, into reſiſtance, the Flemings, in ſeveral diſtricts, took arms againſt their oppreſſors. In the neighbourhood of Grammont more particularly, inſurrection, now indeed become a duty, wore a moſt formidable aſpect. Ten thouſand of the peaſantry took the field, with cannon, and defeated ſeveral detachments which were ſent againſt them from the garriſon of Ghent. Every thing ſeemed to indicate that their example would ſhortly be followed by the entire population of the country, and that thus, attacked at once by as many enemies as the provinces contained individuals, the devoted legions of the republic would inevitably be exterminated.

To prevent theſe fatal conſequences, it was neceſſary to act with vigour and promptitude. Dumourier, on this occaſion, ſhowed no want of boldneſs and deciſion. Thoſe commiſſaries, and other agents, of the executive power, who had behaved in an arbitrary manner, were ordered to quit the places where they had exerciſed their miſſion. Some of the moſt tyrannical and refractory were arreſted and ſent to Paris. Clubs, compoſed of the vulgar and profligate, which, in many towns, had arrogated to themſelves a paramount authority, were informed that they muſt meddle no more with public affairs, and the members were menaced with impriſonment, in caſe of diſobedience. The legion of Sans Culottes, which had infamouſly ſignalized itſelf at Bruſſels, was aboliſhed, and all perſons were ſtrictly forbidden to aſſume, for the future, that diſguſting appellation. General Moreton, who governed in that city, and who had diſgraced himſelf by his cruelty and rapine, was ſtripped of his command, which was conferred on an officer of better principles. Such of the ſacred veſſels as had not been diſfigured or melted down, were reſtored to the churches, and a promiſe was given to replace as ſoon as poſſible thoſe which were deſtroyed. Thoſe individuals who had been wantonly confined, were alſo ſet at liberty. A proclama-

tion was then published by the general, inviting the citizens who had suffered any injury from the French to lay their complaints before the proper judges, who should redress their wrongs. He next convened the magistrates of Brussels, to whom he enumerated the conciliatory steps which he had taken, entreating them, at the same time, not to attribute to the great mass of his countrymen the crimes of a few individuals. Having done these things, he returned to Louvain.

From Louvain, immediately on his arrival there, he addressed to the convention a long letter on the causes of the disagreeable events which had occurred, and on the present situation of the army which he commanded. This letter, though preserving an appearance of respect, was written in severe and reproachful language. At the very outset of it a blow was aimed at the jacobins, who were indirectly charged with having brought France to the brink of ruin. Cambon also was not spared. He might perhaps, it was said, be a good citizen, but he was unworthy of confidence in the department of finance. The decree of the fifteenth was mentioned in terms of asperity, and was accused of having given birth to all those dangers to which the army, and the state, was exposed. The scandalous conduct which had been observed towards the Belgians, and their consequent hatred of the French, was depicted at full length, and in glowing colours. In the close, the representatives of the people were reminded of their duty, and were called upon for a speedy and virtuous decision, as in their hands was the fate of the empire.

This letter was not yet dispatched, when its author received a visit from the commissioners of the convention. His proclamations and orders issued since his arrival from Holland, excited in these men the greatest displeasure. The restoration of the sacred vessels to the churches aroused, above all other things, their indignation. They expressed their sentiments to the general with much heat, and warned him to desist from interference in civil proceedings; but his resolution was not to be shaken. He set their boasted authority at defiance, and openly declared his determination to use such means as he might think proper to ensure the safety of the commonwealth. That no doubt of his firmness might remain on their minds, he communicated to them the decisive epistle which he had just written. During the conversation, Camus, one of the commissioners, betrayed his suspicions of Dumourier. "General," exclaimed he, with an air half-laughing, half angry, "you are accused of being a Cæsar; were I sure of your being so, I would become a Brutus, and poignard you." After a conference of three or four hours, they separated with mutual dissatisfaction. There seems indeed sufficient reason to believe that M. Dumourier had now fully resolved to pay little respect to the mandates of the convention. Successful, he hoped that he might brave with impunity the power of that assembly, and, unsuccessful, he was not ignorant that to visit again the metropolis of France would be to expose his head to the stroke of the guillotine.

The presence and exhortations of the general in some measure revived

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the spirits of his army. Notwithstanding its losses, and the enormous desertion which had taken place, it still consisted of nearly fifty thousand infantry and cavalry. The force employed in Holland, and on the frontier of the Ardennes, amounted to forty thousand more, besides the garrisons of the various towns in the Belgic provinces. Dumourier still hoped, therefore, to be able to prevent the further progress of the victorious enemy. To the division acting in Holland orders were dispatched to throw sufficient garrisons into Breda and Gertruydenberg, and then retire behind the lines of Antwerp. From Antwerp, passing by Lier, to Diest, a chain of posts was established, to oppose the march of the Prussians, should they advance in that direction. The main body of the army took a position extending from Diest to beyond Tirlemont, having the Austrian army in its front. Tirlemont was occupied by a detachment of four hundred men.

The two armies could not long remain in this situation without coming to blows. On the morning of the fifteenth the Austrians attacked Tirlemont, the garrison of which was taken by surprise, and forced to fly, with considerable loss. A panic terror directly spread itself through several of the neighbouring posts, which were precipitately deserted by the divisions stationed to guard them. The disorder was, however, remedied by the exertions of Dumourier.

To counteract the prejudicial effect which this check might have on the minds of his soldiers, he next morning led them against Tirlemont, of which he made himself master, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy. Pursuing his success, he secured with a considerable force the village of Gotzenhoven, a station of importance, which the Austrians had neglected to occupy. Convinced of their error, the latter now endeavoured to retrieve it, and accordingly made repeated and impetuous attacks upon the village; but were repulsed in all of them, and finally compelled to desist, after having suffered greatly by the length and severity of the combat.

The advantage which he had gained was hailed by Dumourier as a fortunate omen. Unaccustomed for some time past to victory, his soldiers, too, felt their hopes and their courage revive. The moment appeared to him favourable for risking a general engagement. Nothing short of his success in a decisive battle could, he was convinced, assure to him the occupation of the Netherlands. A defeat even would render his situation little, if at all, worse than it at present was. It was certain also that the enemy would shortly advance, and endeavour to bring him to action. He judged it, therefore, more advisable to give battle himself, while his troops were flushed with confidence, than to be forced by his adversary to receive it, under discouraging circumstances.

The Austrians, at this period, held an advantageous position, behind the Little Geete, on the road from Tirlemont to St. Tron. Their line extended from Leau, on their right, to a little beyond Landen, on their left. In their front the villages of Oberwinde, Middlewinde, and Nerwinde, were occupied by detachments. Exactly a century had elapsed since, on this spot, the arms of France, directed by marshal Luxemburgh,

Luxemburgh, had gained, after an obstinate conflict, a victory over William the third.

Dumourier divided his army into eight columns. Three of these, under the command of general Valence, were destined to attack the left of the enemy. Their first assault was to be made upon the villages of Oberwinde and Nerwinde, whence, in case of success, they were to march forward, pushing the enemy before them, and, by wheeling a quarter of a circle, approach towards St. Tron. The centre was composed of two columns, led by the duke de Chartres. It was also to advance, on two sides, against Nerwinde, and having assisted to secure that post, was to support the movements of general Valence's division. Three columns formed the left wing of the republican army, which was entrusted to general Miranda. One of these was directed to take possession of Leau, and hold that place till the termination of the battle. The two which remained were to force the right of the Austrian position on the road from Tirlemont to St. Tron. At the close of the engagement the French army, if victorious, would occupy a line extending from Leau, on the left, to St. Tron on the right.

Between seven and eight, on the morning of the eighteenth, the whole of the French army was in motion. It passed the Geete in good order, and without opposition. At the first onset the columns of the right drove the Imperialists from the villages of Oberwinde and Nerwinde. The latter post was almost immediately recovered by the Imperialists, who, in a short time, were once more expelled from it by the columns of the center. They returned shortly after to the charge, and again made themselves masters of the village; but were a third time compelled to abandon it, after a dreadful carnage. It did not, however, long remain in the power of the republicans. They hastily quitted it, on perceiving that their enemies were bringing forward fresh troops to renew the contest; nor could they ever after be pursuaded to face their opponents.

Mar. 18.

But it was against the left of the Austrian line that Dumourier bent his principal efforts. By success in this quarter the fate of the battle would be decided. At the head, therefore, of nearly thirty thousand of his best troops, he advanced to the attack, with determined courage. He was opposed by general Clairfayt, with a much inferior force. The conflict was long, obstinate, and doubtful. His first line being thrown into disorder, Dumourier brought up his second to support it, and drew also from his center a reinforcement of cavalry. The contest once more raged with redoubled fury. The scale was, at last, turned against the French, by the skill of general Clairfayt, who ordered the regiment of Nassau cuirassiers, consisting of fourteen hundred men, to charge the enemy. His orders were executed with the greatest intrepidity. The republican line was broken, by the violence of the shock, its cavalry was overthrown and put to flight, and general Valence, who combated at the head of his troops, was severely wounded, and compelled to retire from the field.

The left wing of the French, under the command of Miranda,

was ſtill more unfortunate. At the commencement of the action it ſucceeded in diſlodging the Auſtrians from Orſmael, and in ſecuring the poſt of Leau. But theſe trifling ſucceſſes were ſoon heavily counterbalanced. The poſition occupied by the Auſtrians, on this flank, was of the moſt favourable kind, and its natural ſtrength was increaſed by a formidable and well-placed artillery, which commanded, in every direction, the difficult and narrow ground by which the enemy was compelled to approach. The republican columns, nevertheleſs, advanced with great ſpirit; but their bravery was entirely fruitleſs. Unable to make any uſe of their own cannon, they were mowed down in whole ranks, by every diſcharge from that of the Auſtrians. After three hours and a half of ineffectual combat their ſpirits ſunk; they firſt began to give way, then retreated acroſs the Geete, and, ſoon falling into utter diſorder, took flight, and continued it, without once halting, till they had reached Tirlemont. There, Miranda, with much difficulty, rallied them.

Night put an end to the ſanguinary ſtruggle. Victory was now decided in favour of the Auſtrians. The centre and right of the French, though not driven beyond the Geete, had been completely foiled; the left was irrevocably broken, and driven from the field. All the hopes of Dumourier were deſtroyed by the event of this terrible day. His army, thinned by ſlaughter, and palſied by fear, was no longer in a condition to make head againſt the enemy. Four thouſand of his braveſt ſoldiers, and a large proportion of officers, were ſlain or wounded. Thirty-three pieces of cannon remained in the power of the conquerors, whoſe total loſs did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men.

The morning after the engagement, Dumourier commenced his retreat, which was continued beyond Tirlemont, whence the magazines were haſtily removed. Behind the Great Geete he intended to make a ſtand, for a while; but, hearing that Dieſt was taken by the Auſtrians, and the ſafety of Malines and Louvain thus endangered, he fell back to the neighbourhood of the latter place. In front of Louvain he occupied the heights of Corbeck, and the Pellenberg. At break of day, he was attacked in this poſition by the whole of the Imperial force. The conteſt was not leſs obſtinate and bloody than the preceding battle of Nerwinde. As faſt as the republican troops were compelled to give way, they were replaced by freſh reinforcements from Louvain. Theſe laſt and deſperate ſtruggles of the French were, however, unavailing. Their line was at laſt thrown into diſorder, and relinquiſhed the field to the aſſailants. In this ſevere action Dumourier ſuſtained a loſs of four thouſand men in killed and wounded. More than twice that number had previouſly deſerted. The routed troops, for the greater part, drew back behind the Dyle.

Mar. 22.

To prevent any further uſeleſs effuſion of blood, a ſort of armiſtice was verbally entered into between Dumourier and colonel Mack. By this it was agreed that both armies ſhould avoid coming to an engagement; that the French ſhould retire ſlowly towards Bruſſels; and that, after the evacuation of

of that city, a fresh conference should take place, to determine their future conduct. A part of the Austrian army, not having been apprized in due time of this agreement, advanced against a French corps, which still lingered on the Pellenberg, and drove it into Louvain, in the greatest confusion. Louvain was instantly deserted by the terrified republicans.

This last disaster entirely broke the courage of the army. With infinite difficulty, the general prevailed on his troops to halt at the heights of Cortembergh, midway between Louvain and Brussels. The garrison of the latter place was directed to begin its retreat. Till this service was performed, the army encamped between Brussels and Vilvorden. The evacuation of the city being completed, the general continued his retrogade march to Ath, where he again paused. Orders had been dispatched to D'Harville, to put a considerable force into the citadel of Namur, and to retire, in two columns, with the remainder of his division to the frontiers of France. Namur was, however, found to be untenable, under the present circumstances, and was consequently abandoned.

If, during his career of victory, Dumourier had been barely tolerated by his republican masters, it was obvious that now, covered as he was with defeat, he had every thing to fear from their hatred and revenge. He knew indeed, full well, that, circumstanced as he was, he had only to chuse between submission to the guillotine, an ignominious flight, and the more vigorous and splendid measure of appealing to the sword against those who had sworn his ruin. The latter mode of action was that which best agreed with his character and designs, and he made his election accordingly. The convention would, if possible, destroy him; he resolved, therefore, to destroy the convention.

To accomplish his purpose, the co-operation of the Austrians was necessary. At Ath he had an interview with colonel Mack, to whom he disclosed his meditated scheme. An arrangement was soon concluded between the two parties. The Low Countries were to be entirely evacuated, but the French army was to be allowed to remain for a short time encamped on the frontier, between Mons and Courtray, till general Dumourier was ready to put his plan in execution. That plan, he persuaded himself, would be approved by those under his command, and he hoped that their assistance alone would be sufficient to carry it into effect. But should support be required from the Imperialists, they were to be considered solely in the light of auxiliaries, acting under his direction, for the restoration of order and tranquillity. Condé was to be put into their hands till the close of the war, as a guarantee; and such other towns as might be subdued were to be conjointly garrisoned by the French and Austrians, though subject only to the authority of the former. A constitutional monarchy was to be re-established in the kingdom, but under what sovereign M. Dumourier has not disclosed.

From Ath the French army continued its retreat to Tournay, in the neighbourhood of which place, a part of it took up its quarters, while the remainder of it was sent to the camp of Maulde.

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At Tournay, Dumourier was visited by Proly, Pereira, and Dubuisson, three members of the jacobin club, who were ostensibly charged by Le Brun with a mission into the Low Countries; but the real object of whose journey appears to have been to discover whether, in his desperate situation, the general might not be led to espouse the cause of the jacobins. To these men, whom he despised, he behaved with such uncautious and impolitic frankness as could only have been inspired by an overweening confidence in the strength of his resources. In the performance of their task they displayed a very great share of address. They lent a patient ear to all his fallies of passion and indignation, insinuated themselves into a minute knowledge of all his sentiments and intentions, and, having convinced themselves that their party had nothing to hope from him, they hastened to Paris, and denounced him as a traitor.

Not a moment was lost by the convention in taking those measures which the urgency of the case demanded. It passed on the spot a decree, summoning Dumourier to the bar; ordering the minister of the war department to visit the army of the north, to discover the real situation of it; appointing commissioners with power to suspend and arrest all generals, officers, and suspected persons in that army; and recalling, in order to procure accurate information, those commissioners who were at present on duty there. Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, were the four deputies chosen to execute the decree.

The general, meanwhile, had drawn back the whole of his forces within the French frontier, and established his head quarters at St. Amand, having previously directed the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to surrender those places, and to form a junction with him. Antwerp was already given up. In furtherance of his schemes, he next endeavoured to secure Lisle and Valenciennes, but was foiled in his endeavours. Miaczinski, who had been charged by him with the enterprize upon Lisle, was arrested, conveyed to Paris, and condemned to the scaffold. The failure of his attempts, upon these two important fortresses, was a blow not less severe than it was apparently unexpected.

The commissioners, accompanied by Beurnonville, the minister of war, reached St. Amand on the second of April, and proceeded to execute the dangerous office for which they had been chosen. Dumourier had been forewarned of their approach, and the errand upon which they came. They found him surrounded by the officers of his staff, whose countenances sufficiently expressed the resentment which they felt against these unwelcome visitors. The decree was presented by Camus. The general read it coolly, returned it, and began to remonstrate. A long conversation took place, alternately moderate and violent, during which the deputies, with the exception of Camus, who resorted to menaces alone, used every argument which they could devise to induce him to obedience. But their arguments could be of little weight when placed in the scale against his perfect

fect conviction that ſentence was already paſſed upon him by the tribunal before which he was cited. Regardleſs, therefore, of their intreaties for his compliance with the decree, he preſſed them to return to Valenciennes, and inform the convention that, without running the riſk of entirely diſbanding his army, he could not venture to abſent himſelf from his duty at the preſent criſis. The commiſſioners then retired to deliberate. At the expiration of an hour they returned, and Camus imperiouſly demanded if the general would ſubmit. An anſwer being given in the negative, he burſt into a fit of paſſion, commanded thoſe who were ſtanding by to ſeize the perſon of Dumourier, and, on hearing ſome murmurs of diſapprobation from the officers about him, had the groſs imprudence to extend his inſolence and his threats to them alſo. This inſtant decided the fate of the commiſſioners. Aſſured of meeting with no oppoſition, M. Dumourier gave a ſignal to his huſſars, who immediately entered, and received orders to ſecure the four deputies and the miniſter of war. The priſoners, after they had been ſuffered to take a ſhort repaſt, were ſent under an eſcort to Tournay; with a letter to general Clairfayt, commending them to his ſafe keeping as ſureties to anſwer for the future conduct of the factions at Paris.

This action of Dumourier rouſed all the fury of the convention. In the firſt paroxyſm of its rage, it paſſed a decree, branding him as a traitor to his country, pronouncing outlawry againſt him, and offering a reward of three hundred thouſand livres to whoever would bring him to Paris, alive or dead. This decree was almoſt immediately followed by two others; the firſt ordering the detention of the parents, wives, and children, of the officers of his army, as hoſtages for the ſafety of the commiſſioners; the ſecond, extending the ſame meaſure to ſeveral German nobles who had been taken priſoners.

An addreſs * to the French nation was now publiſhed by Dumourier. This compoſition was not calculated to inſpire any reſpect for his character. It bore impreſſed upon its front the ſtamp of inordinate vanity, egotiſm, and arrogance. Nearly one half of it was devoted to a deſcription of his own exploits, and his own dangers. The merit of having elevated and ſuſtained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe, and of having been the ſaviour of France, he claimed as his indiſputable right. The remainder of the addreſs conſiſted of a violent philippic againſt the national convention, which was truly deſcribed as a deſpotic and anarchical body, ſullied by all manner of crimes. But this indignation of the writer did not appear to be ſo much excited by the wickedneſs of thoſe who compoſed that aſſembly, as by the tendency of their meaſures to diſorganize the armies, and thus to prevent the ſyſtem of conqueſt from being puſhed to its utmoſt extent. Praiſe was beſtowed upon the miſerable conſtitution of 1789, and the people were invited to rally round it; but from the pen of a man who Apr. 2.

* See State Papers, p. *303.

could,

could, at the same time, dignify the insurrection of the tenth of August with the name of a "victory," the sincerity of this praise may reasonably be doubted. That love of monarchy which M. Dumourier only began to feel at the period when his head was threatened by the republican axe, must, at best, be considered as very problematical. For a monarchical government, however, or rather for the semblance and mockery of one, he now declared, and he called upon his countrymen, with much fervency, to assist in its establishment; solemnly promising, on his part, that, as soon as peace and order were restored, he would retire into solitude, and content himself with enjoying the happiness of his fellow citizens.

This address was followed by a proclamation from the prince of Saxe-Cobourg to the French,* drawn up in the most moderate and conciliatory language. On the character and views of general Dumourier, some compliments were, of course, bestowed. With respect to the intentions of the combined powers, it was worded in a clear and explicit manner. The warmest esteem was professed for the French nation; the Imperial forces were mentioned only as allies to assist in restoring the constitution of 1789; and all ideas of conquest or partition were solemnly and unequivocally renounced. A strict discipline, it was promised, should be observed by the Austrian army, in the territory of France; and, to inspire confidence in this promise, every soldier who should be guilty of the least violence or excess, was threatened with an instant and ignominious death.

Apr. 5.

Those brilliant projects in which Dumourier had indulged were, however, soon crushed by the defection of his army. The apparently favourable manner in which the troops had received the startling information of his having arrested the commissioners, and the quietness of their behaviour for a day subsequent to that event, had led him to believe that they fully participated in his sentiments and designs. Alarming proof of his mistake was soon afforded him.

Disappointed in his schemes upon Valenciennes and Lisle, his hopes of securing a fortified town were centered in Condé. The garrison of this latter place he resolved, therefore, to examine thoroughly, and to remove from among it all who were adverse to the principles he had lately espoused. With a feeble escort he was on his way towards Condé, for this purpose, when a circumstance occurred which put an effectual stop to his further progress. Arrived at some distance from the town, he was met by a messenger from the governor, who advised him to halt for a time, as the troops were in a state of the utmost fermentation. At this critical moment he perceived three battalions of volunteers, which were marching towards Condé, with their baggage and artillery. Surprised at this movement, he questioned the officers with respect to the meaning of it, and received an evasive and contradictory answer. Scarcely had he turned out of the high road, with an intention of

* See State Papers, p. 308*.

writing

writing an order for the return of these battalions to the camp of Bruille, than he was pursued by a part of them, with reproaches, cries, and menaces. He immediately mounted his horse, and endeavoured to save himself from their fury. The whole of the battalions then rapidly followed him, and commenced a heavy fire of musketry. Unable to force his horse across a small canal which lay in his way, he was compelled to dismount, and perform the passage on foot. Fortunately, another horse was at hand, on which he continued his flight, and, after being hotly chased for a considerable distance, he at last crossed the Scheld, and found refuge in the Imperial territory. A part of his small escort was killed, and his secretary was taken prisoner, and shortly after condemned to the scaffold.

This event was a sinister, and but too prophetic, omen. On the next morning after his narrow escape, the general came back to the camp of Maulde. The reception he met with was not quite satisfactory. By some of the corps he was, it is true, greeted with marks of approbation but he saw with pain that many countenances wore an expression of sullenness, and that many groupes of discontented individuals were gathered together. Chagrined by the past, yet, hoping sanguinely that the future would still be prosperous, he set out for St. Amand, to put in execution some movements which he had planned for his army. Before he reached that place, however, he received intelligence of the most unfavourable kind. The corps of artillery, stationed at St. Amand, had been worked on, during the night, by emissaries from Valenciennes, who had spread a report that the general was drowned in the Scheld, going over to the enemy. These emissaries had played their part so well, that the whole of the corps was, at this moment, in a state of insurrection, and, after having driven away such officers as were friendly to Dumourier, was preparing to carry off the train, and to join, at Valenciennes, the party of the convention. In the first impulse of passion, the general determined to attack, with the trifling detachment which escorted him, the deserters from his cause; but a little reflection soon convinced him that such a measure would at once be useless and dangerous. He retired to a neighbouring village, and begun to dispatch orders, which his troops were no longer disposed to obey. The defection of the artillery, which was almost immediately known in every quarter, acted as a signal for the defection of the whole army. All subordination, all attachment, suddenly vanished. A perfect struggle seemed to take place, as to who should have the merit of first following the example which had been given by the corps of artillery. Division after division hurried to range themselves under the republican standard. A great part of the officers marched at their head, while those who remained faithful to Dumourier, confounded at the rapid change, either concealed themselves, or sought for security in a precipitate flight. The military chest of the army, containing two millions of livres, had nearly reached Valenciennes, when it was recovered by a party of the general's cavalry, but was quickly retaken by some of the disaffected battalions,

Apr. 6.

and carried in triumph to its original deſtination. This deprivation of his pecuniary reſources was to the general a misfortune, only inferior in magnitude to that which he had ſuffered in the deſertion of his army. Poſſeſſed of the power to reward his partiſans, he might have hoped to rally round him a conſiderable body of men, and, at leaſt, to be regarded in the light of a valuable auxiliary; while, on the contrary, he was now reduced to the painful and humiliating ſituation of a penſioner upon the Imperial bounty.

All hope was at an end, and nothing remained to Dumourier but to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his friends. Accompanied by the duke de Chartres, general Thowenot, and ſome other of his confidential officers, he took horſe, and, without encountering any obſtacle, reached Tournay, where he apprized general Clairfayt of the fatal event which had taken place. In a ſhort time he was joined by the regiment of Berchiny, and by ſeveral ſmall parties from various regiments. The number of thoſe who followed his broken fortunes amounted to ſeven hundred cavalry, and eight hundred infantry. The unfortunate fugitives were received by the Auſtrians with much kindneſs, and an arrangement was made on the ſpot for their future ſubſiſtence. To Dumourier himſelf the rank of general of artillery was given, and quarters were aſſigned him at the abbey of St. Ghiſlain.

A congreſs was at this period ſitting at Antwerp to determine on the conduct to be purſued towards France by the allied powers. From this meeting the prince of Saxe-Cobourg returned on the night of the eighth. The next morning he iſſued a proclamation* Apr. 9. entirely revoking that which he had publiſhed but four days before, and which he now ſpoke of as containing only his perſonal ſentiments and wiſhes. The ceſſation of the armiſtice was announced, and it was farther declared that the war would be carried on with all the energy and vigour which could be diſplayed by victorious armies.

From the tenor of this proclamation, it was evident that the combined powers had reſolved to proceed with the war on the ſole principle of aggrandizement; and this reſolution they were, perhaps, led to adopt by the belief that, in the preſent weak and divided ſtate of the French forces, no formidable reſiſtance was to be feared. A reſolution more diſhonourable could not have been taken. It degraded its authors from their high ſtation, as defenders of religion and order, to the baſe character of plunderers, eager to riot in the ſpoil, not of an enemy, not even of a ſovereign to whom they were bound by no ties, but of an unfortunate friend. Its injuſtice was only equalled by its impolicy: the policy of injuſtice may indeed always be doubted. The firſt proclamation of the Imperial commander had promiſed to reſtore the conſtitution of 1789, and had diſclaimed all intention of making conqueſts from France. Little could be ſaid in favour of re-eſtabliſhing a form of government notoriouſly and ſyſtematically defective; but it was impoſſible not to

* See State Papers, p.* 309.

praiſe the moderation and equity which looked to no reward but the conſciouſneſs of acting nobly. There could be no diſpute on the propriety and worth of good faith, forbearance, and magnanimity. Thoſe who diſliked the propoſed modification of royalty, might yet rejoice that their country would remain uninjured, and might hope that a time would come for the quiet and complete reform of defects and irregularities. This ſecond proclamation was calculated to excite nothing but feelings of diſguſt and of enmity, in all parties and deſcriptions within the boundaries of France. It preſented to their view only the dark and terrible picture of the diſmemberment and degradation of their native land, by a horde of unprincipled foreigners. The republicans, for it came in aid of their deſigns, ſaw it with a malignant kind of pleaſure; the royaliſts with indignation or deſpair.

All idea of proceeding on his principles being abandoned, M. Dumourier felt that his preſence could not fail to be diſagreeable, and he conſequently determined to withdraw from the Auſtrian army. The paſſport which he deſired was granted, with many expreſſions of politeneſs, by the prince of Saxe-Cobourg. At Bruſſels he made a ſtay of a few days, and then retired into Germany,* unbeloved, and unregretted, alike by the friends of a monarchy and the friends of a republic.

Quitting, for the preſent, the iron frontier of France, we muſt turn back to narrate the combats, and the varied fortune, of that revolutionary army which, during the autumn of 1792, had ſpread conſternation and anarchy along the ſhores of the Rhine, and inſpired very ſerious apprehenſions in all the neighbouring ſtates of the Germanic empire.

* Shut out from the profeſſion of arms, M. Dumourier aſſumed that of literature. Beſides his Life, in three volumes, and his Memoirs, in two, he publiſhed various pamphlets. In theſe productions his hatred of Great Britain is plainly to be ſeen. In his "Memoirs," he labours to throw the blame of the war between France and England upon this country, notwithſtanding the evidence to the contrary, which even his own book incautiouſly furniſhes. In 1795 he wrote his "Coup d'œil politique ſur l'avenir de la France," in which he roundly aſſerts that England was the firſt inſtigator of the war which then raged, and he mentions her almoſt every where in terms of aſperity. In 1798 appeared his "Speculative Sketch of Europe;" and here his impotent animoſity is again viſible. A whole chapter is employed to depreciate the courage of this country, and to prove the practicability of ruining it by an invaſion, or rather by a ſeries of invaſions.

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings of the Army of the Rhine. Situation of Custine's army at the opening of December. Prussian army resolves to obtain possession of Frankfort. Scandalous conduct of Custine towards Frankfort. He promises not to expose the place to a siege, and breaks his promise. Frankfort attacked by the Prussians. The populace open the gates to the enemy. Loss of the French. Custine transmits a false account of the affair to the Convention. The Deputies from Frankfort put under arrest in consequence. Their defence. They are set at liberty. Bourdon proposes to destroy Frankfort. His proposal is rejected. Cause of Custine's anger against Frankfort. Endeavours which had been used to revolutionize that place. Prudent conduct of the magistrates. Its complete success. Custine falls back nearer to Mentz. Proclamation against speaking of a surrender. Attack of the Prussians upon Hockheim. It is completely successful. Army of the Moselle. Position of the Austrian armies in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and electorate of Treves. Orders given to Kellerman to drive them from those positions. He disobeys those orders, and sends his troops into cantonments. He is removed from his command, in consequence of Custine's complaints. Beurnonville appointed in his place. He puts his army in motion. Positions occupied by the Austrians. Various actions between the French and Austrians. Beurnonville completely defeated in various attacks upon Pellingen. Severe loss of the republicans on these occasions. Beurnonville retires with the loss of more than one third of his army. Shameless effrontery of his reports to the war minister on the various actions. Proceedings at Mentz. The City Council abolished, and a Municipality elected. Arts used to seduce the populace. They are unavailing. Commissioners sent to Mentz by the Convention. Their complaints of the want of patriotism in the Mentzers. They cause a new tree of liberty to be planted with great ceremony. The Army of the Moselle ordered to take possession of the duchy of Deux-Ponts. The Duke and Duchess compelled to a hasty flight. The property of the Duke seized, and his troops disbanded. The decree of the 15th of December proclaimed. Proclamation ordering the people to choose another form of government. The Duke's minister protests against these proceedings. He is arrested, and sent to France. Proceedings at Mentz continued. Order for convoking the Primary Assemblies. Oath to defend liberty and equality. Dislike of the citizens to the new system. Anger of the Commissioners in consequence. Citizens refuse to take the new oaths. Banishment of the nobles and clergy. Ill success of the Commissioners in the Palatinate. Preparations for defence carried on in the city. The Elector's palace, and the Ravenallee destroyed. Custine goes to Paris. Is favourably received. Königstein surrenders. The Empire declares war against France. Liberality and loyalty of the Emperor's subjects. Numerous voluntary contributions to him for carrying on the war. A National Convention meets at Mentz. Votes an union with France. Custine returns from Paris. Position of his army. Prussians cross the Rhine. Republicans defeated at Bingen. Retreat of a part of Custine's army cut off. Number of prisoners taken. Custine retires to Landau. The Prussians and Austrians prepare to besiege Mentz.

AN equal rapidity of success had been displayed, towards the close of the last year, by the French armies in the Netherlands and the Empire; but fortune had now wholly abandoned the republican standards, and Custine was an equal sharer with Dumourier in calamity and defeat. The precedency of time in that disastrous career, which was finally run by both generals, belongs indeed to the former, who experienced a first and fatal reverse, at the very moment when the latter was extending his conquests over the Low Countries, without an enemy to impede him.

Till near the end of November, the Lahn was the boundary by which the Prussians and French were separated from each other. Recovered, however, in some degree, from the fatigues and diseases of the late unlucky and dispiriting campaign, and reinforced by new troops, the Prussian army was once more in a condition to take the field, and its commanders were, perhaps, not a little anxious to wipe off, by future exertion, the stain which had been fixed upon its reputation, by the late disgraceful and unexpected retreat from the territories of France. The Lahn was, in consequence, passed, and a more advanced position taken, preparatory to active operations.

At the opening of December, therefore, the army of Custine was posted behind the Nidda, with its right at Hochst, on the Main, its front covered by the entrenched villages of Sassenheim and Sulzbach, which were connected together by abbatis, and its left by a marsh, and by strong batteries; while all the defiles through the mountains, on this side, and towards the rear, were also rendered as impenetrable as possible, by detachments of troops, and the destruction of the roads. In front, but at some distance, lay the city of Frankfort, which was garrisoned by two thousand men, at the head of whom was general Van Helden. On the other side of Frankfort, the Prussian and Hessian army was encamped at Bergen, a place made famous by an unsuccessful attack which was there made by prince Ferdinand, in the year 1759, upon the French forces, under the command of the duke de Broglio.

In spite of the neighbourhood of the republican army, the Prussian generals resolved to make themselves masters of Frankfort. A solemn promise had been given by Custine, to the magistrates of this place, that he would not expose it to the horrors of a siege, and this promise had been communicated by the magistrates to the people, in a public advertisement, to tranquillize the fears which they loudly expressed. In the same breath, however, and with a flagrant contempt of his pledged word, he gave orders to Van Helden to defend himself to the last extremity, to seize upon the cannon in the arsenal, for the purpose of repelling the enemy, and to disarm the inhabitants, should they make any shew of resistance to the performance of these orders. An attempt had been already made to get possession of the arsenal; but it had been rendered abortive by the opposition of the populace.

The instructions which Van Helden had received, the enemy did not allow him time to execute. On Sunday, the second of December, about nine in the morning, when almost all the citizens were assembled in the churches and other pla-

ces

ties of devotion, a conſiderable body of Pruſſians and Heſſians appeared before the town, which was ſummoned to ſurrender immediately. The ſummons was anſwered by a refuſal. A heavy fire of cannon and howitzers was immediately commenced by the aſſailants, which ſtruck the utmoſt terror into the inhabitants, who ſaw themſelves and their dwellings ſuddenly expoſed to inevitable ruin. Several houſes were already in flames. Irritated at the danger which was brought upon them, and from which they had been taught to believe themſelves ſecure, the lower order of people crowded together in the ſtreets, and vented their anger, at firſt, in murmurs and menaces; but ſoon, gaining courage from their numbers, they proceeded to prevent the conveyance of two field pieces towards the quarter which was attacked, and concluded by forcibly opening one of the gates to the Pruſſian army. A ſhort ſkirmiſh took place, on the entrance of the enemy, in which forty-one of the French troops were killed, and one hundred and fifty-four wounded. Eleven hundred and fifty-eight priſoners fell into the hands of the victors. The remainder of the garriſon eſcaped to the army of Cuſtine, which had been put in motion to favour its retreat. During the conflict, the lives of ſeveral of the fugitives were ſaved from the purſuing Pruſſians by the citizens, and the wounded captives were afterwards treated by them with the moſt exemplary care and tenderneſs.

A falſe and malignant account of this affair was ſhortly after ſent to the convention by Cuſtine. The diſaſter he attributed in part to the careleſſneſs of the governor, but principally to the treaſon of the citizens. One hundred and fifty Heſſian carpenters, deſtined to break open the gates, had, he ſaid, been introduced into the city, on the eve of the action, and ten thouſand of the inhabitants had been armed with knives, fabricated expreſsly for the aſſaſſination of the French. To make this tale the more probable, his diſpatch was accompanied by one of theſe knives, which, it was ſaid, had been wreſted by a ſoldier from the hand of his aſſailant. The number maſſacred by theſe weapons he ſtated at three hundred.

The whole of this ſtory, as its framer well knew, had not the ſlighteſt foundation in fact. It excited, nevertheleſs, the warmeſt indignation in the executive council. Deputies had been ſent from Frankfort, to ſolicit the remiſſion of the heavy fine, which Cuſtine had impoſed upon that city on his firſt entering it. Theſe men were put under arreſt by the council, till the convention ſhould decide upon the mode in which they were to be treated; but, after an impriſonment of more than ſix weeks, their innocence was acknowledged, and they were reſtored to liberty. During their confinement, they publiſhed a juſtification of their fellow citizens, ſupported by a body of evidence, which completely refuted the calumnies of the French general. Satisfactory as this vindication was, it did not prevent the ferocious Bourdon from moving that, in the enſuing campaign, the republican armies ſhould march againſt Frankfort, and, if they ſucceeded in taking that place, ſhould raſe it to the ground. His propoſition was, however, received with general and decided diſapprobation.

The bitterneſs with which Cuſ-

tine attacked the citizens of Frankfort, arose from the resentment which he felt at their having disappointed his revolutionary projects. While he retained that place, he had spared no efforts to kindle, in the lower orders of the people, a hatred of the patrician families. Endeavours had been made to establish a club similar to that which existed in Mentz. These endeavours had been made in vain. Inflammatory proclamations and papers had been posted up, in which the poor were excited against the rich, and the charms of liberty and equality were painted in the most fascinating colours. But this labour also was entirely thrown away. As soon as an appeal to the passions of the multitude made its appearance, the magistrates placed by its side a dispassionate and reasoned answer, which, while it justly appreciated all the blessings of freedom, employed such arguments as fully convinced the labouring classes that their own welfare was inseparably connected with that of their superiors, and that to injure the latter was, in effect, to strike a deadly blow at the means of their existence. This conduct of the magistrates was crowned with success. The populace remained quiet, and Custine conceived an inveterate hatred of those who, by their prudence and firmness, had disconcerted his plans.

Frankfort being lost, Custine abandoned his position on the Nidda, and fell back to Hockheim, in the vicinity of which he distributed a part of his army, and then retired with the remainder into Mentz. To intimidate the enemies of democracy, in the latter place, he issued, about the middle of December, a proclamation, in which all persons were forbidden, under pain of death, to speak of a surrender.

During the remainder of December, no affair of importance took place between the two armies Only one skirmish occurred, in which the advanced posts of the French were driven, with some loss, from the villages of Diedernbergen, Ettenheim, and Weilbach. At the beginning of January, the ice having compelled Custine to remove the bridge of boats, by which a communication was kept up from Mentz to Cassel, the king of Prussia seized the opportunity to narrow still more the republican quarters on the right bank of the Rhine. Before daybreak, on the sixth, Hockheim was attacked by two Prussian columns, consisting of six thousand men. The troops in the place, four thousand in number, kept such careless watch, that they were wholly unapprised of the danger till the enemy was already upon them. On discovering their situation, their courage deserted them, and, after a trifling resistance, they fled towards Cassel, leaving eleven pieces of cannon, and three hundred prisoners, in the power of the victors. A few soldiers, whose retreat had been cut off, got into the tower of the church, from which they were precipitated headlong, for having insulted, or thrown stones at, the king of Prussia, on his riding through the place when the engagement was over.

On the Moselle the fate of the French arms was not more propitious. Between the armies of the Netherlands and the Rhine, even in the moment of victory, no communication had existed; each had been left to its own strength; and this circumstance had repeatedly formed

a subject of complaint in the letters of Custine.* who had loudly called for assistance and co-operation. The duchy of Luxemburgh, and the electorate of Treves, were occupied by the corps of general Beaulieu, and the prince of Hohenlohe. This central position menaced, on the one side, the right flank of Dumouriez, and, on the other, the left of Custine. The city of Treves, the approaches to which were carefully guarded, commanded the course of the Moselle. At the confluence of this river with the Rhine, Coblentz was in possession of the Prussians.

The various inconveniences which would result from such a state of things was foreseen at the period when the combined forces retreated from Champagne, and plans were formed to prevent the enemy from establishing himself in so advantageous a situation. Accordingly, as soon as the Prussians were completely retired from the French territory, Kellerman received orders to march from Thionville, with five and twenty thousand men, to make a feint of attacking Luxemburgh; and then, crossing the Moselle, to advance rapidly upon Coblentz, and take his winter quarters between that place, Bingen, and Treves. These movements were to be seconded by those of a considerable corps, which was to penetrate into the duchy of Luxemburgh on the side of Longwy and Montmedy. The army of the Rhine would, by this means, be made sufficiently strong to carry on offensive operations, with every prospect of success. This scheme was frustrated by Kellerman, who hated Custine, and, consequently, felt a repugnance to put himself under his command. Presuming, therefore, that the army was no longer targeted, to execute the plan assigned it, he abandoned the frontiers, sent his troops into winter quarters, and drew back his cavalry and artillery behind Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Of this conduct Custine complained in the bitterest terms, and Kellerman was, to satisfy his accuser, removed from his present command, to that of the army of the Alps.

The place which he had left vacant was filled by Beurnonville. It was now winter; the enemy had fully secured his position, which were strong even in themselves; and the roads, never excellent, were become almost impracticable, from the inclemency of the season. As, however, Custine still remained supported the new general resolved to attempt what his predecessor had neglected. His hopes must have been sanguine indeed if they led him to expect a favourable result from this hardy enterprize.

Towards the middle of December, he drew his army from its cantonments, and collected it on the Saar, a river which, rising among the mountains that wall in Alsace, forms a junction with the Moselle, at a small distance from the borders of Luxemburgh. The unimportant posts of Freudenberg, Saarburg, and Merzig, were taken possession of without opposition, and the head quarters of Beurnonville were fixed at the village of Chieri. Between the Saar and the Moselle, not far from the junction of these two rivers, the Austrians were strongly entrenched near Conflanbruck, a place already known in the annals of war, from the total defeat which, in 1675, was there sustained by the

* See page 72.

marshal de Crequi. Their passage over the Moselle was secured by a bridge at Grevenmacheren. Midway between Cherf and Treves, and about five miles from the latter place, they had also fortified themselves at Pellingen, in a formidable position.

This campaign of general Beurnonville was a short but calamitous one. On the fourteenth, after some skirmishes of little moment during the preceding days, he attacked the works which covered Pellingen, and also those between the two rivers. In the first of these attacks he was repulsed with considerable slaughter; in the second he was equally unsuccessful, but suffered less severely. Two days after this defeat, he returned to the charge against the village of Pellingen, but with no better fortune. The assailants were allowed by the Austrians to advance tranquilly within cannon shot of the lines, when such a heavy fire of grape and cartridge was opened upon them, as strewed the ground with the dead and dying. The republicans were several times brought back to the combat, and were always received in the same manner. They at length retired, with the loss of three thousand men in killed and wounded. An attempt was the next day made by a detachment to cross the Moselle, a little above Grevenmacheren, but it was easily frustrated by the Austrains, who destroyed several pontons, and killed or drowned a part of their antagonists.

Short as was the period, during which it had kept the field, the army of Beurnonville was diminished more than one third by sickness, the sword, and the number of prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the enemy. To persevere in the contest, was to expose, without a hope of success, the remainder of his troops to the risk of being entirely destroyed. He, therefore, resolved to withdraw them from the scene of their disgrace, and to send them back to their former cantonments in the province of Lorraine. He began his retreat, on the twentieth, by the evacuation of Saarburg, and, before the twenty-sixth of December, his brief and inglorious campaign was completely terminated, and Custine was again left to his own efforts. In the whole of this expedition, nothing was so remarkable as the shameless effrontery of his dispatches to the executive council. Constantly defeated, he always claimed the victory, and, in his last letter, though his army was dwindled into insignificance, he asserted its total loss, in ten preceding actions, to amount to no more than seven men killed, and sixty wounded.

In the neighbourhood of Mentz there was, for some weeks after the affair at Hockheim, a pause from action. Within the city the time was spent alternately, in pleasure, and in preparations for a strenuous defence. The mornings were devoted to military measures; the evenings to balls and other amusements; and to these latter all the ladies of the place were invited, with the view, perhaps, of inducing them to use, in favour of French principles, their influence over the male part of the community. At the suggestion of a man named Dorsel, an electoral professor of philosophy, and a canon of Mentz, but who had been naturalized the preceding year at Strasburgh, the city council was abolished, and a municipality was substituted

ſubſtituted in its place. The jacobin club ſtill continued to be as active as ever in its efforts to ſeduce the people, by promiſing them the plunder of the clergy, and an exemption from tithes and taxes. But its ſucceſs was not commenſurate with its endeavours. Even of thoſe who had originally hailed the republicans, as friends and deliverers, many began to fall off, and to regret the unwiſe haſtineſs with which they had made their opinions public.

Three commiſſioners, Merlin, Rewbell, and Hauſſman, had been deputed by the convention, to act as a ſort of pro-conſuls at Mentz. They arrived at that place on the firſt day of the new year, and were received by the general with military honours. To thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their treaſonable conduct, they ſhewed the moſt marked attention; but the number of theſe was not ſo great as to afford them much ſatisfaction, and they could not refrain, in a diſpatch to their maſters, from lamenting the diminiſhed patriotiſm of the inhabitants of Mentz. They expreſſed, however, a hope that they ſhould yet ſucceed in reſtoring this patriotiſm to its proper vigour.

A ſplendid ſhow was conſidered by the commiſſioners as the moſt likely means to attain this great end; and with a ſhow, therefore, they reſolved to treat the Mentzers. A ſmall tree of liberty had been fixed in the principal ſquare, on the entrance of the French troops. This was removed by the commiſſioners, and a fir, ſeventy feet in height, was provided to fill its place. Meaſures were taken to make the ceremony of planting this rallying-point of rebellion as intereſting as poſſible. The proviſional adminiſtrative bodies, the generals, the jacobin club, and deputies Jan. 13. from the army, marched in proceſſion from the electoral palace to the ſpot appointed. All the people, without exception, were preſſingly invited to attend. The tree was fixed in the ground amid diſcharges of cannon, and loud acclamations. Cuſtine then harangued the club, and was followed by one of the townſmen, who made a ſpeech, in which he enlarged upon the horrors of deſpotiſm, and the bleſſings of equality, and invited his fellow-citizens to break the crown and ſceptre, and to tread under their feet all feudal diſtinctions. Some vagabonds, habited as ſlaves, and bearing the marks of nobility, and the enſigns of the ancient government, were then brought to the foot of the tree, by a party of French and Mentzers, who tore from them the banners and badges, which were thrown into the flames, to the ſound of artillery, democratic ſongs, and the huzzas of the mob. Martial airs were played throughout the day, feaſts were given, and the whole was cloſed by dances and feſtive entertainments. This farcical exhibition being over, the commiſſioners found their courage reanimated by it, and informed the convention that the advantages reſulting from liberty and equality were now juſtly appreciated by the people of Mentz.

Somewhat recovered by ſix weeks of repoſe, a part of the army of the Moſelle was again put in motion, to ſecond Cuſtine. That long chain of mountains, denominated the Voſges, which commences in Franche

Franche Comté, and, running parallel with the Rhine, forms the boundary of Alsace and Lorraine, separates, after its entrance into the German territory, the Duchy of Deux-Ponts from the Palatinate, and having approached the Nahe, towards Kreutznach, bends to the left, and proceeds, in a semicircular direction, through the Hunsdruck, to the banks of the Moselle. The portion of it which divides the Duchy of Deux-Ponts from the Palatinate, is intersected by several passes of great military importance, the possession of which by an enemy would enable him to turn the flank, and attack the rear, of an army which had advanced on the Rhine, from Landau to Mentz. No fears, however, could be entertained that these defiles would fall into the power of an enemy. The sovereign of the country, plundered and insulted as he had been, had still persevered in the strictest neutrality. It was, nevertheless, resolved that the army of the Moselle should seize upon his dominions.

The duke, meanwhile, though experience might have taught him better, felt no apprehension from his dangerous neighbours. But he was soon compelled by them to tremble for his safety. Without any previous declaration, a division of French troops, under the command of general Destournelles, secretly entered the duchy, on the ninth of February. The duke and duchess were then at the castle of Carlsberg, and were roused from their beds, by a peasant, just in time to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy. They fled with the utmost precipitation, and even, it is said, almost unprovided with wearing apparel, towards Manheim, which they fortunately reached on the following day. This hasty flight was made a subject of vulgar and indecent exultation, in the democratical journals.

The whole of the duchy was immediately occupied by the French forces. All the domains of the duke were seized; his property was put under sequestration; and his troops were disbanded. Such of his officers and soldiers as chose to enter were received into the service of the republic. The military stores were taken from the magazines; and large quantities of forage were collected, for the use of the cavalry in Mentz. In a few days the decree of the fifteenth of December was solemnly published. It was followed by the notification of a decree, passed on the thirty-first of January,* by which the people of the conquered countries were directed

* This decree we have already referred to, in the preceding chapter. It is in the same spirit as, and forms a supplement to, the decree of the fifteenth of December. A translation is, therefore, inserted. The 5th article, which merely appoints commissioners to the Netherlands is here omitted. The decrees of the 17th and 22d, which are mentioned in this decree, are all included under the general head of "the decree of the fifteenth of December," by which title only the whole is generally known.

"The national convention, being informed that in some of the countries "actually occupied by the armies of the republic, the execution of the de-"crees of the fifteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-second of December, has been "prevented

rected to assemble, within the space of a fortnight, for the purpose of declaring their wishes as to the form of their government. The receivers of taxes were also forbidden to dispose of any money in their hands, and were continued in their offices till further orders.

Against these violent proceedings the minister of the duke, baron D'Esebeck, who had remained at Deux-Ponts, to watch over the interests of his master, issued a spirited protest, representing them as glaring infractions of the neutrality which, on the ninth of November, had been granted to the duchy, by the executive council; which neutrality had been further confirmed by letters of safeguard transmitted to all the baillages, from the French envoy, on the first of the succeeding month. As this protest was unanswerable, and might stimulate the subjects of the duke to resistance of the invaders, it was thought the shortest way to arrest its author, and to send him prisoner to France. Towards the end of February a proclamation was addressed to the people, in which they were told that their opinions might be expressed with perfect freedom, and that they should be suffered to chuse whatever mode of government they pleased, provided, however, that it were founded on the basis of liberty and equality. A day, was at the same time, appointed, for this unbiassed election.

The inhabitants of Mentz were not, during this period, in a more enviable situation. Previous to their setting out, in pursuance of instructions from the convention, to inspect the army of the Moselle, the three commissioners published a mandate, directing the convocation of the primary assemblies, on the first of February. Their authority,

" prevented by the enemies of the people, coalesced against its sovereignty, " decrees :

" I. The decrees of the fifteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-second of December, " shall be executed in all places where the armies of the republic have entered, " or may enter in future.

" II. The generals of the armies of the republic shall take all the necessary " measures for assembling the primary, or commonalty assemblies, according to " the terms of the said decrees.

" The commissioners sent by the national assembly to fraternise with the peo- " ple shall decide provisionally on all questions which may arise, relative to the " form and the operations of the assemblies, and even in case of disputes on the " validity of elections: they shall watch particularly over every thing which can " assure the liberty of the assemblies, and of suffrages.

" III. The people, united in primary commonalty assemblies, are invited to " make known their sentiments as to what form of government they wish to " adopt.

" IV. The people of those towns and districts who shall not assemble, in " a fortnight at latest, after the promulgation of the decrees, if they have not " been already promulgated, of the fifteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-second " of December, as well as of the present decree, shall be declared not to wish " to be the friends of the French people. The republic will treat them in " the same manner as those who refuse to adopt, or to form for themselves, a " government founded on liberty and equality."

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for the time of their abſence, was given into the hands of two other deputies. By theſe men, the order for convoking the aſſemblies, which had not been carried into execution, was repeated, and it was further declared that thoſe who refuſed to take an oath, to maintain liberty and equality, ſhould be baniſhed from the city. This harſh regulation was deſigned to operate againſt the prieſts, the nobles, and the magiſtrates. The traders, and the middling claſs of citizens, were not, however, more favourable than the ſuperior ranks to the views of the French. In repeated meetings, held at the Council-houſe, they expreſſed a ſtrong determination to adhere to the Germanic ſyſtem.

The three commiſſioners returned, towards the middle of the month, from the army of the Moſelle, and reſumed the exerciſe of their functions. Their ſpleen and indignation was warmly excited * by the uncomplying ſpirit which the Mentzzers had diſplayed. Two deputations from the great body of traders were accordingly received by them in the moſt haughty manner, and were peremptorily refuſed the permiſſion of ſending agents to Paris, to make known their ſentiments to the republican government. They were informed that the twenty-fourth was the day irrevocably fixed for proceeding to the elections. The municipality alſo publiſhed a proclamation, dividing the city into ſections, and ſpecifying the mode in which the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen. A remonſtrance againſt theſe acts of tyranny having been preſented to the commiſſioners, the author of it was ſeized, condemned to baniſhment, and immediately led out of

* The tyrannical manner in which theſe commiſſioners acted is ſufficiently plain from a report made by one of them to the convention on the thirtieth of March. After giving an account of Cuſtine's ſituation, he thus proceeds—"Your "commiſſioners have been occupied upon the execution of the decrees of the "fifteenth and ſeventeenth of December, and thus far we have perfectly ſuc- "ceeded. After convoking the primary aſſemblies for the firſt of February, "we ſet out to viſit the army of the Moſelle. At our return, we found that "the agitators, the intriguers, the partizans of privileges, in ſhort, all the ariſto- "eratic crew, were leagued to hinder the execution of the decree. From all parts "reclamations were brought to us; but they were ſigned only by known ariſ- "tocrats. We remained firm, and the decree was executed. (*Applauſes*).— "The convention of Mentz opened its ſittings on the ſeventeenth of this month. "The eighteenth it declared its independence, and the abolition of all the rights "and privileges of canons, prieſts, lords, hereditary magiſtrates, &c.; and it "alſo decreed, that if any of theſe perſons ſhould attempt to recover thoſe "rights and privileges, they ſhould be puniſhed with death. To ſupport theſe "meaſures, to foil the agitators and ariſtocrats, and to prevent the ſcenes of "Frankfort from being acted over again, we have been obliged to tranſport "the known chiefs of conſpiracies: theſe chiefs were always judges, prieſts, and "nobles; we thought it our duty to treat them as enemies, ſince they ſhewed "themſelves the enemies of the people; and it was to put them out of the power "of doing miſchief that we conceived ourſelves called on to order their tranſ- "portation. This meaſure has been crowned with entire ſucceſs; the primary "aſſemblies have been held freely and peaceably, and every thing has been per- "fectly well organized."

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the place, under a guard, to the Prussian posts at Hockheim.

This vigorous measure had not the effect which probably was expected from it. The twenty-fourth arrived, but the citizens were as inflexible as ever. On that day the streets were silent and deserted. All the burgesses, with the exception of one only, kept close to their houses. Of the whole population of Mentz, not more than two hundred and sixty-six persons would consent to receive the oaths which were tendered to them. To overcome this obstinacy force was employed. The clergy, the privileged orders, and the magistracy, were despoiled of their property, and ignominiously driven from the place and its vicinity. This step was seconded by another proclamation to the people. The burgesses, notwithstanding, still persisted in their former determination. Such as could obtain passports removed from the city. In a few days the citizens were again called upon, by the municipality, to take the oaths, and were informed that the commissioners had resolved to publish, without delay, lists of the obedient and the refractory. But, with all these exertions and threats, the number obtained fell somewhat short of three hundred and fifty. In that part of the palatinate which was held by the French army, the success of Merlin and his colleagues was not more flattering. Some few villages adopted the plan laid before them; but the greater par trejected it. The towns did the same. At Worms, where considerable efforts had been made by the jacobins, the oaths were taken by about a thousand persons; but at Bingen, the boundary of the republican conquests on the Rhine, they were unanimously rejected.

Preparations for defence were all this while carrying on with unremitted activity. In conjunction with the peasants of the neighbourhood, such troops as could be spared from garrison and field duty, were daily employed in adding to the entrenchments of Cassel, which place was at last, by these exertions, converted into a regular fortress of no insignificant strength. On the side of Mentz, the palace of the elector, which, from its beauty and splendor, had been called La Favorita, was levelled with the ground, and a battery erected on its ruins. The summer houses and villas within cannon shot shared the same fate. But the destruction of these was less to be regretted than that of an alley of poplars, called the Rheinallee, extending a mile and a half in length, the trees of which rivalled the elm in height and magnitude, and were the venerable growth of more than a hundred years. These were cut down within a foot of the root, and the groves and walks surrounding them entirely obliterated. But, while these magnificent works of nature were doomed to the axe, an humbler vegetation was sedulously encouraged. Every proprietor of a garden was directed to plant it with herbs, and officers were sent round to ascertain whether this order was obeyed. The inhabitants were likewise commanded to supply themselves with provisions for seven months consumption; and a contribution was imposed upon the rich to provide for the subsistence of the poor. About three thousand two hundred pounds was collected for this latter purpose. Corn was brought in, by the garrison,

ſon, from wherever it could be found, without any attention being paid to whom it belonged. The elector palatine, though neutral, ſuſtained, in this manner, a loſs of ſixty thouſand florins, before his remonſtrances met with any attention. Within the city, the ſtricteſt care was taken, by providing large ſtores of water, and by other precautions, to prevent the ſpreading of the flames, in caſe of a bombardment.

At the commencement of March, Cuſtine was called to Paris, by the executive council, to conſult on the military operations of the approaching campaign. His firſt care, on reaching the capital, was to notify his arrival to the national convention, with which aſſembly he was on the beſt terms; it having, but two days before, when a letter was read in juſtification of him, refuſed to hear it to the end, on the flattering ground that his conduct was ſuch as ſtood in need of no defence. He entertained, nevertheleſs, ſome fears that his popularity with the jacobin club was on the decline; and he, therefore, reſolved to pay an immediate viſit to that powerful ſociety. But his fears were ſoon diſſipated by the favourable manner in which he was received. After the great exertions which the general had made, to extend the influence and imitation of the jacobins, it would, in truth, have been an act of flagrant ingratitude, had they reſolved upon treating him with indifference or enmity.

While Cuſtine was in attendance at Paris, the Pruſſians, on their ſide, were preparing for more active meaſures than they had hitherto purſued. The Saxon corps, in the neighbourhood of Hockheim, was reinforced by a Pruſſian diviſion of twelve thouſand men, under the command of general Schonfield. Poſts were alſo puſhed nearer to the fortifications of Caſſel. Königſtein, a ſmall, but naturally ſtrong fort, ſituated on the road from Coblentz to Frankfort, and which had been occupied by the French to embarraſs the communications between thoſe places, ſurrendered on the eighth of March, after a blockade of four months. The garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred and forty men, remained priſoners of war.

Another enemy, though not of the moſt formidable kind, was now added to the number of thoſe who were leagued againſt the French republic. This was the empire. The queſtion of active co-operation with the emperor had been for ſome time before the diet at Ratiſbon, and had given riſe to much diſcuſſion. That tardy aſſembly, at length came to a definitive reſolution, "that ſince March 22. "France made war on the em- "pire by acts of hoſtility, without "any formal declaration; ſince ſhe "had attacked and overrun, by "means of her armies, countries "belonging to bodies corporate and "ſtates of the empire, this war, "undertaken by France, and de- "clared by acts of hoſtility alone, "ought to be conſidered as a war "which was common to the whole "of the empire." By the ſame reſolution aſſignats were prohibited from circulating; all former treaties between the two powers were annulled; and all the vaſſals and members of the empire were charged to conſider themſelves as no longer neutral with regard to France.

For the ſupport of the arduous conteſt

conteſt in which the emperor was engaged, his ſubjects diſplayed a loyalty and liberality which did honour to their feelings. Hungary, with that zeal and ſpirit which it had always ſhewn when worthily governed, came forward with an aid of four millions of florins, and twelve thouſand men. Bohemia and Moravia, according to their means, contributed their aſſiſtance. The ſtates of Lower Auſtria alſo, having raiſed the ſum of two hundred and five thouſand florins, preſented it to their ſovereign in a coffer, round which was an affectionate inſcription in praiſe of his virtues. Theſe examples were followed by the whole of the other ſtates. But theſe patriotic exertions were not confined to provinces alone. The cities, the corporations, the clergy, even private individuals, were equally anxious to manifeſt the reſpect and attachment which they felt to the throne. Money and bullion poured in from all quarters, and, along with theſe, the not leſs valuable articles which were indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence and ſervice of the armies. Vienna, by itſelf, in addition to the offerings of its citizens and public bodies, furniſhed the equipment, and yearly pay, of a corps of three thouſand men.

While the great maſs of the German people was thus proving the ſtrength of its allegiance, a few deſperate traitors were ſtriving, as far as lay in their power, to deliver up their country to the bondage of France. After many difficulties, the primary aſſemblies were at laſt convoked in the city of Mentz, and the towns of the palatinate. The obſtacles in the way of this meaſure had been removed by the baniſhment, or putting to flight, of thoſe who dared to ſhew ſigns of a refractory diſpoſition. Mentz alone had been reduced in its population fifteen thouſand perſons, by the irreſiſtible agency of terror and proſcription. By the primary aſſemblies, ſo got together, repreſentatives, worthy of their office, were ſpeedily choſen. Six were elected by Mentz, two by Worms, the ſame number by Spires, and one each by ſeveral other towns. Theſe delegates met at Mentz, on the tenth of March, and declared themſelves a national convention. Their firſt ſitting was held on the ſeventeenth, and their firſt act was to deprive the clergy, the nobles, and the magiſtracy, of all their rights and privileges, and to denounce againſt them the puniſhment of death, in caſe they attempted to recover what had been wreſted from them by this illegal aſſembly. The next day they came to a vote, by which all the country between Landau and Bingen was erected into a free and independent ſtate. They did not, however, long ſuffer this offſpring of their creative talents to enjoy a ſeparate exiſtence. No ſooner was it formed than they proceeded to diſcuſs the queſtion of merging it in the French republic; and this queſtion, after two days debate, was finally decided in the affirmative. Three deputies, Foſter, Patoki, and Lucks, were immediately diſpatched to Paris, with the decree which the aſſembly had paſſed, for an union with France. Several minor decrees were then framed, relative to the arrangement and adminiſtration of the proviſional government. Exile and impriſonment were the formidable weapons on which the aſſembly relied, for enſuring obedience to its uſurped authority; and, ſuch was

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the ſtubborn diſlike of the Mentzers to the recent innovations, that it had daily opportunities of calling their force into action.

Cuſtine had, by this time, returned from Paris, and reſumed the command of the army. Aware that the combined Auſtrians and Pruſſians would ſoon direct the whole of their force againſt him, he took a poſition which he hoped would enable him to oppoſe a ſucceſsful reſiſtance to all their attacks. The banks of the Rhine, from Landau to Mentz, were already defended, in every acceſſible part, by ſtrong and numerous batteries. But it was not on this ſide that he was apprehenſive of danger. Leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Mentz and Caſſel, he poſted the remainder of his force, in an advantageous ſituation, behind the little river Nahe, with its right at Bingen, and its left at Kreutznach; thus extending from the Rhine to the mountains of the Voſges. The defiles of the Voſges, through which his rear might be endangered, were guarded by the army of the Moſelle.

The campaign was at length opened. A bridge having been thrown over the Rhine, in the vicinity of St. Goar, the Pruſſians croſſed it, on the twenty-third of March, and encamped at Laubach in the Hunſdruck. Here they remained four days, during which ſeveral ſkirmiſhes took place between the advanced poſts of the French and German armies, which moſt frequently terminated in favour of the latter. A general attack was made, in the morning of the twenty-ſeventh, on the heights of Bingen, which were occupied by the French. The conteſt was, for ſome time, obſtinately maintained, but five companies of republican grenadiers having given way, the panic became complete and irreparable. General Newinger, fifty officers, ſeveral hundred privates, and fifteen pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors. The town of Bingen was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed; but from this they were ſpeedily driven, the next day, by means of a bombardment.

At this critical moment the army of the Moſelle unexpectedly abandoned the defiles of the Voſges. By this retrogade movement the flank of Cuſtine's army was entirely uncovered, and he found himſelf expoſed to the danger of being hemmed in on all ſides. He reſolved, therefore, on an immediate retreat. The diviſion which had been placed at Kreutznach, retired to Alzey, without ſuffering any loſs from a Pruſſian corps by which it was purſued. Other diviſions were not ſo fortunate. The main body of the victorious army, reinforced by the Auſtrians under the prince of Hohenlohe, now advanced to Alzheim; by the route of Arnſheim and Odernheim. This ſtep was deciſive. Between Bingen and Alzheim the Rhine forms an angle, by thus rapidly moving along one of the ſides of which the combined forces ſevered from Cuſtine's army a conſiderable portion of it, which had no reſource left but to throw itſelf into Mentz. Cuſtine himſelf fell back to Worms, with the utmoſt precipitation. His rear guard was vigorouſly attacked, routed, and ſuffered a heavy loſs in killed, wounded, and, above all, in priſoners. An ineffectual attempt to form a junction with him was made by the garriſons of Geinſheim, Eich, and Hamen, which, after a ſhort action, were compelled to ſurrender, to the number of twelve hundred men,

men, among whom were forty officers; with the military cheſt, ſix colours, and four pieces of cannon. In this engagement prince Lewis of Pruſſia, and the prince of Wirtemburgh, diſtinguiſhed themſelves highly by their courage and conduct. The garriſons of Oppenheim, Nierſtein, and other places, whoſe retreat towards France was cut off, were compelled to join their comrades in Mentz. In the whole of the attacks, and the ſubſequent purſuit, nearly two thouſand priſoners were taken by the aſſailants.

For a moment Cuſtine entertained a deſign of keeping his ground between Worms and Spire. This, however, from the ſhattered and diſpirited ſtate of his forces, he ſoon found to be impracticable. Immenſe magazines of forage had been collected at Spire, Worms, Frankendal, and other places, which, as they could not be removed, he ordered to be burnt, to the great terror of the inhabitants, who kept watch all night to prevent their dwellings from being involved in the conflagration. He then retreated to the neighbourhood of Landau. Stung to the heart by his diſaſters, he diſpatched to the convention, from this place, an account of his proceedings, and deſired that a ſucceſſor might be named to him, as he would no longer retain the command. The convention, on receiving his letter, declared him to poſſeſs its entire confidence, and prevailed on him to relinquiſh the reſolution which he had formed of reſigning.

The republican army being thus driven within the limits of its own territory, Mentz and Caſſel were left to their fate. To recover theſe places was of the utmoſt importance to the German empire, and preparation was accordingly made without delay, for commencing the ſiege, which, from the numerous works raiſed by the French engineers, would, as it was juſtly feared, be long, difficult, and bloody.

CHAP. X.

State of popular opinion and of parties in Great Britain during the Summer and Autumn of 1792. The Militia embodied by Proclamation; Parliament aſſembled in fourteen days afterward according to Law; objections made to this meeting. The King's Speech. Debate on the Addreſs in the Houſe of Peers; but no diviſion. Debate in the Houſe of Commons; the Addreſs moved by the Lord Mayor. General obſervations in oppoſition to the Addreſs; and in ſupport of it; Speech of Mr. Fox, who moves an Amendment; he is anſwered by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Windham; the Amendment negatived by a large majority. A new Amendment moved by Mr. Fox on the report of the addreſs; his arguments in ſupport of it; oppoſed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Dundas; negatived without a diviſion. Motion by Mr. Fox that an Ambaſſador ſhould be ſent to negotiate with the perſons proviſionally exerciſing the executive government in France; arguments in ſupport of, and oppoſition to this Motion; which is negatived. Obſervations of Mr. Sheridan on the treatment of the French King; Mr. Fox recommends an Addreſs to his Majeſty for Copies of the Inſtructions ſent to Lord Gower on his recal; the propoſal agreed to by Mr. Pitt. The Inſtructions by an unanimous vote ordered to lay on the Table; obſervations

of Mr. Fox on the trial of Louis XVI. Motion by the Marquis of Lansdowne that an Ambassador may be sent to France to avert the fate of the King, and intercede for the Emigrants; objected to by Lord Grenville; supported by the Duke of Norfolk; the part of the motion which related to the King withdrawn; that respecting the Emigrants opposed by Lord Loughborough and the Duke of Norfolk, and negatived without a division. A Bill brought into the House of Lords for regulation of Aliens; arguments against and in favour of it; the Bill supported by the Dukes of Portland and Leeds, Lords Spencer, Carlisle, Stormont and Loughborough. Debates on the Bill in the House of Commons. Sir Gilbert Elliot avows a diametrical opposition of sentiments between him and Mr. Fox; Mr. Fox expresses surprize on the occasion, and his hope that none of his friends will support the Administration; Mr. Burke avows that intention and makes several strictures on the principles and expressions of Mr. Fox, and on the state of affairs in France. Several Members of the opposition support the Bill; Sir Gilbert Elliot; the Marquis of Titchfield; Mr. Fox denies that there is any occasion for alarm; general arguments in opposition to and in defence of the Bill; which passes.

THOSE important events of the French Revolution, which have been related in the preceding pages of the present, and the conclusion of the former volume, could not fail of producing a powerful effect in these kingdoms. Some of the indications which soon manifested themselves here, of an increased confidence and boldness in the partizans of the new philosophy and new liberty, have been incidentally *noticed. We must now turn to a nearer and more distinct view of our own domestic affairs.

The attack on the French king's palace, and the imprisonment of his royal person and family, though such an issue of the struggle did not surprise, yet deeply affected all who feared danger to our own monarchy from the success of such an example. They had hoped, though against their own judgment, that the crisis so evidently approaching might have terminated in a more favourable result. Now they beheld the triumph of the men who had so often proclaimed eternal hostility to all kings, achieved and secured. The most sanguine alone looked forward for consolation to the armies of the combined powers, which shortly after passed the frontiers of France; yet even they dreaded that the destruction of the royal prisoners would be the immediate consequence of the success of their friends and allies. Their alarms on this head were encreased, and their general abhorrence more than ever excited, by the intelligence which then arrived of the massacres that stained the beginning of the month of September. But their spirits sank when the combined armies began to retreat, and their despair was complete when the French army, advancing into the Netherlands, instead of meeting there as in the former invasion nothing but disgrace and defeat, pushed the Austrian forces on every side and won the memorable victory of Jemappe. On the other hand, not only the wilder democratists, but some of the more sober admirers of the French revolution, willing to believe the popular accu-

* See above p. 164 to 167, and the papers there quoted.

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ſations againſt Lewis and his court, did not diſſemble the ſatisfaction which they felt from the iſſue of the attack on the Thuilleries. Many of the latter deſcription recoiled from the horrid butcheries which enſued; but they ſoon accepted the trite palliations which the girondiſts at firſt threw over thoſe atrocious ſcenes; and they were quickly dazzled by the glory which now began to give a riſing luſtre to the arms of republican France. The multitude, as uſual, followed fortune, and with a zeal which plainly ſhewed that they conſidered it as their own cauſe which proſpered. The clubs, which there has been frequent occaſion to notice, filled and ſpread; new affiliated ſocieties ſtarting up in all the principal towns. Their activity, in appearance and effect, multiplied their numbers, which without doubt were very conſiderably augmented; and they boaſted of a ſtrength much more formidable than they poſſeſſed. Their agitators and emiſſaries at once exchanged the inſidious tone of ſpecious complaint for the undiſguiſed language of inſult, defiance, and menace againſt their adverſaries. They called upon their prudence quietly to ſurrender the imperfect and vicious conſtitution which they could no longer protect, and affected in compaſſion to warn them of the ſevere but inevitable conſequences which muſt attend a vain contention. They believed, or pretended to believe, that they had with them a great majority of the people; and exultingly predicted that the time was come, when (to uſe the language of one of their leading ſocieties) "*nations, riſing from their lethar-"gy, would reclaim the rights of "man with a voice which man "could not reſiſt." It is probable, that they were deceived into this falſe confidence by the ſeeming want of concert and exertion which marked the conduct of the oppoſite party, who were waiting with a patient ſenſe of duty, though not without ſome ſtifled murmurs, for the ſignal to declare themſelves, which they naturally expected to receive from the government of their country, or from ſome connexion of eminent men whoſe lead great bodies of the people had been accuſtomed to follow.

In this ſtate of the public mind a fortuitous incident furniſhed a memorable proof, how much may ſometimes be effected by the ſeaſonable efforts of a ſingle individual unaided by publick authority, and poſſeſſing no perſonal means of influence, but in his own ſpirit and talents. In the beginning of November, Mr. Reeves, who then exerciſed the functions of chief juſtice in Newfoundland, returned from that ſtation to which he had gone out the latter end of the preceding ſpring. During his abſence in that remote corner of the globe, having had little opportunity of intelligence from home, he was the more forcibly ſtruck on his arrival with the difference which he inſtantly perceived in the condition and temper of the nation. "I left you," ſaid he to the friends whom he accidentally met, "a tolerably tranquil people; "I find you in a ſtate of fermenta-"tion ſuch as I never remember.

* See the addreſs of the conſtitutional ſociety to the French convention A. R. for 1792, Part 2. p. 351. In the ſame and other ſimilar addreſſes will be found ſufficient confirmation of the language attributed above from perſonal obſervation to the agitators and emiſſaries.

"Opinions, which had been discountenanced and repreſſed at my "departure, are now trumpeted "around me in a ſtrain of triumph, "and not a voice is heard againſt "them. Is it poſſible, that in ſo "ſhort an interval, the minds of "the majority of my countrymen "can have undergone ſo total a "change?" He reſolved therefore to make the experiment. A public advertiſement, which he threw forth with this deſign, though without a name, inſtantly produced numerous and anxious enquiries, much exceeding all that he had anticipated. A meeting was appointed: he avowed himſelf; was called to the chair; and propoſed a temperate, perſpicuous, yet firm, and impreſſive declaration, which was approved, voted and circulated. It has been commonly ſuppoſed and aſſerted, that all was planned and undertaken with the privity, concurrence and ſupport of ſome members of the adminiſtration. But in truth his intention was only known to them in the ſame manner as to the reſt of the world; and in the proſecution of it he was never aſſiſted by them. Not a ſingle perſon in office ſubſcribed; no private ſuccour, no co-operation of whatever kind was received from that quarter down to the moment when the aſſociation was diſſolved. Many now emulouſly ſtepped forward. Meetings were called: committees choſen; and declarations and reſolutions publiſhed; of diſtinguiſhed perſons, chiefly members from both ſides in Parliament; of merchants, bankers and traders; of cities and towns; of corporations and pariſhes. The ſpirit which was thus excited, quickly ran through the kingdom. The cry which had lately mimicked the voice of the nation was no longer heard. They who had juſt before endeavoured to intimidate by magnifying their numbers, now ſought ſafety from popular indignation by extenuating them; they repreſented themſelves as no more than ſome few harmleſs ſpeculators; and wondered why it ſhould be thought neceſſary to rouſe againſt them the whole body of the people, becauſe they wiſhed quietly, if they could, to amend and improve the conſtitution. Some of them from fear haſtened to take the new teſts: many from levity turned round again, when the majority was now ſo indubitably aſcertained: moſt of them felt the ſeaſon to be unpropitious to their views, and lowered their tone of audacity and ſuperiority, to the language of apology and explanation. The whole moral and political aſpect of the country was entirely changed. Never were all the popular energies of a free ſtate more abſolutely under the direction and command of the executive government.

After the miniſters had failed (*as we related in our laſt volume), to ſtrengthen themſelves in parliament by a junction, they tried at leaſt to weaken the oppoſition, by attaching to themſelves ſome individuals of weight on the other ſide. It is believed that the great ſeal was offered to lord Loughborough, and intimations were conveyed to Mr. Windham that the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate for the home department awaited his acceptance. If ſo, both offices were declined. Aſſurances, however, were conveyed to miniſters, that if a war ſhould be

* A. R. for 1792 Part 1. pp. 381 and 382.

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the conſequence of the relative ſituation of Great Britain and France, they would be ſteadily ſupported againſt the foreign as well as domeſtic enemies of the crown, by all who had recently voted with them. Thus emboldened, they departed from the cautious ſyſtem of conduct which they had hitherto obſerved; added to the public alarm by the buſtle of preparation, which we have already remarked, as againſt ſome threatened attack on the metropolis, embodied the militia, and ſummoned parliament under a ſpecial proviſion which ſuppoſed an imminent danger of inſurrection or invaſion.

Such was the internal ſtate of the country when the two houſes aſſembled. In the ſpeech from the throne his majeſty ſtated, that the ſeditious practices which had received a temporary check, were then more openly renewed with increaſed activity; that a ſpirit of tumult and diſorder diſcovered itſelf by acts of riot and inſurrection, which required the interpoſition of a military force in ſupport of the civil magiſtrate; and that a deſign exiſted to attempt the deſtruction of the conſtitution and the ſubverſion of all order and government, by exciting diſcontents under various pretences in different parts of the kingdom, a deſign evidently concerted with perſons in foreign countries. Towards France, his majeſty remarked, that he had carefully preſerved a ſtrict neutrality, uniformly abſtaining from all interference in her internal affairs. It was nevertheleſs impoſſible for him not to ſee, with great uneaſineſs, the ſtrong indications which were manifeſted in that country to excite diſturbances in others, to diſregard the rights of neutral nations, and to purſue views of conqueſt and aggrandizement in general, as well as to adopt towards Holland in particular, meaſures which were neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties. Under theſe circumſtances his Majeſty deemed it right to augment the military force, perſuaded that ſuch a neceſſary precaution was beſt calculated to maintain public tranquillity and preſerve the bleſſings of peace. Towards the concluſion of his ſpeech the King adverted to the ſucceſsful termination of the war in India; and after expreſſing his confidence in the exertions of both houſes for enforcing obedience to the laws, and repreſſing all diſturbances, he ended with aſſuring Parliament, that in endeavouring to preſerve and tranſmit to poſterity the ineſtimable bleſſings which they had themſelves experienced, they might rely on his zealous and cordial co-operation, convinced, that his and their joint efforts would be rendered completely effectual by the decided ſupport of a free and loyal people.

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When the addreſs was debated in the houſe of lords, the oppoſition did not appear to think that the complexion of public affairs was ſo bad as to warrant the ſtrong meaſures adopted by adminiſtration. In defence of theſe meaſures was urged the great and increaſing danger of the times, when ſeditious ſocieties, under different denominations, were not only eſtabliſhed in various parts of the kingdom, but had proceeded to the audacity of communicating by addreſſes their traitorous views to the national convention of France, by which they had been applauded and encouraged. A noble Lord on this occaſion, by way of proof that the French rulers looked with

confidence to a ſpeedy revolution in this country, read the following paſſage from a printed addreſs of M. Condorcet; "George the Third ſees with anxious ſurprize that throne to totter under him which is founded on ſophiſtry, and which republican truths have ſapped to its foundation."

In the Houſe of Commons the addreſs was moved by the Lord Mayor, who obſerved, that, although the late proclamation had been attended with conſiderable effect, yet at the period of his entering upon the mayoralty he found the hopes of the ſeditious reviving in conſequence of the recent triumph of republicaniſm in France. The ſocieties, he ſaid, which had been formed in the metropolis, and were connected with others in different parts of Great Britain, began with redoubled ardor to purſue their nefarious deſigns. By induſtriouſly and unremittingly circulating a variety of pernicious pamphlets, adapted to the meaneſt capacities, they zealouſly laboured to corrupt the lower claſſes of the people, alienating their minds from their duty to their king and country. In conſequence however of the loyal, ſeaſonable, and determined conduct of the citizens of London, aided by the firm and temperate meaſures of government, tranquillity he hoped was in a great degree ſecured, and the ſocieties were compelled to conduct their proceedings leſs openly and more cautiouſly.

The oppoſers of the addreſs were ſevere in their ſtrictures on the ſpeech, which they cenſured as reaſoning in its moſt prominent parts on ſuppoſed facts rather preſumed than proved. It was ſaid to contain a direct calumny on the people of England, who were ſo far from exhibiting any appearance of inſurrection, that they were abſolutely at that very moment overflowing with expreſſions of loyalty, a calumny ſo intolerable, an inſinuation of ſo groſs and black a nature, as to demand the moſt rigorous enquiry, and the ſevereſt puniſhment. The greateſt part of the ſpeech was declared to be a compilation of aſſertions, and of inſinuations in the ſhape of aſſertions, totally unfounded, all in one continued ſtrain of falſehood and detraction. If credit were to be given to it, it would appear that there exiſted a deſign of attempting to deſtroy the conſtitution, and ſubvert all order and government, by exciting diſcontents under various pretences. Some ſlight riots, it was confeſſed, had indeed taken place in diſtant parts of the kingdom; but theſe were ſaid each to have had a diſtinct and peculiar object open and avowed, and not in any reſpect aiming at the deſtruction of the conſtitution. Why, therefore, it was aſked, were ſecret and treaſonable motives to be imputed to them? On ſimilar grounds, the various ſocieties eſtabliſhed for the apparent purpoſe of diſcuſſing conſtitutional queſtions were defended from the aſperſions of the Lord Mayor. But even admitting that ſuch ſocieties publiſhed opinions, and circulated pamphlets, which contained doctrines of a ſuppoſed dangerous tendency, ſtill, was it contended, that their conduct could not be conſidered illegal, until the books in queſtion were attempted to be legally ſuppreſſed. It was only by overt acts, in defiance of the law, that any man was to be adjudged criminal; yet ought not the executive government to be too forward in waging war againſt opinions.

Deriding, therefore, all apprehenſion

fion of any thing like an inſurrection, the ſame gentlemen argued, that the embodying of the militia, and the conſequent aſſembling of parliament in an extraordinary manner, under ſuch an apprehenſion, was a downright fraud, a mere trick of the miniſter, who, by holding out this mockery of alarm, flattered himſelf that he ſhould more readily work up the feelings of the nation to a continental war. To prevent inſurrection (if inſurrection were dreaded) a redreſs of grievances was recommended. Were the diſſenters diſcontented? all cauſe of complaint ſhould be taken from them by the repeal of the Teſt and Corporation Acts. If any perſon was diſpoſed to republicaniſm, becauſe he thonght the repreſentative government moſt perfect in a republic, it was deemed an argument for amending the repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons; and not under the pretence of guarding the conſtitution againſt levellers, for running into the oppoſite extreme (an extreme at preſent more to be dreaded) of increaſing the power of the crown, and diminiſhing the influence of Parliament. If republican aſſociations had created alarm, other aſſociations, of a very different deſcription, which had recently been eſtabliſhed to counteract the efforts of the former, furniſhed not, it was aſſerted, leſs ground for apprehenſion; as theſe had likewiſe been zealous in poiſoning the minds of the common people, not indeed by inſtilling the dangerous ſubtleties of democracy, but by plentifully adminiſtering a more old faſhioned yet equally dangerous drug, the tory bane of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance.

On the miniſterial ſide, the alarming ſtate of the country was pointed out as the real inducement of the meaſures which had been adopted. Much ſtreſs was laid on the conduct of the affiliated clubs. It was ſaid, that in every town, and almoſt every village in the kingdom, their emiſſaries had found means to diſtribute gratuitouſly among the lower claſſes publications of a very noxious tendency; that under the ſpecious maſk of reform they had propagated the moſt deſtructive doctrines, ſparing no pains to excite diſcontents in the minds of the populace; that they had recommended to imitation the revolutionary example of France, not only with regard to the object, but even with regard to the means of obtaining that object; that they had repreſented parliament, among other ſeditious inſinuations, as a corrupt body, totally incapable of redreſſing grievances, aſſerting that the time was now arrived for the people to redreſs themſelves; and that they had even held out to the lower claſſes the ſtrong temptation of an Agrarian law. To ſuch remarks it was added, that they had not been contented to reſt even here, but had proceeded a ſtep further, and had ſecretly negotiated with the jacobins of France (the real governors of that country) for the ſubverſion of the Britiſh conſtitution; and, as if this were not enough, that they had even ſent over members to preſent factious* addreſſes to the national convention, which had received, countenanced, and encouraged them. To the machinations of the ſame ſocieties were imputed the moſt alarming of the riots which

* See laſt vol. State Papers, p. *351.

had broken out, under various pretexts, in different parts of the country, and which had secretly been fomented for other purposes than the apparent ones. That the public mind felt a considerable degree of agitation, oppressed with anxious forebodings and dreadful apprehensions of some political convulsion already in preparation, was positively and strongly insisted on; and a confident appeal to this effect was made to the observation and experience of the country members. If it were asked, why ministers had not been contented to suppress all tumults in the ordinary mode by the assistance of the troops? the answer was, that they thought the militia a better aid, as it was a force at hand always ready to act on any emergency, and as it called forth the property and respectability of every county for the public protection.

The conduct of the French was considered as another reasonable cause for the measures adopted by government, the predominant party among them appearing to have nothing in view but the aggrandizement of dominion, and the establishment of their own political system. In direct contradiction to their former professions, they had annexed Savoy as an eighty-fourth department to France, and imposed their own republican constitution on the Netherlands. Disregarding likewise the bonds of existing treaties, and in despite of the powers which were guarantees of those treaties, they had opened the navigation of the Scheldt, to the great injury of our allies the Dutch.

Mr. Fox, in one part of his speech on this occasion, by way of answer to what he thought an unfair insinuation thrown out by the other side of the house, expressed, in strong language, his sympathy with the French on their recent success in what he called the glorious victory of Jemappe: "And if," said he, "it is to be considered as a sign of discontent, and of a preference for republican doctrines, that men should droop and be dejected, when they heard that the armies of despotism had triumphed over an army fighting for liberty, if such dejection be a proof that men are discontented with the constitution of England, and leagued with foreigners in an attempt to destroy it, I give myself up to my country as a guilty man; for I freely confess, that, when I heard of the reported surrender of Dumourier, and that there was a probability of the triumph of the Prussian and Austrian armies over the liberties of France, my spirits drooped and I was dejected * * *. I honestly confess, that I never felt more sincere gloom and dejection in my life, for I saw in such a triumph not merely the ruin of liberty in England, but the ruin of the liberty of man." The same gentleman, conceiving "that many of his valued friends, had become the dupes of deception," by joining in support of the minister's measures, applied to them a passage which he read from an historian on the subject of the popish plot in the reign of Charles the Second; the purport of which seemed to be to represent them as "weak men, who meant well, but acted ill, and while doing the drudgery of a party, persuaded themselves that they were saving the nation."

On the part of opposition, lord Wycomb particularly distinguished himself. In some respects, however, he appeared to differ on certain opinions

opinions of policy from his friend Mr. Fox. His lordſhip doubted whether the ſyſtem of holding tranſmarine poſſeſſions was a wiſe one, and, conſequently, whether Great Britain would be leſs powerful without her colonies than with them; ſo far likewiſe was he from approving of our entering into a war, to preſerve for Holland the excluſive navigation of the Scheldt, according to former treaties, that he verily believed he ſhould give his ſupport to any bill, which might be brought in for the purpoſe of declaring, that this country ſhould never engage in war, unleſs it were on the ſingle ground of reſiſting the actual invaſion of an hoſtile power.

Mr. Pitt not being yet returned to parliament, in conſequence of his having vacated his ſeat by the acceptance of the wardenſhip of the Cinque Ports, Mr. Dundas took the lead on the miniſterial ſide, ſupported by Meſſrs. Burke and Windham.

An amendment on the addreſs, which was propoſed by Mr. Fox, was negatived by a majority of 240.

Not diſcouraged by this deciſion Mr. Fox, on the ſucceeding night, when the report on the addreſs was received, again oppoſed it, principally confining himſelf to that part of it which hinted the poſſibility of our being engaged in war. After expreſſing his conviction, that France had juſtice completely on her ſide, and thanking God, that nature had been true to herſelf, that tyranny had been defeated, and freedom triumphant, he paſſed on to the principal arguments adduced on the other ſide relative to the aggrandizing views of France: "Whoever, ſaid he, "conceives me to be of opinion that the aggrandizement of that country is matter of indifference to this, miſtakes me groſſly." He admitted more, and declared it to be his opinion, that, in conſequence of recent tranſactions, the power of France might prove formidable to Great Britain. Formerly had ſhe been formidable under her monarchy, when in alliance with Auſtria and Spain: at enmity with Auſtria, and certainly not in amity with Spain, ſhe was much more formidable now, and that principally from the animated efforts of her freedom, which he was perſuaded were beyond the calculation of man. Impreſt with ſuch ſentiments he thought we ſhould act moſt prudently not to oppoſe the new republic, but by negotiation to court and conciliate it; that new republic, which ſooner or later muſt be acknowledged. As an inducement to this ſtep, he pointed out the little dependence to be placed on any counter-alliances. Pruſſia, from domeſtic occurrences, might be rendered unable to afford us any aſſiſtance. On the Emperor and Holland no reliance at all could be placed. Nor ought we, he conceived, to overlook the ſituation of Ireland, which would be as little diſpoſed as able to lend us any hearty ſupport in the event of war: if we wiſhed to check the aggrandizement of the French, perhaps, he remarked, the beſt way was to preſerve peace with them, as their cauſe on the continent was every day becoming more popular, all Europe holding in deteſtation the leaders of the combined armies, who were deſtitute both of honour and humanity. Mr. Fox's amendment went to entreat that his Majeſty would employ every ſpecies of negotiation

gotiation to prevent the calamities of war, that might be deemed consistent with the honour and dignity of the British nation.

The amendment was supported by Mr. Sheridan, who wished every possible exertion to be made for the preservation of peace. If, however, that were impracticable, in such case, but in such case only, he proposed to vote for a vigorous war, not a war of shifts and scraps, of timid operation or protracted effort, but a war conducted with such energy as might convince the world that we were contending for our dearest and most valuable privileges.

Mr. Burke opposed the amendment, remarking, that if we could not depend upon the fidelity of our allies at the present moment, our best mode of securing it in future would scarcely be to court by negotiation their most implacable enemies. On the supposition likewise of our submitting to such a negotiation, could we, he added, promise ourselves any thing like the prospect of obtaining reasonable terms? And yet for this were we invited to renounce our existing connexions with the ancient and established governments in Europe, for the purpose of crouching without effect to a species of republic, which bore no analogy to any other which was or ever had been in the world, a republic founded on principles of universal seduction, union, and confraternity, so wild in her ambitious projects and views of political proselytism, as to aim at the subversion of all other forms of government, and the substitution of her own in their stead. Like the propagator of the doctrine of the Koran, with a new fangled code of opinions in one hand, and the sword in the other, was she resolved to enforce conviction on surrounding nations, and compel them to adopt her own system of revolutionary freedom.

He noticed an argument which had been advanced in support of the amendment on the following ground, that, because the different powers of Europe had recognized the republic of England under Cromwell, we ought to recognize the new prodigy in France; conceiving it to be quite inapplicable, as Cromwell professed no principle of proselytism, or ever dreamt of subverting the neighbouring thrones. He then adverted to some late decrees of the French convention, which he considered as so many direct declarations of war on every government in Europe. War, eternal war, had been decreed on kings and kingly governments. But the provocation to Great Britain did not rest here, Englishmen, the deputies of certain seditious societies had been admitted to the bar of the national convention, and been there considered, in contempt of the constitution of these kingdoms, as the representatives of the people of England.

Mr. Dundas spoke on the same side, expressing his extreme reluctance to involve the country in war, yet at the same time declaring it to be his fixed opinion, that we were bound to preserve our alliance with Holland, and to shelter it, if necessary, from the attacks of France.

Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived without a division. His Majesty's answer to the address being received and read, Mr. Fox proposed that an ambassador should be sent to France in order to treat with those persons who exercised provisionally the functions of the executive government in that country, on such points as

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as might be in dispute between the two nations. By this motion he declared, that he meant no approbation of the conduct of the existing government in France, or of the proceedings, which had there led to the present state of affairs. He simply intended to record his opinion, that it was the true policy of every nation to treat with the government of every other nation, with which it had relative interests, without inquiring or regarding how that government was constituted, or by what means it had acquired its power; such he contended was not only our policy, but had been frequently our practice; in proof of which he quoted the instance of our having sent a consul to the court of Morocco, immediately after the commission of crimes at which humanity shuddered.

In support of Mr. Fox's motion it was observed, that our conduct ought to be guided by national policy and not personal feeling; that there was no necessity of sneaking and crouching, but that we might negotiate like a great and high spirited nation, yet not so as to denounce war, until all attempts at reconciliation had failed.

To this it was objected, that to negotiate with rebels and traitors, who had subverted the constitution of their country, and were on the point of murdering their sovereign, would be prejudicial to the interests, and degrading to the dignity of a regular government; besides, could we condescend to such a step, were we sure that our ambassador would be received? or, granting the supposition of his reception, and even of his ultimate success in so disgraceful an embassy, what security could we have that the successors of the present men in power should not cancel the proceedings of their predecessors in office, on the acknowledged ground, that the imperscriptible rights of man are paramount to all treaty? at any rate, it was remarked, so imprudent and impolitic a step could not but prove an object of jealousy to our allies, might alienate them from us, and produce consequences fatal to all Europe.

On the opposition side it was again argued, that whatever might be our disinclination to treat at the present moment, sooner or later it must be done. When precipitated into a war by mistaken pride, and perhaps defeated and disgraced, what should we then think of it? Yet to such a dilemma might we be reduced. Supposing the other alternative, and that our arms were crowned with success, still should we be as disinclined to treat as at present, unless we could effect impossibilities, the total overthrow of the French republic, and the extermination of all who supported it; for such were stated to be the objects of those who were eager for war. The French, it was said, were uniformly partial to the English, and even prejudiced in favor of them; whence arose an additional argument for negotiation. It was likewise affirmed, that although much had been advanced in that house against our stooping to the supposed contamination of treaty with France, the minister was at that very time actually negotiating, not only indirectly through Holland, but directly with agents of the French executive council.

Administration took but little part in the debate. Mr. Secretary Dundas seemed not anxious to refute the

the laſt aſſertion; but, after ſlightly adverting to it, aſked, if under the monarchical government of France, perſons from this country, complaining of our conſtitution, and ſeeking an alliance to ſubvert it, had been there received and favorably treated, would it not have been the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to have ordered the French ambaſſador home, and to have recalled our own? ought we therefore, he added, in a ſimilar ſituation to ſend an embaſſy at the preſent moment?

To this Mr. Fox replied, that ſuch a ſtep would not have been adopted by adminiſtration, unleſs war had been actually determined upon; but that if war were reſolved, ſuch a reſolution would but ill accord to the miniſter's profeſſions in the King's ſpeech, which promiſed every poſſible exertion for the preſervation of peace.—Mr. Fox's motion was negatived.

Notwithſtanding this deciſion againſt ſending a public embaſſy for any purpoſe, the miniſterial no leſs than the oppoſition ſide of the houſe, profeſſed a deep intereſt in the fate of the unfortunate Lewis.

Dec. 20. When the report of the committee of ſupply was brought up, Mr. Sheridan adverted to this ſubject, from a conviction that the public mind in Paris and throughout France might be conſiderably influenced, could it be perſuaded, that the unjuſt and inhuman act of cruelty, about to be committed, was univerſally deprecated and deplored by the people of Great Britain. On the manner in which it might be moſt adviſable for us to expreſs our ſentiments on this occaſion, he did not preſume to offer an opinion, but preſſed the neceſſity of adopting ſome mode to make them known without delay.

Mr. Fox perfectly coincided with Mr. Sheridan, adding, that in his idea, and he was convinced, in the unanimous idea of that houſe and the whole country, the manner in which the unhappy royal family in France were treated, was founded in injuſtice, cruelty, and puſillanimity. On ſo delicate a ſubject, however, the proceeding which he ſhould adviſe, would be to addreſs his Majeſty for a copy of the inſtructions ſent to lord Gower on his recal, and then to thank his Majeſty for the communication, adding ſome expreſſions of abhorrence againſt the late tranſactions in France.

The propoſal of Mr. Fox was inſtantly adopted by Mr. Pitt, who accordingly moved for the papers requeſted; at the ſame time obſerving, that, although to ſolicit any thing from France would be to ſolicit the eternal diſgrace of this country, yet he judged it extremely proper to expreſs as general an abhorrence as poſſible of the miſerable and horrid cataſtrophe with which the French king was at that moment threatened.

On the ſubject of the ſupply, Mr. Fox conceived that a naval armament would be abſolutely neceſſary, and declared himſelf ready to vote for an extenſion of the number of ſeamen even beyond that propoſed; for if, ſaid he, we go to war, the neceſſity of an armament is obvious. If we negotiate, which I confeſs I ſtrongly recommend, we muſt be armed, in order to enforce our demand of ſatisfaction, and to ſecure ſucceſs to our negotiation.

Lord Gower's inſtructions being communicated on the next day, Mr. Pitt thought that the beſt mode of noticing them would be ſimply to move, that they might lie on the table

table of the houſe for the members to peruſe. Any thing in the ſhape of a vote, particularly if expreſt in thoſe ſtrong and indignant terms which their feelings would naturally dictate, might alarm the national pride and jealouſy of the French, and hurry them on to the commiſſion of that very crime, which the houſe wiſhed, if poſſible, to prevent.

To the miniſter's idea both Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan aſſented, conceiving it, under exiſting circumſtances, to be the wiſeſt which could be adopted. The motion was accordingly put in that form, and paſſed unanimouſly. Mr. Fox, in his ſpeech on this occaſion, when alluding to the king's trial, termed it not only unjuſt but repugnant to all the common feelings of mankind, and contrary to all the fundamental principles of law.

A ſimilar but ſtronger propoſition was, on the ſame day, brought forward in the upper houſe by the marquis of Lanſdowne, who moved for an ambaſſador to be ſent to Paris, in order, if poſſible, to avert the danger with which the king was menaced. He likewiſe wiſhed that a proper perſon might be ſent there to repreſent the wretched condition of the unfortunate emigrants in this kingdom, and to requeſt that ſome reſtitution might be made them by the French nation. Adverting in his ſpeech to the dreadful ſituation of the French king, he remarked, that ſuch a prince was not a proper object for puniſhment, who, during a reign of ſixteen years, had made the happineſs of his ſubjects his conſtant ſtudy.

Lord Grenville objected to the meaſure of ſending an ambaſſador for any purpoſe, as ſuch a proceeding would ſully the dignity of the Britiſh nation. For to whom, he aſked, could an ambaſſador be ſent, and who were the perſons upon whoſe wills the fate of the king depended. As to the idea of making known to the people of France the ſentiments of the people of England on their diſgraceful tranſactions, that, he conceived, would be totally futile, the French being already well apprized of the general abhorrence entertained here reſpecting their conduct towards their virtuous monarch. His lordſhip alſo objected to the indecorous manner in which the propoſed motion recognized the king, ſimply ſtyling him, "Louis the Sixteenth." With regard to the emigrants, as they had found an aſylum here, and experienced that generoſity and hoſpitality, which were the pride and characteriſticks of Engliſhmen, he would by no means conſent to forego ſo high a diſtinction, by ſending an ambaſſador to France in order to ſolicit leave for England to be charitable and humane.

The duke of Norfolk thought that the channel of negotiation was apparent through the miniſter of foreign affairs to the executive council, or the convention. His grace admitted the propriety of the objection to the plain title of "Louis the Sixteenth," and propoſed to ſubſtitute for it the more uſual denomination of "the moſt chriſtian king;" but perceiving the houſe diſinclined to the motion, requeſted the marquis to withdraw it, leſt the knowledge of its being negatived might prove fatal to him whom it was intended to ſave. The firſt part of the motion being accordingly withdrawn, the ſecond part, relative to the emigrants, was then

then ſhortly debated. It was oppoſed by lord Loughborough, from a perſuaſion, that the negotiation propoſed in their favour would come too late, and, from the known diſpoſitions of the ruling party, prove totally uſeleſs; and by the duke of Norfolk, under the idea, that ſuch a meaſure would be an improper interference in the internal government of France. The motion being put was negatived without a diviſion.

After the cloſe of this diſcuſſion a bill came under conſideration, which went to eſtabliſh certain regulations reſpecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or reſiding here under particular circumſtances. Lord Grenville explained the motives which principally led miniſters to the adoption of ſuch a bill. Among the crowd of ſtrangers that, in conſequence of the recent tranſactions in France, had ſought an aſylum in this country, were mixed ſome of a very different deſcription, many who had been moſt active in thoſe ſcenes of blood, who were connected with perſons here inimical to the eſtabliſhed government, and who flattered themſelves, that they could effect in England a repetition of thoſe crimes which had diſgraced France and human nature. The object therefore of the Bill was chiefly to counteract ſuch dangerous machinations. The prerogative perhaps of the crown, from ancient uſage, might alone have been ſufficient for this purpoſe, without a direct application to parliament, but miniſters thought it moſt prudent to adopt the latter mode of proceeding. The oppoſition to this bill was but ſlight in its firſt ſtages. Before however it went to the commons, lord Guildford, ſupported by lord Lauderdale and the marquis of Lanſdowne, attempted to arreſt its progreſs, by propoſing to poſtpone the third reading for a fortnight.

The principal objections alleged againſt it were its novelty, and the want of proof before the houſe of thoſe alarming facts, on which miniſters profeſſed to ground the meaſure. Inſtead of that ſtrong ſubſtantial proof, which ſo extraordinary a proceeding required, nothing, it was ſaid, had been advanced but vague and ambiguous inſinuation.

On the other ſide, the novelty of the meaſure was denied, and inſtances of the king's withdrawing his permiſſion from aliens, without which, by the common law, they could not remain here, were quoted from hiſtory. On the head of ſufficient proof to warrant the meaſure, an appeal was made to the general ſenſe and feeling of the public upon the occaſion, the notoriety of the facts being too widely diffuſed to eſcape any man, who choſe not to be wilfully ſceptical.

In this debate the dukes of Portland and Leeds, lords Spencer, Carliſle, Stormont and Loughborough ſupported adminiſtration. Lord Loughborough ſpoke at ſome length in favour of the bill.

With the approbation which was given to this meaſure by ſeveral members of oppoſition in the upper houſe, many of the ſame political connexions in the lower houſe coincided. When the ſecond reading of it there took place, ſir Gilbert Elliot lamented that the opinions of his honourable friend Mr. Fox on the ſituation of public affairs were at variance with his own, and the more ſo as this difference in their opinions reſpected not any parti-

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cular measure, so as to afford a prospect of their again acting together at a future period, but was of such a nature as to affect their whole turn of thinking, and to render their ideas on the mode of conduct proper to be adopted at the existing crisis diametrically opposite. Disregarding however all private and personal considerations, he said, that he felt a sense of duty, urging him to stand forwards in support of his Majesty's government, and to exert himself for the preservation of the constitution, and the salvation of the country. This difference of sentiment, painful as in any case it could not but prove, would nevertheless, he confessed, have been more painful to him, had he been compelled in the avowal of it to have stood alone. Not but that he trusted even then his regard for the public welfare would have enabled him to have stood alone, and supported him under the uneasiness of such a situation; but he was happy that there existed no necessity for this; he was happy that he entertained the same sentiments as many other of his honourable friends with whom he had been accustomed to act, and who still continued to act upon their ancient principles, and under their ancient leader, that illustrious person, whose character was so generally respected, and whose sentiments were always entitled to the greatest weight.

Mr. Fox, deferring his objections to the principles of the bill until a future stage, confined himself solely to what had fallen from sir Gilbert Elliot. Till the present moment, never, he said, had he understood that there existed among his friends a general difference of opinion from him, and a disposition to support administration. It was the pride of his heart to reflect, that the union and exertion of opposition had kept alive every thing which deserved the name of the spirit of liberty in this country. Particular expressions he wished not to call to mind; yet he could not but recollect, that the points of difference between opposition and administration had been thought by the former fundamental and irreconcileable; and he believed that the majority of his friends still thought so. The noble duke alluded to, could not, he was persuaded, intend any thing like a systematical support of administration. On an individual topic his friends might differ from him; yet was he firmly convinced, that, on all the principles of liberty, they agreed not only in motives, but in actions. Long had he acted, and long, he hoped, should continue to act with men whose characters he esteemed. Yet, should he at last be driven, which he prayed God to avert, to the situation of acting without, or against them, he trusted, that he should have sense enough to discern his duty, and fortitude to perform it. In the case of so painful a separation, all he should have to consider was, whether he should act alone, or not act at all.

Mr. Burke, in allusion to some expressions of Mr. Fox which seemed to insinuate, that he laboured with delight in endeavouring to widen the breach of opposition, represented himself as a man much injured by that party to which he had been long and honourably attached, no pains having been spared to render him odious to the public and his private friends. Yet had he violated no principle, betrayed no secret, or attempted in any instance to come between the resolu-

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tion and the act. To Mr. Fox he declared himself to have been greatly indebted for instruction, improvement, and example; but from the moment he perceived that gentleman countenancing French affairs, and approving French principles, he felt that all public connexion between them must cease, because they differed fundamentally. Mr. Fox had strongly protested against any thing among his friends like a systematic support of administration; but all other support, at the present crisis, appeared to him nothing better than treachery, as the partial support of a particular measure might not prevent a general attack on the credit and character of ministry. The bill before the house being founded in a system of wise policy, he conceived that the support of such a system was necessarily implied in the support of the particular measure proposed. Personally indeed considered, the individuals at present in office might not be so agreeable to him as others; yet he much doubted, whether at the existing moment any administration could be formed more in the confidence of the Crown, the house of commons, and the people.

Mr. Burke then adverted with much surprise to the foreign politics of Mr. Fox, whom he had always considered as a great and able statesman. He remarked, that it had hitherto been invariably deemed the true policy of this country, to maintain on the continent a balance of power in opposition to France, which, as the natural enemy and rival of England, had been constantly watched with a cautious and jealous eye; that, with such view, an alliance had been anciently cultivated, and zealously preserved, with the house of Burgundy, then in possession of territories which at present compose the seven united provinces, with the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands; but that, after the dismemberment of the possessions of Burgundy, the friendship of the emperor had been always cultivated by us, as the principal power capable of making head against France. How greatly therefore was he astonished, when he heard so great a statesman as Mr. Fox, contrary to all the received maxims of our ancestors, publicly rejoice in the defeat of the emperor and the king of Prussia by the French, the emperor, our natural ally, the king of Prussia connected with us by marriage and by treaty. The battle of Jemappe, which was in fact a calamitous defeat to this country, that gentleman had styled a glorious victory; a victory by which France had in effect become mistress of the Netherlands and of Holland, by which she had obtained possession of the Scheldt, and in consequence of which this country might now find itself under the necessity of being involved in a continental war.

To impress the house with a due sense of the consequences attending French success, he dwelt at some length on a decree of the convention lately passed, which pointed out the kind of fraternization intended for the conquered countries. The principal object proposed in it was, he remarked, the abolition of all existing taxes, tythes, nobility, and every privilege. He strongly animadverted on this decree, representing it as authorizing a direct system of confiscation and oppression, under the pretext of levying contributions to defray the necessary expences of French

French fraternization. Such a conduct he thought arbitrary in the extreme, and jocosely compared it to that of a tricking attorney, who, after he had stript his client of all his property, brought in against him an unreasonable bill of costs; adding however, at the same time, that when our turn for fraternization arrived, credit he hoped would be given for the thousand pair of shoes already sent from England as a primary subsidy. With respect to the kind of liberty which it was intended thus to propagate by plunder and the sword, he termed it a liberty without property, without honour, without morals, without order, without government, and without personal security. The French usurpers he said had boasted much of having destroyed the Bastile; yet were the unhappy people of that country not less in danger of arbitrary imprisonment, as now there were as many Bastiles as houses in Paris, every man's house being to him a Bastile.

To prove the prevalence of atheism in France he read extracts from the speech of M. Dupont in the convention (a member of a committee appointed to draw up a plan of national education), who declared, amidst the applauses of the assembly, that the christian religion, as a monarchical one, preaching subjection and obedience to God, ought not to be tolerated in a republic; and that all altars raised to the almighty should be overtuned, none being suffered to remain, but the sacred altars of liberty. Not contented to make men miserable through life, modern republicans by their impious proceedings wished to deprive them of all consolation in death, consigning them to all the horrors of a gloomy annihilation. With such abominable principles he professed himself determined to wage eternal war, principles, which would drive morality out of the world, and tear asunder the bands which unite man to man, and the creature to the creator.

From the dangerous intrigues of persons thus abandoned, who profess to despise all ties of morality and religion, and, for the purpose of effecting political convulsions throughout Europe, preach up murder and insurrection as the most sacred of duties, this nation he trusted would be preserved by the operation of the bill then before the house. With this view he gave it his warm support. The number of suspicious aliens in the kingdom was, it had been said, but small. Inconsiderable however as their numbers might be thought by many, in his idea they were sufficiently numerous to afford great and serious ground for alarm; particularly when he recollected, that the principal assassins, in the late massacres at Paris, never perhaps exceeded two hundred. "At this very moment, added he, are there three thousand daggers of a peculiar construction manufacturing at Birmingham under the order of a private individual. How many of them are intended for foreign exportation, and how many for home consumption, is not it seems at present accurately ascertained." Then producing a dagger, which was said to have been of those alluded to, he threw it into the middle of the house with much emotion, exclaiming, "These are the presents which France designs you. By these would she propagate her freedom and fraternity. But may heaven avert her

principles from our minds, and her daggers from our hearts." After warning his countrymen to beware of those execrable philosophers, whose only object was to destroy every thing that is good, and to establish immorality and murder as well by example as precept, he concluded with remarking, that he should vote with pleasure for the bill, persuaded, that it would break the system of the modern pantheon, and prevent the introduction of French principles and French daggers.

On a subsequent day, when the house was about to form itself into a committee on the bill, several members of opposition, who had not yet publicly expressed their sentiments, spoke in approbation of it. Sir Gilbert Elliot at the same time embraced the opportunity of explaining what he had said on the former occasion, which, as far as it related to an illustrious duke, had, he complained, been misunderstood. All he had intended to assert was simply this, that the noble person, to whom he alluded, concurred with him in the opinion of its being the duty of every man both in and out of parliament, during the present crisis, to afford government a fair and honourable support in defence of the constitution. To more than this he had not meant to pledge the respectable authority which he had brought forward; nevertheless he could not disguise from himself, and was not solicitous to disguise from the house, that the difference between Mr. Fox's opinions and his own appeared too great for him to hope for any thing like a general concurrence, while things continued in their present state.

The marquis of Titchfield expressed his intention of supporting the bill. Although his political sentiments and attachments, he said, remained the same as they had always been, although he earnestly hoped ever to preserve those connexions with which he had entered into public life, yet such was his sense of the dangers which surrounded us, that he wished to give government a support capable of enabling it to act with vigour.

Mr. Fox seemed satisfied with what had fallen from the marquis of Titchfield, yet remarking, that the noble marquis had formed a different opinion from himself on the general state of the country. For his own part, fully assured that there was no real cause for alarm, he could not but resist the proposed measure, unless ministers would bring forward more convincing proofs, than they had hitherto done, of the necessity of adopting it.

The principal opposition took place when the report was moved for. The debate Jan. 4th. was not merely confined to the specific principles of the bill, but comprehended the general political state of the country.

On the opposition side it was asserted, that the crisis was not such as to require that unlimited confidence in administration which had been demanded. The danger to be apprehended arose, it was conceived, from the dread of French principles and French success. On the first point it was with confidence asserted that neither in the metropolis, nor in any other part of the kingdom, were French opinions adopted to any alarming degree; for that, whatever progress these opinions might make in other countries, in this they had made but little, as rational

tional liberty was here beſt enjoyed and underſtood. Had real danger exiſted, had ſeditious perſons been proceeding to action, had they been riſing in arms, had they been going to ſeize the Tower (ſuppoſitions which, it was thought, no man believed), then indeed it was allowed the meaſure of calling out the militia would have been wiſe and neceſſary. But as nothing of this kind had taken place, for what purpoſe, it was aſked, had a military force been prepared? unleſs it were to repel opinions, which hiſtory would tell us could never be driven out of a country with the ſword. If opinions were abſurd, they ſhould be met with contempt; with argument if ſpecious, and with proſecutions if ſeditious. At the progreſs of the French arms ſome apprehenſions, it was confeſſed, might be entertained, ſince the ſame national ſpirit, that under Lewis the fourteenth had threatened the liberties of Europe, might influence and actually had influenced the conduct of the French in the preſent day, and this perhaps in a greater degree than on any former occaſion. Such indeed ſeemed the danger to be apprehended from hence, that England ſhould have interfered at an earlier period, if it choſe to make that the ground of its interference. It was likewiſe admitted, that the decree of the convention containing fraternizing inſtructions to its generals could not be conſidered in any other than a hoſtile view, unleſs repealed or explained to our ſatisfaction. But at the ſame time a remark was made, that the more numerous were the points which England might have at iſſue with France, the more was it to be regretted, that no public communication, at ſo critical a period, exiſted between the two countries. War was nevertheleſs if poſſible to be avoided; for as the events of war are uncertain, it might happen, that diſguſt at ill ſucceſs, and indignation at miſconduct, added to the neceſſary but unpleaſant burden of taxes, might more diſpoſe the minds of men to the reception of doctrines unfavourable to the conſtitution, than all the ſuppoſed arts of intriguing foreigners in a period of profound peace.

That the bill would prevent aliens from propagating ſeditious principles was denied, under an idea that thoſe principles could not be propagated by foreigners unacquainted with the manners and language of the country, but muſt be diſſeminated through the agency of Engliſhmen, who would remain here and carry on their miſchievous proceedings, although all the foreigners in the kingdom were baniſhed from it without diſtinction.

In defence of the bill it was argued, that the meaſure was the mildeſt which, under the circumſtances of the period, could be adopted. Had it been ſimply ſtated, that by ſome extraordinary occurrence great numbers of foreigners had arrived in England, deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence, without being brought here for any purpoſes of commerce, even this, it was ſaid, ought to furniſh ſufficient ground for circumſpection and jealouſy; but when it in fact appeared, that perſons were come here from a country, the principles of which were inimical to the peace and order of every other government, ſurely there would exiſt a neceſſity for peculiar vigilance.

It was aſſerted, that in France a revolution had taken place hoſtile

to monarchy, to nobility, and to every privileged order; which had been affected, and was ſtill ſupported by men who avowed a ſyſtem of propagating doctrines ſubverſive of all exiſting governments; in England writings had been publiſhed holding up this revolution as an object of envy, and a model for imitation, decrying the ancient ſyſtem of things as founded in injuſtice, and inconſiſtent with the impreſcriptible rights of man, and at the ſame time repreſenting the new ſyſtem as the ſure means of affording relief to the poor, of inculcating pure and more ſimple morals, and of enlarging the circle of ſocial happineſs; and active members of various ſocieties in England had not only induſtriouſly propagated ſuch doctrines, but publicly declared that they acted in concert with their friends in France, had held correſpondence with French ſocieties, had preſented addreſſes to the French convention, had been there received, applauded, and cheriſhed, and been encouraged with offers of fraternity and ſuccour. Under theſe circumſtances was there not, it was aſked, reaſon to be apprehenſive, that, among the foreigners who had lately flocked to this country, ſome might be found of a ſuſpicious deſcription? particularly when it was recollected, that France had adopted a new code of the law of nations, by which, ſetting at defiance all regular authority, and treating as unlawful every thing which has been ſanctioned in other countries, ſhe preſumed to dictate to all nations, and to model every government by her own ſtandard.

Mr. Fox in this debate explained his reaſons for having entered into an aſſociation for the defence of the conſtitution; having ſigned, he ſaid, a declaration of ſuch his attachment, becauſe he thought it at the preſent moment of importance, to convince foreigners, and eſpecially the French, that men of all deſcriptions were reſolved to ſtand and fall by the conſtitution.

The amendment moved by Mr. Fox was negatived.

CHAP. XI.

Meſſage of His Majeſty for an augmentation of our Forces by ſea and land. The production of all official Communications with France and Hollund moved for and negatived. Debate on the King's Meſſage. Mr. Pitt. Lord Beauchamp. Lord Wycombe. Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Fox. Mr. Windham. Debate in the Houſe of Lords. Lord Lauderdale. Lord Loughborough (the new Lord Chancellor.) A ſecond Meſſage from His Majeſty, communicating the intelligence of an actual Declaration of Hoſtilities on the part of France againſt this Country and the United Provinces. Motions for the Copies of Orders given in Council to prohibit the Exportation of Corn to France, and of a ſuppoſed Treaty between Great Britain and the Emperor. Withdrawn. Debate on the Meſſage. The Miniſter. Mr. Fox. Mr. Secretary Dundas. Mr. Burke. An Amendment on the Addreſs propoſed by Mr. Fox, but negatived without a diviſion. In the Houſe of Lords, Adminiſtration ſupported by the Dukes of Portland and Leeds, and Lord Stormont. Mr. Fox moves a ſtring of Reſolutions againſt the War.

Oppoſed

Opposed by Mr. Burke. The Motion lost by a majority of 226. Mr. Grey proposes an Address to His Majesty of the same tendency as Mr. Fox's Motion, which is negatived without a debate or division. Censure of the mode of lodging the Troops in Barracks. Mr. Sheridan proposes a Committee of Inquiry in consequence of various rumours respecting seditious practices. Opposed by Mr. Windham. Supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. Negatived without a division. Mr. Dundas brings forward his annual Statement of the East India Company's Affairs.

THE discussion of the alien bill, which concluded the last chapter, was soon followed by one of still greater importance.

Jan. 28. A message was delivered from the king, in which his majesty mentioned the dismissal of the French ambassador in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris, and proposed a further augmentation of our forces by land and sea, relying on the affection and zeal of parliament, to enable him to take the most effectual measures for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, which would at all times be dangerous, but which were peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles which led to the violation of the most sacred duties, and were utterly subversive of the peace and order of civil society.

When this message was delivered to the house of commons, lord Wycombe deprecated the idea of all hostile preparation asserting that, if we engaged in war, it would not on our part be a war of necessity, of justice, or of principle, but a war against the liberty of mankind, against the progress and improvement of the human mind: it would be a war of despotism against a people wishing to be free, and endeavouring to regulate their own internal affairs.

Mr. Fox took the opportunity of noticing on this occasion a part of the message which alluded to the execution of Louis the sixteenth; an act which he termed a detestable proceeding, and upon which he did not conceive there were two opinions in that house.

On a subsequent day, when the message was more immediately taken into consideration, it was remarked, that in the copies of the correspondence between the French ambassador and lord Grenville, which had been previously laid before the house, a chasm intervened of so long a period as from the eighth of July to the nineteenth of November. The propriety of producing the communications which were supposed to have taken place during this period, was suggested and much pressed by opposition, who likewise wished to have every other communication with the French government made public, particularly one which was said to have existed between our ambassador at the Hague and the French executive council. At the same time they argued for the necessity of producing an account of the claims and requisitions, made by the Dutch on the subject of our treaty with them in the year 1788, by way of application, on the ground of that treaty, for our assistance and interference

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ference in their existing dispute with France.

The minister stated in answer, that as his majesty had recalled his ambassador from Paris in the month of August, all communications of a public nature had ceased between the two nations during the period alluded to; with regard to the second point, although one or two extra official conferences had indeed taken place, they nevertheless had not been committed to writing, and could not therefore be produced: he knew of no correspondence between lord Auckland at the Hague and the French executive council; but that if his lordship had thought it his duty to open a correspondence with particular persons in France, from the hope of eventually benefiting this country, the public production of what passed on such an occasion would transgress every rule of policy, discretion that honour; and, lastly, although the Dutch had made no requisition for the particular contingent of troops with which we were bound by treaty to furnish them, yet had they repeatedly expressed their solicitude for the presence of a British force to defend them from the attack with which they were menaced.

Mr. Fox, alluding to the request of the Dutch for our interference, conceived, that if they solicited it upon the ground of treaty, there could be room for deliberation, as by treaty we were bound and compelled, in order to preserve our national faith and honour, which were paramount to all other considerations, to fulfil our stipulated engagements; but that if no such ground was urged, we might consult our own discretion, and either give or withhold the requested succours.

The production of all official communications respecting Holland was moved for, and negatived without a division.

The minister commenced his speech on the subject of the message with a pathetic lamentation of the calamitous event which had recently taken place at Paris; an act which he considered as outraging every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; which in this country as well as in all Europe had excited a general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and which could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. So acute was the universal sense of grief and horror at this melancholy catastrophe, that all, he said, must wish to tear it, if possible, from their memories, to expunge it from the page of history, and for ever remove it from the observation and comments of mankind. A useful theme of reflection, however, a salutary warning, might hence, he thought, be derived; for in the murder of Louis the sixteenth were concentrated the effects of those principles, pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation that connected civil society, which, being established in opposition to every law, human and divine, and presumptuously relying upon the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages derivable from the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation. After expatiating for a short time upon this topic, and contrasting the dreadful situation of France, where a system of the utmost disorder and licentiousness prevailed,

with that which Great Britain, in every reſpect the reverſe, exhibited, he entered into the more immediate ſubject of diſcuſſion, the unprovoked aggreſſions, on the part of thoſe perſons who ruled in France, againſt Europe in general and this country in particular.

From the official papers before the houſe, he argued, that the French had profeſſedly diſclaimed all views of aggrandiſement, given aſſurances of their good conduct to neutral nations, and proteſted againſt every idea of interfering in the internal government of Great Britain, or of exciting inſurrections, on the ground that thoſe acts would groſsly violate the laws of nations. Such had been their profeſſions, and even expreſs ſtipulations, which had induced his majeſty to preſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality, while they were engaged in a war with the continential powers, and not by the moſt trifling act to afford the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of an intention to depart from the ſyſtem which he had adopted. In every inſtance, however, he remarked, had they falſified theſe fair pretenſions. On the very firſt appearance of ſucceſs againſt the king of Sardinia, they immediately unfolded their views of ambition; and, in defiance of their fair promiſes and expreſs ſtipulations, annexed Savoy to their own dominions, diſplaying the reſolution of purſuing a ſimilar line of conduct, wherever they could carry their arms. They had likewiſe rendered the Netherlands a province dependent on France. Nay further, they had recogniſed this plan of aggrandiſement by a formal decree, in which they ſtated their avowed intention of granting fraternization to every people deſirous of it, overturning other forms of government for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting their own. That this decree might have its due effect, it was ordered to be printed in all languages, that all nations, anxious for French fraternity, might be appriſed of the favours which were intended for them. The whole of their conduct, their inſtitutions, and even language, had been directed to the ſubverſion of other governments; but to monarchy in particular had they expreſſed a decided averſion, prepared, the moment that an opportunity occurred, to paſs the bloody ſentence, which the hand of the aſſaſſin had lately carried into execution againſt their own ſovereign, on all the remaining ſovereigns in Europe. He dwelt upon their treatment of the Dutch in the opening of the Scheldt, as directly proving their diſregard of treaties, as acting upon principles which would weaken the force of every obligation, and deſtroy all confidence between nations. Beſides, he added, if the French have the leaſt pretence to interfere in the navigation of the Scheldt, it muſt either be in the aſſumed characters of ſovereigns of the Low Countries, or as arrogating to themſelves the office of the arbiters of Europe. Their diſpoſition to foment inſurrections in this country appeared, he thought, evident, from the manner in which they had received the addreſſes of Engliſh ſocieties. No ſociety, however ſmall in number, however contemptible in other reſpects, had ſent ſeditious addreſſes to their aſſembly, which had not been received with a degree even of theatrical exultation, and cheriſhed with all the enthuſiaſm of congenial feeling. They had indeed offered a kind of explanation of the

decree of the nineteeth of November, in which they limited their proposed interference in the internal government of other states to a previous express declaration of the national will; yet was it worthy of remark, that in their reception of the addresses sent to them by several English societies, too contemptible in the opinion of some even for notice, they always affected to consider such addresses as declaratory of the sentiments of the English nation. He then read the following passage from a letter addressed by the minister of the French marine to all the friends of liberty in the French seaports: "The king of England and his parliament mean to make war upon us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already those freemen shew their discontent, and their repugnance to bear arms against their brethren in France. Well. We will fly to their succour. We will make a descent upon the island. We will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty. We will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren. Then will the tyranny of their government be soon destroyed." To this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and parliament, Mr. Pitt particularly wished to call the attention of the house, as well as to the nature of that present which was intended for us. From all circumstances he concluded, that the conduct of the French was such as to be inimical both to the safety and even the existence of this country. Nor were they disposed to offer any explanations of a satisfactory nature, or recur to those assurances upon which they had originally set out; but seemed determined to maintain the ground, such as it was, upon which they now stood, with respect to Great Britain. In the last paper delivered, they had given in an ultimatum, stating, that, unless we accepted such satisfaction as they had already thought proper to give, they would immediately prepare for war. So situated, we could not, he feared, flatter ourselves with the hope of preventing hostilities. In his idea a war was preferable to any peace which was inconsistent with the internal tranquillity, or external safety of the country. He then concluded by moving an address of thanks to his majesty for the communication of the papers before the house, in which an allusion was made to the late atrocious act perpetrated at Paris, as an outrage on religion, justice and humanity, and which, after noticing the views of aggrandisement and ambition manifested on the part of France, and considered as connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government, proposed an augmentation of our forces by sea and land, for maintaining the security and honour of his majesty's crown, for supporting the just rights of his allies, and for preserving to us the undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings, which, under divine providence, we derived from the British constitution.

The minister was seconded by lord Beauchamp, who conceived our immediate interference necessary for the safety of Europe, expressing a regret that we had not interfered at an earlier period. His lordship pointed out the aggrandising views of France as a sufficient ground for our engaging in hostilities; and although he deprecated war, on account

count of the calamities which it unavoidably occasioned, he thought it far preferable to an unsafe and deceitful peace, which could not, in the nature of things, long continue.

On the other hand, lord Wycombe pressed the necessity of preserving tranquillity, as the evils of war were incalculable; and endeavoured to obviate the idea of alarm at French aggrandisement, by remarking, that the country was peculiarly secured by its insular situation, its internal resources, and the strong attachment of the people to its existing constitution. Nor did he approve of going to war against principles, or for the purpose, as it was called, of preserving the balance of power in Europe, which, as argued by administration, he considered to be a mere political fiction, a cover for any interference that caprice might dictate.

The same side of the question was likewise supported by Mr. Whitbread, who ascribed the recent enormities, which had taken place in France, to the conduct of the allied powers, in particular to the manifestoes of the duke of Brunswick. The argument of the balance of power he considered as a mere subterfuge: for if ministers, he remarked, had been uniformly anxious on this account, they should have interfered when the allied powers were marching into France, without the least likelihood of any effectual opposition; they should have interfered when the empress of Russia was seizing and dismembering Poland. 'France had gained possession of the territory of her adversary; and France, he contended, had a right to keep that territory, at least until the conclusion of the war. If we were apprehensive that her aggrandisement would prove dangerous on account of her principles, why were we not apprehensive of the danger which might arise from the aggrandisement of Russia? In his opinion the principles of despotism propagated by the sword of the latter were equally as dangerous to the general security of Europe as the principles of licentiousness propagated by the sword of the former. In the conclusion of his speech he threw out some severe remarks against administration, which he considered as composed of men insufficient, versatile, and weak, who never advanced too far to recede, and never threatened too much to retract, who although at one time, they argued as if the balance of power in Europe would be deranged by the surrender of a small fortress, that of Oczakow, to the Russians, could now view the whole kingdom of Poland thrown into the scale, without perceiving the least vibration in the political beam.

Mr. Fox flattered himself, from some parts of the minister's speech, that war was not absolutely determined. The crimes, the murders, and the massacres which had been committed in France, he professed to view with no less horror than those who made them the perpetual theme of their declamation: but he wished to put these things entirely out of the question, in the present discussion. Although he reprobated in the strongest terms the death of Louis the sixteenth, who had been tried and condemned without any existing law to which he was personally amenable, and even contrary to laws that at the time actually existed, and who had received from his enemies nothing but insulting asperity instead of that

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republican magnanimity which they profeſſed, yet he ſaw neither propriety nor wiſdom in paſſing judgement upon an act committed in another nation, which had no direct reference to this, it being admitted, as a general maxim of policy, that the domeſtic crimes perpetrated by one independent ſtate were not cognizable by another. The alliance between Auſtria and Pruſſia againſt France he denominated the moſt dangerous which had ever been formed, both to the tranquillity of Europe and to the liberties of mankind; an alliance, which in its conſequences and atrocious proceedings, he contemplated with the greateſt horror. He denied that Auſtria had been attacked by France, and inſiſted, that Pruſſia had been manifeſtly the aggreſſor. Upon the mode in which the general of the allied armies had ſupplied his pecuniary wants, when marching towards Paris, and even after the commencement of his retreat, he was particularly ſevere, not heſitating to name it a ſwindling trick, by which the duke of Brunſwick had contracted ſuch debts in the name of the French king, as he knew that the French king might never have the means or inclination to pay.

The arguments, Mr. Fox obſerved, which had been advanced on the ſide of war, were, the danger of Holland, the decree of the convention of the nineteenth of November, and the general danger of Europe from the progreſs of the French arms.

The conduct of France towards Holland he by no means admitted as a ſufficient plea for our engaging in the continental hoſtilities. Though he confeſſed that we were bound to ſave Holland from war, or by war, if called upon ſo to do; yet he inſiſted, that to compel the Dutch to take up arms at ſo much peril, which they themſelves both ſaw and dreaded, was not to fulfil, but to abuſe our treaty with them.

The decree of the nineteenth of November he indeed conſidered as an inſult; nor did he think that the explanation of it given by the executive council was an adequate ſatisfaction for that inſult: nevertheleſs, the circumſtance of an explanation having been attempted, he remarked, ſufficiently proved, that the French were not diſpoſed to inſiſt upon that decree, but rather inclined to the preſervation of tranquillity. If, however, we demanded further ſatisfaction, we ought at leaſt to ſtate the nature of ſuch ſatisfaction: for he conceived, that it was the extreme of arrogance to complain of an inſult, without deigning to explain what reparation was required. On the preſent occaſion, he feared that indefinite expreſſions had been employed, not for the purpoſe of obtaining, but of precluding ſatisfaction. At the ſame time, however, he readily allowed, that neither a diſavowal by the executive council of France, nor a tacit repeal of the decree complained of, (which might be renewed the very day after its repeal) ought to be deemed a ſufficient ſecurity on our part. He repreſented it likewiſe as the higheſt pitch of inſolence for us to inſiſt upon the withdrawing of the French troops from the Netherlands, a country which they had conquered; although he confeſſed that a declaration on the part of the French, aſſerting their intention of recalling their troops at the concluſion

tion of the war, and after the eſtabliſhment of liberty there, ought not to be thought ſufficient. That, however, which we deemed ſatisfactory, whatever it might be, ſhould be previouſly defined and ſtated. In his idea every war was unjuſt which told not an enemy the ground of provocation, and the meaſure of atonement: and not only unjuſt, but impolitic; for without a clear and accurate definition of the object conteſted, what opening could there ever be for treating of peace?

With reſpect to the danger of Europe, the ſame arguments he thought applicable, and to the ſame extent. But in truth ſo ſcandalouſly inattentive had we been to the general ſituation and ſecurity of Europe, when we beheld the entire diviſion of Poland and the invaſion of France with ſuch marked indifference, that it would be now difficult for us to take up that argument with the grace of ſincerity.

Having adverted to the profeſſed motive of the war, he next ſtated what he conceived to be its real motive, which he ſaid was the diſtraction of the internal government of France, always diſavowed, but ever kept in mind, the conſtant theme of perpetual invective. Far, however, was it from his intention, by any thing which he might advance upon this ſubject, to hold up that internal government as an object for our imitation; all he meant was, to inculcate a principle, which he had always preſerved inviolate, that the government of every independent ſtate ought to be ſolely regulated by thoſe who live under it, and not by any foreign interference. In conformity with ſuch a principle, he as much reprobated the conduct of the French in the Netherlands as that of the princes combined againſt France. Their conduct there was a war of pikes and bayonets againſt opinions; it was the tyranny of giving liberty by compulſion; it was an attempt to introduce a particular ſyſtem by the ſword, which, the more it was forced upon men, the more they abhorred. This, he admitted, was a crime; but, if it was ſo conſidered in the courts of princes, which of them was ſo completely immaculate, as with propriety to caſt the firſt ſtone? could this be done by either the court of Berlin or of London?

Before we raſhly embarked in war, he entreated the houſe to pauſe, and previouſly calculate, what we were likely to gain and what to loſe. In his idea our gain would prove nothing, while our loſs might be great and heavy. A war he feared would precipitate Holland into ruin, producing a change in its internal ſtate, and in the ſituation of the Stadtholder, too affecting for him to anticipate. Nor could he help experiencing ſome anxiety, under ſuch an event, for the fate of Ireland, upon the real ſtate of which he felt himſelf diſinclined to expatiate. In our own country he truſted there was little to dread, where the people in general were ſo remarkably attached to the exiſting conſtitution. Yet why ſhould we put that attachment to an unneceſſary teſt? By being tried it could not be increaſed; nor would the freſh burdens and taxes, which war inevitably brings in its train, more endear the conſtitution to their affection. If, he added, there were any real danger from French principles, to enter

ter upon a war without neceſſity, was to fight for their propagation.

In the courſe of his ſpeech Mr. Fox took an opportunity of oppoſing ſome political principles, extracted from the writings of Mr. Burke; aſſerting, in direct oppoſition to what he termed a great authority, that the people were the ſovereigns in every ſtate, and that they have a right to change the form of their government, and to caſhier their governors for miſconduct. In this country, he obſerved, the people had caſhiered James the ſecond, not by a parliament, or any regular form known to the conſtitution, but by a convention declarative of their own pleaſure. They elected William to a vacant throne, not only ſetting aſide James, whom they had juſtly caſhiered for miſconduct, but his ſon likewiſe. Again they elected the houſe of Brunſwick, not individually, but by dynaſty, and that dynaſty only to continue while the terms and conditions of the election were fulfilled.

Mr. Windham conceived, that if the rulers in France had no wiſh to attack this country at the preſent moment, we could only attribute it to the circumſtance of their not being ſufficiently prepared for ſuch an attack; their apparent intention ſeemed to be that of taking all Europe in detail, and perhaps to reſerve us for the laſt. He by no means coincided with Mr. Fox in opinion, that it was always neceſſary at the commencement of a war to define the preciſe object, which was to lead to its termination. In moſt inſtances this would be impracticable. He thought it on the preſent occaſion ſufficient to ſtate, that the object of the war was the ſecurity of the country, although it might be impoſſible to ſay how or when that object would be obtained. From the avowed diſpoſition alſo of the French rulers, he thought hoſtilities inevitable; and as the time only ſeemed left to our choice, he conceived it would be the height of imprudence in us to wait until they were better prepared to commence their attack.

The motion for the addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

In the houſe of peers the addreſs was moved by lord Grenville, and principally oppoſed by the lords Stanhope and Lauderdale, and the marquis of Lanſdowne. On one ſide the neceſſity of arming was maintained: on the other, the pacific diſpoſition of the French aſſerted. In proof of the latter point, lord Lauderdale read a paſſage from a report of Briſſot, whom his lordſhip ſaid he was proud to rank among the liſt of his friends, for his virtues and his talents. In alluſion to this declaration, lord Loughborough (who had recently received the ſeals) ſarcaſtically remarked, that, ſince friendſhips were founded on taſte and ſentiment, he did not doubt but that lord Lauderdale's friendſhips were always formed on correct principles. As there was a taſte, in pictures, for objects in ruins, for deſolated cities, ſhattered palaces, and proſtrated temples, ſo might there be a ſimilar taſte in moral and political queſtions. His lordſhip added, that to ſome minds a people in a ſtate of inſurrection might be a ſublime object; and that to a mind heated with ſuch a view, a more quiet and orderly courſe of events might appear inſipid.

The preceding meſſage, which was delivered to both houſes upon the twenty-

twenty-eighth of January, was shortly followed by another, conveying the intelligence of an actual declaration of war on the part of France. Parliament was informed upon the eleventh of February, that the persons then exercising the powers of government in France, had, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against this country and the United Provinces, in breach of the law of nations, and the most positive stipulations of treaty. Attacked in this wanton and unprovoked manner, his majesty said, he had taken the proper steps to maintain the honour of his crown, and vindicate the rights of his people; and that he relied upon the firm and effectual support of parliament, and the exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system which struck at the security and peace of all independent nations, and was pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his majesty hoped for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united with him in alliance, and who felt an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.

Previously to the debate upon this message, the opposition moved in both houses for copies of the orders given in council for prohibiting the exportation of corn to France, and for one of a treaty supposed to have been recently concluded between this country and the emperor. The first motion was withdrawn, as the fact of the prohibition was on the other side admitted; and the second fell to the ground of course, when administration declared that no such treaty was or ever had been in existence.

In the house of commons, when the address was under consideration, the minister principally enlarged upon topics similar to those which had been already discussed in the former debates, pointing out the hostile proceedings and dangerous ambition of the French, and insisting upon the pacific views and strict neutrality of Great Britain. He stated, that when M. Chauvelin was dismissed, and when, in consequence of the melancholy catastrophe of the French monarch, the only character by which he had ever been acknowledged in the British court, had ceased, eight days had been allowed him for his departure, during which period if he had been able or disposed to communicate any satisfactory explanations, such explanations would still have been received. M. Chauvelin however instantly quitted the country without making any proposition whatever, notwithstanding the opening which had been left by government for an accommodation of differences, had there been the least inclination to attempt one. Another agent had succeeded, who, during his short residence in this kingdom, had not offered any, even the least communication. He then observed, that the next step which followed, was that of laying an embargo not only on British vessels, but on the persons of all his majesty's subjects then in France; a measure contrary to existing treaties, and in direct opposition to all the acknowledged laws of nations. Feb. 11.

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It was likewise rather singular, that on the very day when the embargo became known in this country, intelligence arrived from our ambassador at the Hague, that the general of the French army in the Netherlands had intimated a wish to open a negotiation, in order, if possible, to effect an adjustment of the existing differences, and to promote a pacification. Instructions were immediately forwarded to our ambassador, not to lose a moment's time in pursuing so desirable an object; but before the instructions could reach him, war was actually declared on the part of France against this country. Hence, he said, it appeared, that even to the last moment a disposition was evinced to receive terms of accommodation, and to leave open every channel which was adapted to so desirable an object.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to the grievances alleged in the French declaration, and endeavoured to shew their falsehood or futility. The points which he particularly noticed, were the following: that the king of England had discovered since the revolution of the tenth of August a hostile disposition towards France, and at that period had ordered his ambassador to quit Paris; that he had further manifested an attachment to the cause of Louis, and, after the execution of that monarch, had immediately ordered the French ambassador to quit England in eight days, at the same time refusing to acknowledge him in the capacity of an accredited agent from the French republic; that the British cabinet had prevented the exportation of corn to France, had prohibited the circulation of assignats, and by the alien bill had exposed French citizens residing in England to forms the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous, while it protected and supported French emigrants; and that at the moment when it was bitterly persecuting all those who supported the principles of the French revolution in England, it had ordered a considerable naval armanent and an augmentation of the land forces. Such pretexts, he remarked, alleged as grounds for a declaration of hostilities, were of a nature which required no refutation. In every instance, he contended, had we preserved the strictest neutrality, and had pushed to its utmost extent a system of moderation and forbearance, still holding out the means of accommodation, and offering both time and opportunity for explanation. But every thing of a conciliatory description had been slighted and abused, an actual aggression had taken place by the seizure of our vessels, without any provocation on our part; and without our having adopted any preparations except those of necessary precaution, has war been actually declared. It now remains, added he, to be seen, whether under Providence the efforts of a free, brave, loyal and happy people, assisted by a powerful alliance, will not prove successful in checking the progress of a system which, if not opposed, threatens the most fatal consequences to the tranquillity of this country, the security of our allies, the good order of every European government, and the happiness of the whole human race.

Mr. Fox maintained, on the other side, that war ought never to be undertaken when peace could be preserved without the breach of public faith, injury to national honour,

honour, or the hazard of future security; and that a proper cause of war was not any supposed insult or aggression, but a refusal of satisfaction, when specifically demanded. In the present case, he admitted that the decree of the nineteenth of November entitled this country to require an explanation; but he argued, that no such explanation, no explanation clearly and specifically stated, had ever been demanded. With regard to the topics brought forward in the French list of grievances, many of them, he owned, could not be fairly alleged as just grounds for war; yet it was usual, he observed, under the monarchy of France, to crowd into a manifesto every thing in the way of complaint, which could be devised, good, bad, and indifferent.

From the very first, he insisted, we had never discovered any sincere desire to negotiate. The recal of our ambassador from Paris indicated no disposition of this kind: and why, he asked, if ministers were sincere in their professions, did they, by the dismissal of M. Chauvelin, send the only man out of the kingdom with whom they could have negotiated in their own unofficial way? Their whole attempt in this respect he styled a mutilated farce, maintaining that there never was opened a fair communication on the points in dispute. Ministers acted like men afraid of seeking complete satisfaction, lest it should be granted; of stating the specific causes of complaint, lest they should lose their pretext for war.

Nevertheless, conceiving himself, as a member of that house, compelled to support his majesty in a war already commenced, he expressed his readiness to give such support: but he did not consider himself as pledged to any of those crooked reasonings upon which some might ground their support, nor on that account less bound to scrutinise the conduct of those, through whose mismanagement we had been forced into hostilities, in the avoiding of which both the dignity and security of Great Britain would have been better consulted. Truth and justice, in his idea, were preferable to high sounding words. He could not, therefore, coincide with the sentiments of the minister's address, which represented the war as an unprovoked aggression on the part of France, being persuaded that the dismissal of M. Chauvelin, and the prohibition of the exportation of corn to that country, when it was allowed to others, were acts of provocation and hostility on our part.

Mr. Secretary Dundas, in answer to Mr. Fox's objection, that no specific requisition of satisfaction had been made by us, referred to a paper delivered by lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, in which, after stating certain points which had given offence to this country, a requisition was made in the most distinct and precise terms, that France should renounce all views of aggrandisement, confine herself within her own territories, and desist from violating the rights of other nations.

Mr. Fox's idea, of stating the specific object of a war previous to its commencement, was also opposed by Mr. Burke; who declared, that he had never heard or read of such a political maxim, either in theory or practice. The first question in such cases, he conceived to be, whether there was a just cause or foundation for a war; the next, how it should

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be carried on with the greateſt effect. He contended, that a definition of the period when a war was to terminate, of what were the means of carrying it on, and of what was the preciſe object of it, was not only unuſual, but contrary to the general policy of all nations. No ſuch definition had been given by the French. While they, therefore, meditated to bring forward hoſtilities in the moſt formidable ſhape, attended by inſurrection and anarchy, and were reſolved not in any mode to limit their views, would it be wiſdom in us to cramp and tie ourſelves up by a premature declaration of our object?

Conceiving that the power of the French under the revolutionary ſyſtem was not ſufficiently dreaded, Mr. Burke entered at large into their plans of aggrandiſement and confraternity. The conſtant policy of this country, he aſſerted, had always been to conſider every country which proved inimical to France, as the natural ally of Great Britain. If this was the caſe under the ancient monarchy, much more was it ſo at the preſent juncture, when the new republic had annexed Savoy, Avignon, Liege, Nice, &c. to her territorial poſſeſſions, had declared war againſt all ſubſiſting governments, and held out the maſk of confraternity as a ſignal for general rebellion, and a ſtrong inducement to it. The acts of France were all acts of hoſtility againſt England; her whole ſyſtem, her ſpeech, her every decree, and every proceeding, diſplayed an intention preclusive of all accommodation.

To point out the extent of territory which the rulers in France coveted, he quoted a high authority among them, which maintained, that the bounds of their empire ought to be, not thoſe which juſtice and reaſon preſcribed, but thoſe which nature had ſet them, that as France on one ſide extended to the ſea, ſo it ſhould on the other ſide, as a natural boundary, extend to the Alps and the Rhine. He likewiſe obſerved, that, by way of rendering the murder of princes permanent, they had executed their own unfortunate ſovereign, not merely in order to blot out their monarchy, and as an example to France, but as a terror to all other monarchs, and as an example for the imitation of all other nations. In the language of the miniſter Garat, when addreſſing the convention, "They had thrown down the gauntlet to tyrants, which gauntlet was the head of a tyrant." This intention appeared evident alſo from the declarations of thoſe members of the convention who voted for the king's death, ſome of them ſaying, "that the tree of liberty could not flouriſh, until ſprinkled with the blood of tyrants;" others declaring, "that kings were no longer uſeful but in their deaths."

Of the ſevere inflictions of war, he profeſſed at all times to entertain the deepeſt ſenſe, and to eſteem it as one of the worſt of calamities; nor even in the preſent inſtance would he have approved of it, had he not been convinced, that it was inevitable, and that we ſhould have been called upon at no diſtant period to encounter it with much greater diſadvantages. He readily allowed the war in proſpect to be the moſt dangerous of any in which we had ever been engaged; ſince we were to contend with a ſet of men inured to warfare, and led on by enthuſiaſm and conqueſt, who bartered arts, commerce, induſtry, manufactures, and

and civilization itself for the sword. The alliances, however, which we might form, would afford, he trusted, a good prospect for the termination of the contest; but were they allowed to proceed without opposition, we might singly and in the end become their easy prey.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. Fox, the principal object of which was to avoid the question of aggression; but negatived without a division.

In the debate upon this subject in the house of lords, where an amendment similar to that of Mr. Fox was proposed by lord Lauderdale, administration were supported by the dukes of Portland and Leeds, and the lords Stormont and Hawkesbury.

Shortly after the preceding discussion, Mr. Fox framed the leading arguments which he had used on the subject of the war, into a string of resolutions, and moved them on the 18th of February. In prefacing his motion he remarked, that as we were actually embarked in hostilities, there could exist no difference of opinion on the necessity of carrying them on with vigour. As arguments however for the step, which we had taken, two distinct principles had been advanced; one, the crimes and confusion of the internal government of France; the other, its conduct towards all nations, by consequence affecting us and our allies. Upon the former principle few he conceived in that house would insist as a sufficient ground for war, this being disavowed by the minister himself. Nor could he think it defensible upon the latter; for although he admitted, that we had causes of complaint on this head, yet these were proper objects of negotiation, and might have been sufficiently explained or obviated, had we condescended to negotiate with sincerity. But ministers never seriously wishing for any explanation, used a studied concealment of terms in the little correspondence which had actually passed, and held high and haughty language in all their communications. He therefore accused them of not having employed proper means for preserving peace, which might easily have been effected without sacrificing the honor or safety of Great Britain.

Upon this occasion he again alluded to the dismemberment of Poland, which we had regarded with the coolest indifference, without the least interference or remonstrance: a dismemberment, which he branded as a flagrant and contemptuous violation of the law of nations. After expatiating for some time upon this subject, he moved his resolutions, which were to the following effect: that it was not for the honor and interest of Great Britain to make war upon France on account of any internal circumstances of that country; that the particular complaints which had been stated against the conduct of the French government were not of a nature to justify hostilities without an attempt to obtain redress by negotiation; that in the negotiation, which had taken place, ministers had not taken such measures as were likely to procure redress, nor stated distinctly any terms or conditions, which might have prevented a rupture; that the security of Europe and the rights of independent nations had been disregarded by them in the case of the invasion of Poland; and lastly that it was the duty of administration

to adviſe his Majeſty againſt entering into any engagements, which might prevent Great Britain from making at any time a ſeparate peace, or which might countenance an opinion, that we were acting in concert with other powers for the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of compelling the people of France to ſubmit to a form of government diſapproved by that nation.

Mr. Fox was oppoſed by Mr. Burke, who remarked, that it was rather ſingular in that gentleman, while he deprecated one war as unneceſſary, although affecting our neareſt and deareſt intereſts, at the ſame time propoſed another of leſs importance to us, and that in a part of the world remote from England and unconnected with it. Poland he never conſidered of ſuch conſequence and ſo intimately united to us, as that a war on her account could be deemed juſtifiable. The firſt care of nations he conceived, was to take care of themſelves; and the duty of England in particular to have a watchful and jealous eye over the aggrandizements and encroaching movements of France. France was near, Pruſſia and Poland were diſtant; and unleſs apprehenſions were entertained, that the fate of Poland might ultimately affect England, he perceived not the wiſdom of our interference.

To ſhew how little the French regarded Mr. Fox's maxim of not intermeddling in the internal government of other countries, he quoted the ſpeeches of ſome of their conventional orators, which he thought plainly indicated a diſpoſition on their part to intermeddle in the internal government of Great Britain. In particular he mentioned a remarkable one of Danton, who conceived, "that the ſcaffold erected in Weſtminſter Hall for the eternal trial of Mr. Haſtings would ſerve for the miniſters, and even (he felt, he ſaid, an almoſt inſuperable horror in expreſſing it) even for G—— himſelf."

He then made ſome ſevere remarks upon Mr. Fox's propoſal of avoiding all continental alliances, which, in order to keep down the overgrowing power of France, had always been, and he truſted would always be, the invariable policy of this country.

The propriety of negotiation he by no means admitted. France was in a ſtate of anarchy; and he held this to be the very eſſence of anarchy, that no man could anſwer for another, no ſet of men bind their ſucceſſors.

In reply to what had fallen from Mr. Burke on the ſubject of Poland, Mr. Fox aſked, what ſpecies of political morality was that, which repreſented an object as leſs intereſting in proportion to its diſtance? Were all poſſible charges of horror to be heaped upon the French with the view of exciting indignation againſt them; and was the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, which was ſtill worſe, to be paſſed intirely by without notice and without cenſure? In his idea, rank, or ſituation, ſo far from extenuating, afforded rather an aggravation of the offence.

The motion was principally oppoſed by Meſſrs. Burke, Jenkinſon, Powys, and Windham; and ſupported by Meſſrs. Grey, Adam, Jekyll, Maitland, and Sheridan. Upon a diviſion, the numbers were 270 for the previous queſtion propoſed by Mr. Jenkinſon, and 44 againſt it.

Notwithſtanding the failure of this

Feb. 21. this attempt, Mr. Grey a few days after moved an addreſs to his majeſty of the ſame import with that of Mr. Fox, but extremely minute and much more in detail. He moved it without any previous ſpeech, ſimply remarking, that although he could not entertain the leaſt hope of ſucceſs, after what had paſſed, yet he courted the proud diſtinction of being recorded as one, who had with every poſſible exertion oppoſed thoſe impolitic meaſures, by which we had been precipitated into a war, likely to prove calamitous and even ruinous to this country. The addreſs was nagatived without either a debate or diviſion.

Finding themſelves thus incapable of effecting their principal object in view, the oppoſition ceaſed to bring forward the leading topics of the war in any direct motion, but confined themſelves to collateral alluſions, and the introduction chiefly of inferior points. Barracks were erecting in different parts of the kingdom for the accommodation of the troops. This meaſure became the ſubject of cenſure in a motion made by Mr. M. A. Taylor, and ſupported by the oppoſition in general. On this occaſion miniſters were accuſed of entertaining a preconcerted deſign to curb and overawe the people, not as was their duty by the wholeſome correction of neceſſary laws, but by the bayonet and the ſword. It was remarked, that the ſyſtem of ſeparating the ſoldier from the citizen was hoſtile to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, and that a ſtanding army had always been held as an object of jealouſy, incompatible with the ſafety of public liberty; and that of all ſorts of police a military one was the moſt repugnant to the letter of our government, and ought to be the laſt which parliament ſhould countenance.

On the other ſide it was argued, that if by a ſtanding army was meant an army kept up without the authority and conſent of parliament, that indeed would be a proper object of jealouſy: but an army ought by no means to be conſidered in ſuch a point of view which parliament from year to year both paid and regulated. The circumſtances likewiſe of the country were ſaid to be of a nature which required that mode of lodging the troops to a greater extent than formerly. A ſpirit had appeared in ſome of the manufacturing towns, which made it neceſſary that military aſſiſtance ſhould be in their neighbourhood. It was therefore contended, that the diſpoſal of troops in barracks was a plan more adviſable than their diſtribution in ſuch towns among the maſs of the inhabitants, where jealouſy might rankle into hatred and produce tumult and diſturbance; particularly when it was conſidered, that by theſe means the army might be preſerved from ſeduction, a miſchief, which, alarming as it appeared, in ſome caſes had been already attempted.

The order of the day, which was moved by the miniſter, was carried without a diviſion.

As the oppoſition appeared to diſcredit the rumours which at the time were univerſally prevalent, reſpecting the ſecret practices of ſeditious people in different parts of the kingdom, they reſolved to propoſe a committee in order to inveſtigate the truth of ſuch rumours; rumours which, if not checked, were thought likely to prove calamitous

in their effects to this country. The buſineſs was undertaken by Mr. Sheridan, who moved to addreſs his majeſty for ſuch communi-
Mar. 4. cations as might have been received, relative to the ſuppoſed exiſtence of certain ſeditious practices. Mr. Sheridan conceived, that the danger apprehended muſt be conſidered in one of thoſe ſeveral points of view, either as founded in reality, or as exiſting only in the imagination of the alarmiſts, or as forming a part of the ſyſtematic plan which adminiſtration had adopted, by the creation of a falſe terror to delude the ſenſe, and finally ſubdue the ſpirit of the people. In whichever point of view it was taken, he contended that a committee of inquiry would be proper. He lamented, that the effects of this alarm had already been ſuch as to produce a diviſion in the phalanx of oppoſition; ſome of whom, not finding a ſhrub or buſh among their old friends to ſhelter them from the impending ſtorm, had haſtily taken refuge under the gabardine of the miniſter, where they hoped for ſecurity from the approaching tempeſt. In his opinion, however, the whole was nothing more than a falſe panic created by adminiſtration, principally for the purpoſe of influencing the minds of the people, by way of preparing them for a war with France, and of diverting the public mind from the conſideration of the queſtion relative to a parliamentary reform. He then alluded to the ſudden meeting of parliament, the fortifying of the Tower, the formation of loyal aſſociations to counteract the ſuppoſed ſecret aſſociations of the ſeditious, and other proceedings, which aroſe, he ſaid, altogether from the mere machinations of miniſters, and the credulity of terrified and weak minds. Whatever diſturbances might have taken place, he thought that they might be attributed to cauſes very different from a diſpoſition to inſurrection. But in fact the exiſtence of many of theſe diſturbances ſeemed dubious, although induſtriouſly reported and generally credited. It had been rumoured, he ſaid, that numerous traitors were kept in pay, who were drilled and diſciplined in dark rooms by a ſerjeant in a brown coat, and that, on certain ſignals being given, it was intended for the whole party to ſally forth from their holes of retirement, from porter rooms and back parlours, and finally to ſubvert the conſtitution. Much indeed had been propagated reſpecting ſedition, but nothing of conſequence proved. It nevertheleſs appeared to him expedient, in order to ſet the public mind at reſt, that the houſe of commons ſhould inſtitute an enquiry into the ſubject, by which the danger would be brought to light, if danger really exiſted, or the alarms excited by the ſpreading of falſe reports be taught to ſubſide.

Mr. Windham, on the other ſide, conceived the proper queſtion to be, not whether there really exiſted an actual inſurrection in the country, but rather whether there appeared not manifeſt proofs of a tendency to inſurrection. The notoriety of ſeditious practices rendered all argument uſeleſs. The adherents of Mr. Paine had boaſted that the principles which produced the revolution in France, were operating in this kingdom with the ſilence and rapidity of thought. This, Mr. Windham ſaid, he firmly believed; and that the fact might be aſcer-

tained

tained from the general opinions of the people, from the fears of those who dreaded, and from the sanguine expectations of those who wished it. The monarchy in France had been overturned from the neglect of not adopting timely measures of prevention: we, he hoped, would take warning by the lamentable fate of that unhappy country.

Mr. Fox animadverted upon the apprehensions and conduct of Mr. Windham, whom he seemed to suspect of entertaining a wish entirely to secede from his party, and perhaps to raise a sort of independent corps. He joined with Mr. Sheridan in a complete unbelief of plots and conspiracies, conceiving it by no means a justifiable expedient in government to tell the public that treasons existed, and yet neither to prosecute nor endeavour to discover the traitors. He and his more immediate friends might be supposed, he added, to speak with feeling upon this subject, as it had been confidently reported, that letters had been written by them to persons in France of a dangerous tendency, and that it was only the lenity of administration, which prevented a prosecution. If ministers, he said, were in possession of any such letters, he challenged them to the proof. 'All suspicions and rumours should be done away by an honest enquiry, and that freedom and confidence both of writing and speech restored, which it was the pride of our constitution to bestow, and which became the frank and open character of a free people.

Mr. Burke stated, that the French had long been connected with a faction at home, whose object was to force us into an alliance with France for the purpose of jointly propagating the most mischievous principles. In proof of his assertion, he read several extracts from the correspondence of the revolution society in London with the jacobin societies in France, and gave many particulars of various English addresses to the national convention. After remarking, that the representatives of the landed interest in France were now nearly annihilated by confiscation and murder, he concluded that from the moment when equality and the sovereignty of the people (as it was called) became the rule of any government, property must be destroyed, and that religion, morality, and law, which grew out of property, must fall with it.

No division took place upon Mr. Sheridan's motion.

The annual statement of the East India Company's affairs was made by Mr. Dundas on the 25th of February, who informed the house, that the revenue of the company had exceeded all the charges upon it, and left a considerable surplus at their disposal. Upon an average of the three years 1787, 1788, and 1789, the revenue and expences were stated to be as under:

Revenue.	
Bengal	£. 5,454,173
Madras	1,286,468
Bombay	147,155
	£. 6,887,796

Expences.	
Bengal	£. 3,651,210
Madras	1,578,365
Bombay	522,142
	£. 5,221,717

He moved the following reſolutions, which paſſed without debate.

1. Revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, on an average of 3 years as above	£. 6,887,796
Expences on ditto	5,221,717
2. Net revenues on the ſame average after allowing £. 50,000 for Bencoolen and Pinang	1,614,013
3. Country ceded by Tippoo Sultan, ſtated at	13,16,765 Pagodas.
Eſtimated by the Directors at	390,000 £.
4. Future revenues of India, eſtimated at per annum	6,963,625 £.
Charges including commercial ditto	5,342,575
5. Net revenue after civil, military, and commercial charges	1,621,050
6. Debts January 31, 1792	9,08,45,508 Current Rupees.
7. Debts bearing Intereſt Jan. 31, 1792	6,93,39,432 C. R.
Amount of that Intereſt	59,22,090 C. R.
Amount from later date	6,669,082 £.
Intereſt of ditto	561,903 £.
8. Net ſurplus, eſtimated at per annum after paying all charges and intereſt	1,059,127 £.
9. Prime coſt of goods on average of 3 years	2,550,728
Cuſtoms ditto	612,231
Freight and demurrage	717,453
Charges of merchandize	306,185
To prime coſt and charges per annum	4,186,597
10. Amount of goods ſold per annum at 3 years average	5,103,094
Exceeding prime coſt and charges	916,497
11. Prime coſt and charges of goods to be ſold annually, in future eſtimated at	4,244,698
12. Annual ſale of goods eſtimated at in future	4,988,300
Exceeding prime coſt	743,602

13. Profit

13. Profit on private trade on average of 3 years. - - - - - - -	83,393 £.
Eſtimated in future at - - -	70,000
14. Net annual ſurplus on the whole trade and revenues, after payment of 8 per cent dividend - - - - - -	1,239,241
15. Transfer debt paid off in England in 3 years - - - - - - -	2,821,183
16. Debts at home, excluſive of capital ſtock, including £. 1,354,050 transferred debt, calculated at - - - -	10,601,069
17. Company's effects in England, afloat and including quick ſtock in China calculated (excluſive of ſome old debts) at	13,015,449
18. Aſſets in India by laſt advices amount to - - - - - - - -	4,09,84,051 C. R.
Excluſive of debts due to the Company, amounting to - - - -	3,51,83,032 C. R.

CHAP. XII.

The Miniſter's Budget. Houſe in a Committee of Supply. The Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt in reply. Oppoſition cenſure Adminiſtration for tardineſs in ſending Succours to Holland. The Defence of Adminiſtration. Mr. Sheridan. The Loan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Fox. The Loan oppoſed, but carried by a majority of 53, Ayes 74, Noes 21. The Attorney General moves for Leave to bring in a Bill for preventing all Traitorous Correſpondence with the Enemy. Oppoſed by Mr. Fox. Leave obtained. Second Reading of the Bill. Mr. Curwen. Mr. F. North in ſupport of it. Mr. Fox objects to an early Commitment, but without ſucceſs. The Bill in a Committee. Debate on the Preamble. Mr. Burke. Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Hardinge. Mr. Grey propoſes an Amendment. Preamble adopted without a Diviſion. Oppoſition enquire whether the Bill was to be conſidered as extending to Ireland. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox. Debate adjourned. Reſumed Debate. The Solicitor General propoſes ſeveral Amendments, particularly one to limit the operation

of the Bill to Great Britain. Amendments carried. A Clause rejected. Mr. Whitbread. Solicitor General. Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox opposes it in its last stage, as unjust in its principle, inadequate in its provisions, and tyrannical in its effects. Mr. Burke defends it. For passing it, Ayes 154 Noes 53. The same Bill in the House of Lords. Lord Thurlow. Contents 62, Non-contents 11. Mr Sheridan moves an Address to his Majesty, in order to obtain a public disavowal of the sentiments contained in an official paper of Lord Auckland. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox. Motion lost by a majority of 175. Same subject brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord Stanhope. Lord Grenville proposes an Amendment. Lord Auckland speaks in defence of his Memorial. Amendment carried. Renewal of East India Company's Charter. Mr. Dundas. Mr. Francis. Mr. Fox. Mr. Dundas in reply. Application to Parliament for assisting commercial credit. Stagnation of trade by a sudden and unexpected demand of cash. Relief granted. Debate on the mode of granting that relief. Question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Proposal for preventing British merchants from supplying foreign territories, at first adopted; but finally negatived by a majority of two. Parliamentary reform. Mr. Grey. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Grey's motion for a Committee to take the subject into consideration rejected, Ayes 14, Noes 282. Relief granted to the Roman Catholicks of Scotland. Impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke moves for a Committee to investigate the circumstances of the Impeachment, in order to discover where the charge of Delay necessarily attached. The previous question proposed. Votes equal. The Speaker's casting vote given against the previous question. The motion afterwards lost by a majority of four. Further time for summing up the evidence, proposed and carried. Mr. Fox moves an Address, requesting his Majesty to adopt the earliest measures for procuring Peace. Opposed by Messrs. Windham and Burke. Mr. Pitt. Motion negatived, Ayes 47, Noes 187. Conclusion of the Session. Passage in his Majesty's Speech.

THE Indian budget, which concluded our last chapter, was soon followed by one of more importance and interest to the country, that of the chancellor of the exchequer. When the house had re-

March 11. solved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Pitt commenced with observing, that he had taken the earliest possible opportunity of bringing the subject forward. Although he could not help lamenting the necessity he was under of continuing burdens, which, when first imposed, were intended to have been merely temporary, yet he was fully persuaded that any attempt to alleviate such burdens at present would only add to their future pressure. A vigorous and active prosecution of the war now appeared to be the most indispensable duty, as well as the highest interest of the nation. He informed the committee, that it was his intention never to forget the system, which he had introduced, and from which so much advantage had been derived, of setting aside an annual million for the discharge of the national debt, as well as the sum of £.200,000, even during the continuance of the war, for the reduction of the debt at compound interest.

The

The following was his ſtatement of the ſupply.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
25,000 ſeamen, including marines				1,300,000	0	0
20,000 ditto				1,140,000	0	0
Ordinary	£.669,205	5	10			
Extraordinary	387,710	0	0			
				1,056,915	5	10
Exceſs of navy debt beyond the eſtimate of the committee				575,000	0	0
					£.3,971,915	5	10

ARMY.

Army	2,573,187	18	0	
Hanoverians	455,851	14	8	
Militia	937,519	15	7	
				3,968,559	8	3

ORDNANCE.

Ordinary, Extraordinaries	502,686	13	5				
Additional Eſtimate	281,079	18	8				
				783,766	12	1	
Cobb at Lyme				9,802	4	0	
						793,568	16	1
						8,734,043	10	2
Miſcellaneous ſervices						175,844	11	2½

DEFICIENCY OF GRANTS.

Ariſing from intereſt on exchequer bills, lottery			222,325	2	4

DEFICIENCY OF WAYS AND MEANS.

Deficiency of land and malt tax	350,000	0	0
Annual contribution to the ſinking fund	200,000	0	0
Exchequer bills to be funded	1,500,000	0	0
	£.11,182,213	3	8½

With reſpect to the number of ſeamen mentioned, the miniſter wiſhed it to be underſtood, that it was poſſible many more might be wanted. Indeed there might exiſt a neceſſity, in order to carry on offenſive operations in conjunction with our allies, againſt the common enemy, of increaſing the army as well as navy beyond the computed eſtimate. To meet therefore theſe and other contingencies, he propoſed a vote of credit of a million and a half, which formed the laſt article in the preceding calculation of ſupply.

He

He next ſtated the ways and means, by which theſe expences were to be defrayed.

WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.	£.
Land tax		2,000,000
Malt		750,000
Surplus of conſolidated fund January 5, 1793		435,696
Surplus of conſolidated fund on April 5, 1794, viz.	£.	
Expected ſurplus on April 5, 1793	274,000	
Expected ſurplus of the four quarters to April 5, 1794, on the four years average, after deducting £.220,000 for duties to be appropriated to the payment of intereſt on money to be borrowed	2,185,000	
Impreſt monies to be repaid	250,000	
Money to be paid by the Eaſt India Company	500,000	
		3,209,000
Money from the commiſſioners of the national debt, including the annual contribution of £.200,000		1,650,000
Continuation of temporary taxes		255,000
		£. 8,299,696

In order to pay the intereſt of the loan required, Mr. Pitt propoſed to devote the taxes impoſed upon account of the Spaniſh armament, ſome of which were originally intended to have been of a temporary nature only. He then proceeded to the general ſtatement.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

Amount of ſupply	£.11,182,213	
Ditto of ways and means	8,299,696	
		£.2,882,517
Add money from the commiſſioners of the national debt		1,650,000
		4,532,517
Say		4,500,000
£.4,500,000 at 75 per cent. is equal to		6,000,000
£.6,000,000 at 3 per cent. is equal to		180,000
To which add an additional one per cent.		60,000
		£. 240,000

10 per

	£.	
10 per cent. on assessed Taxes - -	90,000	Temporary taxes to be continued.
British Spirits - - - -	112,000	
Bills and Receipts - - -	68,000	
Game Duty - - - - -	17,000	
	287,000	

After these statements, Mr. Pitt remarked, that as he had always placed his chief glory in promoting the commercial prosperity of the country, increasing the revenue, and gradually discharging the principal of the national debt, he could never have countenanced the idea of a war which would counteract his patriotic views, had he not been thoroughly sensible, that it was not only unavoidable, but under the circumstances of the case absolutely necessary to the political existence of Great Britain and Europe. It had been said, that the vindication of national honour was the only rational ground of war. Upon that ground he seemed confident, that hostilities were strictly justifiable, the enemy, with whom we contended, having wounded our national honour in its tenderest point. France, he observed, had repaid our scrupulous neutrality with insult and outrage; she had presumed to interfere in our internal concerns; she had threatened to subvert our darling constitution, under which we had so long flourished and been happy, in order to force upon us her own principles of anarchy and confusion; she had levelled her shafts even against the sacred person of our king, the object of our love, our gratitude, and veneration; she had endeavoured to separate the parliament from the nation, and raise the people against their representatives; she had dared to receive from this country ambassadors of treason and sedition, and had left nothing undone to overthrow the existing government of Great Britain. If ever likewise we were justified in embracing war for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, when, he added, could we be more loudly called upon so to do, than at a time, in which nothing but our interposition could protect it from subversion? We had frequently conceived ourselves bound to support the protestant religion; but the present was not a contest in defence of the dogmas of a Luther or a Calvin; it was the struggle of every form of devotion, and every system of piety, against a host of sectarists, whose principle was infidelity, and whose code was persecution. He concluded with trusting, that in consideration of the necessity of our measures, and the magnitude of the object, he should be honoured in a vigorous prosecution of the war, with the concurrence of that house, and the support of the country.

Mr. Sheridan said, that whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the necessity of the war, yet, that being once engaged, we ought undoubtedly to prosecute it with vigour, and consequently be liberal in our supplies for that purpose. He nevertheless animadverted with severity upon the introduction of the general question of the war upon this occasion. The subject before the house he represented as one of sober

ſober calculation alone, and not of declamatory invective; and that it ought to be decided by arithmetic, and not by enthuſiaſm. He was ſurpriſed therefore to find, that the ſpeech of the chancellor of the exchequer reſembled the animating harangue of a general leading up his ſoldiers to the attack of a redoubt, rather than the ſerious addreſs of a miniſter, whoſe province it was to lay before the houſe of commons accurate data for its deliberation upon a ſubject of finance.

The continuation of temporary taxes, Mr. Sheridan contended, did not in the ſlighteſt degree differ from the impoſition of new ones. As a reſource for the war, he rather recommended the abolition af all ſinecure places, all undeſerved emoluments of every deſcription. By which means we ſhould not only bring to the public ſervice large ſums of money, now wrung from the induſtry and labour of the community, but deſtroy the baits of corruption, and teach government to look to its own merits for ſupport.

Mr. Fox lamented, that Mr. Pitt, inſtead of ſpeculating as he had choſen to do, had not followed the advice, which was given him in the preceding ſeſſion of parliament, reſpecting the paying off of the four per cents. Had he adopted this wiſe meaſure, a permanent reſource of no leſs than two hundred and forty thouſand pounds would have been gained to the public. He likewiſe expreſſed, in ſtrong terms, his ſurpriſe and alarm at ſome hints which the miniſter had dropped, reſpecting foreign alliances, fearing that we might be led into improper engagements for the proſecution of the moſt unjuſtifiable purpoſes. In anſwer to what he called the miniſter's declamation and ſpecious reaſoning upon the war, Mr. Fox wiſhed ſimply to aſk, whether we could poſſibly gain more by the event of the war, than might, in all probability, have been obtained by negotiation? The relinquiſhment of their conqueſts by the French, the explanation or repeal of their offenſive decrees, and the ſafety of our allies, might all, he thought, conſidering the ſituation of this country, have been procured by negotiation.

The chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, in reply to the latter part of Mr. Fox's ſpeech, that when gentlemen day after day laboured to ſhew that the ends of the war might have been obtained by negotiation, they ſeemed to forget, that pending an interval, in which negotiation was expected, France had been beforehand, and declared war againſt Great Britain.

The miniſter's reſolutions were carried without a diviſion.

In the courſe of the committee's ſitting, when the army extraordinaries were under conſideration, the oppoſition cenſured the tardineſs of miniſters in ſubſidizing the Hanoverian troops, and in ſending the guards to Holland, accuſing them of incapacity in their ſituation, and of being totally inadequate to the conduct of a war. On the other hand it was contended, that every poſſible expedition had been uſed; particularly when it was conſidered, that with the very narrow military eſtabliſhment, to which this country was always confined, it would have been highly imprudent to ſend away any part of its military force without a careful review of the general diſtribution of our troops for internal defence. In fact the reverſe of what had been advanced was ſtated

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to be the truth; which was sufficiently proved by the gratitude of the Dutch themselves for the readiness of our assistance. To represent, therefore, our preparations as dilatory and inadequate, appeared rather to be encouraging the enemy, than to be pleading the cause of our ally.

Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, spoke with much asperity of what he thought to be a misconduct in ministers, who seemed, he said, to have exhausted their whole spirit, to have embraced the whole energy of their minds in parliamentary declamations, and when the season for action came, appeared to have been incapable of acting.

Upon the 17th of March the chancellor of the exchequer communicated the terms of the new loan. It had originally, he said, been his wish to have obtained the required sum by the sale of annuities in the four or five per cent stock; but finding it inexpedient to pursue such an object, he had at length determined to raise it by creating new annuities in the three per cents. The terms which he had been able to make were these, that for every £.72 advanced to the public, the lender should be entitled to £.100 stock in the three per cents. Such terms, he admitted, were not good; but he assured the committee, that they were the best which he had been able to procure. Indeed he had only received proposals from one set of gentlemen.

Mr. Pitt then stated, that he had relinquished the idea of obtaining from the commissioners of the national debt the loan of £.1,650,000 as he had proposed in the first instance, in consequence of which, instead of £.2,850,000, he had been under the necessity of borrowing the sum of £.4,500,000. The reason of his abandoning his primary intention, and of not admitting the commissioners of the national debt, or in other words, the public fund, to a participation of the premium on this occasion, was a persuasion that the national advantage would not have counterbalanced the national inconvenience, and even loss, which would have attended that measure. For if the commissioners were to have lent the money, their purchases to that amount in the stocks, which assist to keep up the market price, could not have been made; and the period of a proportionable reduction in the national debt would have been delayed by diverting so large a sum from its destined channel.

He moved, "that, £.4,500,000 be raised by annuities, and that for every £.72 contributed and paid, the lenders be entitled to £.100 three per cent stock."

It was remarked by Mr. Fox, as rather singular, that, because one set of gentlemen refused to advance money except on terms highly disadvantageous to the public, those terms should be necessarily and immediately adopted. He likewise pointedly condemned the plan of giving the whole loan to the present subscribers, and of thus excluding the commissioners of the sinking fund. Nor did he approve the reasons for this exclusion assigned by the minister, as he conceived that the stocks, when left to themselves, would always find their proper level.

A division took place upon the motion of Mr. Pitt, which was carried by a majority of 53, the numbers being ayes 74, noes 21.

During

During the period in which the ſubject of the ſupply and the ways and means of the year were before a committee of the whole houſe, the attorney general introduced a bill for the prevention of all traitorous correſpondence.

March 15. When he moved for leave to bring it in, he ſtated, that the term correſpondence was not intended to be taken in its popular ſenſe, as confined to epiſtolary and commercial communication, but in its proper legal ſenſe, as extending to all treaſonable intercourſe and connexion whatever. The law of treaſon was founded upon a ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third, which had been the ſubject of legiſlative expoſition in different acts paſſed ſince that period: by this ſtatute, there are three points which conſtitute high treaſon, the compaſſing or imagining the death of the king, and that by ſome overt act; the levying of war againſt the king by aiding and abetting his enemies; and the counterfeiting of the king's money. Having ſhortly pointed out what he conceived to be the principal intention of this celebrated ſtatute, and of ſome acts in more recent times founded upon ſimilar principles, particularly of one in the third and fourth year of William and Mary, he ſaid that he propoſed to obviate ſome doubts, which might be ſtarted with reſpect to the meaning of the ſtatute of Edward, and to introduce ſuch proviſions in the bill, as were either within the expreſs words or true meaning and ſpirit of that ſtatute. The firſt clauſe therefore would make it high treaſon, to ſell, deliver, or cauſe to be delivered to the perſons at preſent exerciſing the ſovereign authority in France, their armies, navies or ſubjects, any naval or military ſtores, coin, bullion, corn, clothing, and other neceſſaries.

By another enactment it would be made high treaſon, for any Britiſh ſubject to purchaſe lands in France, or ſtock in the French funds, or to lend money upon lands in France by way of mortgage.

The other proviſions of the bill would ſpecify three offences, which were to be conſtrued only as miſdemeanors. The object of the firſt proviſion would be the preventing of his majeſty's ſubjects from going to France without a licenſe under the privy ſeal; of the ſecond, the prevention of Britiſh ſubjects, at preſent reſiding in France, from returning to this country without a paſſport from government, as well as the prevention of perſons, who might land without a paſſport, from leaving the place where they landed, without previouſly giving ſuch ſecurity for their good behaviour as might be deemed ſufficient by government; and of the third, the prevention of inſuring French ſhips during the war.

A total diſapprobation of the intended bill was expreſſed by Mr. Fox in the early ſtage of it, who denominated it a maſs, in which there was not contained a ſingle proviſion, but what was utterly repugnant to the principles of freedom, juſtice, and policy, militating in the higheſt degree againſt the intereſts of the people. The clauſe of preventing Britiſh ſubjects from purchaſing lands in France, or ſtock in the French funds, he deemed unprecedented and totally novel, at the ſame time that it appeared to him highly impolitic and unjuſt. Although he did not much object

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to the clauſe prohibiting Britiſh ſubjects from going to France without a paſſport, yet he thought that preventing their return not only monſtrous in itſelf, but entitling the crown to baniſh at pleaſure, during the war, every Britiſh ſubject then in France. After having ſlightly glanced at the other proviſions, he remarked upon the whole, that the bill ſeemed in many points unneceſſary, in ſome fooliſh, and in almoſt all repugnant to the common principles of juſtice and policy.

The principle of the propoſed bill was defended by the ſolicitor general, who briefly replied to ſome objections of Mr. Fox, by Mr. Martin, and Mr. F. North; and oppoſed by Mr. Erſkine (who entered into a legal diſcuſſion of the law of treaſon) and Mr. Curwen.

Leave being given to bring it in, the bill was accordingly introduced. Upon the ſecond reading of it, Mr. Curwen took the lead on the ſide of oppoſition, declaring it to be unneceſſary in its object, ineffectual in its means for attaining that object, and impolitic as well as oppreſſive in many of its proviſions. The firſt clauſe he maintained to be unneceſſary, becauſe the ſupplying of the king's enemies by any of his ſubjects, with naval or military ſtores, was already denominated treaſon by the ſtatute of Edward; the ſecond clauſe, preventing Britiſh ſubjects from purchaſing lands in France, or ſtock in the French funds, appeared to him in one point of view abſurd, and in another detrimental, inſtead of being beneficial to Great Britain. It was abſurd, becauſe no man in his ſenſes would lay out his property in the purchaſe of lands or ſtock in France, at a time when there was no regular government there, and conſequently no ſecurity for the enjoyment of property. It might prove detrimental to us, as by the law of retaliation the French convention might be ſuppoſed likely to adopt a ſimilar meaſure on their part, which, by preventing the monied people in that country from purchaſing lands or ſtock in this, would greatly operate againſt us, and by keeping the capital at home, furniſh the convention with the means of carrying on the war. The clauſe for prohibiting all inſurances on French ſhips, he conſidered as likely to prove in reality a precaution againſt our own proſperity, as inſurance had been always a gainful trade, and had produced in former wars an annual profit of £.100,000, nor did he conceive it would produce in the preſent leſs than the ſum of £ 300,000; laſtly, he pronounced the clauſe for preventing any of his majeſty's ſubjects from going to, or returning from France, to be a manifeſt violation of juſtice, at the ſame time that it inveſted the ſecretary of ſtate with new and extraordinary powers; a meaſure, which he thought unjuſtifiable by any thing leſs than complete evidence that there actually exiſted a great and violent diſaffection to the exiſting government in this country.

March 21.

Mr. F. North ſpoke in ſupport of the bill. That oppoſition, which had been given to it, he feared would prove an extinction of the hope, which he had fondly entertained, that he might ſtill continue to act with that patriotic band, which in every ſituation, in miniſtry and in oppoſition, in popularity and unpopularity, had

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from the year 1783 to the present session nobly maintained the cause of the constitution. The bill before the house he considered as called for and justified by the exigence of the moment, by the relative situation of the country with respect to France, and by the situation of France herself with respect to her resources and her means of carrying on the war; in short, he considered it as vindicated by every principle of the law of nations, which made self-preservation the paramount object of every country.

With regard to the particular clauses of the bill, he asserted, that to prevent British subjects from purchasing lands or stock in France, would be in fact to deprive the convention of the means of carrying on the war, its principal resource for that purpose, consisting in the sale of the confiscated estates, which would probably continue unsold, unless the English became purchasers. Upon this idea he contended, that to prevent Englishmen from laying out their capital in France, would be to cut off the last hope of the convention, and completely to embarrass all its operations of finance. At the same time, likewise, he maintained that the prohibition of insurance would extremely injure, if not totally annihilate the trade of the enemy, as the only place where they could insure with confidence, was Great Britain.

The last clause, which prevented British subjects from returning to England, would prove he thought rather a mitigation, than an aggravation, of the law already in force. For as many persons of that description had presented addresses of a suspicious tendency to the French convention, the prevention of their return home should be rather deemed an act of kindness, as it kept them out of the reach of prosecution, than an act of severity or rigour.

After some few observations against the bill by major Maitland, the attorney general moved for its being read a second time. It was then proposed to be committed on Friday the twenty-second.

So early a commitment was opposed by Mr. Fox, who thought it by far too short a period for a business of such importance, and hoped that a little delay would be allowed in passing a bill, which he hesitated not to call an attack upon the fundamental liberties of England, and a measure equally ineffectual, impolitic, and tyrannical. The principal motive, which induced him to move for delay, was a wish that the sense of the country might be in some degree known previous to its commitment.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed all delay.

Mr. Fox's charge of tyranny against the bill, was answered by the attorney general, who remarked, that the provisions which it contained were adopted in a similar bill at the era of the revolution. He likewise shortly reviewed its leading clauses, which he defended from every imputation of a tyrannical tendency.

The question of the commitment on the twenty-second was also supported by Mr. Alderman Sanderson; and opposed by lord John Russell, and Messrs. Martin, Whitbread, T. Grenville, and Sheridan, the last of whom, in reply to a vindication which Mr. Pitt made of his whig principles, observed, that the right honourable gentleman was perfectly welcome to the whig principles of opposition,

opposition, provided he would cease to borrow their whig members. The question was carried by a majority of ninety.

When the bill was in the committee, a debate commenced upon the propriety of the language and sentiments of the preamble. Mr. Grey objected to the manner in which it was worded, the insinuations which it was calculated to foster, and the ideas of alarm, which it tended to encourage. In reply to his objections the attorney general stated, that in drawing it up he had followed the example of lord Somers, and some of the greatest men whom this country had to boast, who had adopted preambles of the same kind to bills of a similar nature. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, conceived, that before the assertion contained in the preamble could be admitted, "that it was expedient *more effectually* to prevent such traiterous correspondence, &c." proof should be given of the insufficiency of the existing laws for that purpose, or of some dangerous and extraordinary urgency; in order that the necessity of the measure, as was the case at the revolution, should be made evident, before such dreadful provisions as those which composed the bill, were enacted.

Mr. Burke entered more at large into the general principle of the question. In these periods, he said, when the constitution was allowed to exist in purity and vigour, it might be seen, that provisions similar to what were now about to be introduced, had been adopted without difficulty, and without inconvenience obeyed. The suspension of the habeas corpus act was the first which followed the bill of rights, and the other laws by which our freedom was at that period secured. Five successive acts of parliament had passed, every one of which contained similar enactments; and it was worthy of remark, that all had passed when the government was in the hands of the whigs, who deemed them defensive securities of the liberties of the nation. In these measures the whigs were supported by the tories; both united to repel arbitrary power, and to check the more odious despotism of a republic; and both joined in repelling the common enemy with that sincerity, honour, and patriotism which characterized every honest Englishman.

Hence adverting to the propriety of surrendering up a portion of our civil rights to the executive authority in times of extreme danger, he considered the influence of such a measure upon liberty, as similar to the influence of sleep upon the animal œconomy. The latter was requisite to renovate our corporeal faculties, and enable them to perform their functions with new vigour; so in the former case we voluntarily surrendered our rights for a time, that we might enjoy them in greater security for ever.

The existence of real danger he thought sufficiently apparent, as we were at war with an enemy, who had endeavoured to create (and had partly succeeded in that endeavour) a domestic faction to annoy and torment us. He then expatiated upon the conduct of the French in Holland, who, before they commenced their attack, had already in a public paper pronounced the deposition of the Stadtholder, and the subversion of the established government of that republic. If, however, this country

should be reduced to the abject state of Holland, and constrained to part with its freedom (the idea of which he deprecated) he would rather say, let Cæsar yield to Brutus, or Brutus to Cæsar, than let Rome submit to the monarch of Persia or the power of Carthage. The most arbitrary servitude imposed by a fellow citizen, was in his mind far preferable to the domiciliary visit, or the revolutionary tribunal of the French republic.

Mr. Burke then read an extract from a speech of Lasource in the convention, which contained the following passage, "The moment is not yet arrived for bringing before the revolutionary tribunal the Orestes of the British parliament, the furious Burke, the insolent Grenville, and the plotting Pitt. * * * * We have steel and men; and those audacious calumniators, who have dared to misrepresent the independence of the French nation, who incessantly describe us as robbers and cannibals, shall soon bow the knee before the statue of liberty, whence they shall rise only to mount the scaffold that awaits them, and to expiate by their deaths all the mischief in which they have involved the human race."

Mr. Burke was followed by Mr. Sheridan, who complimented him for his very able and eloquent speech, yet expressed himself unconvinced by it. The appeal which had been made to the æra of the revolution, Mr. Sheridan conceived to be inconclusive, insisting that the circumstances of that period were extremely dissimilar to those of the present. Could it be said, he asked, that we were now upon the eve of a revolution? If we were, then indeed he acknowledged there would be an end to every barrier, which the subject held against oppression. It seemed, however, that the comparison of the times was exact in a certain degree. But surely because two or three factious individuals might now be named, we ought not on that account to deem the same precautions necessary, as if we were actually under the apprehension of an immediate revolution. Besides, at the æra alluded to, something like evidence was given of the necessity of the proposed measures. A plot had been formed against the life of the king, who communicated himself the information to parliament, adding, that the plot had nevertheless been discovered, that some of the conspirators were already in custody, and that care had been taken to trace out the remainder; and that in addition to so serious a cause of alarm, a plan was in agitation for the invasion of the kingdom. What was the danger of the existing moment? He believed indeed, that the editor of a newspaper, who was frightened by the ministry, had run away, that an attorney was under prosecution upon a charge, for which he had been admitted to bail; and that a bill-sticker was in prison! Such, he ironically asserted, were the mighty proofs to be adduced of the whole country being in a state of insurrection.

Mr. Burke's idea of rights remaining in a state of inaction for a time in order to acquire renovated vigour, and his simile, in which a temporary inactivity was supposed to be the same to the body politic, as sleep was to the body natural, Mr. Sheridan said, he thought extremely ingenious, and doubted not but that the minister thought so with him who had often sung a soothing lullaby to the sleepy constitution. The misfortune however was,

was, that the figure, how pretty ſoever it might be deemed, had nevertheleſs no foundation in truth: for although a human being might ſleep to recover his ſtrength and ſpirits, there was no analogous neceſſity that civil rights ſhould be ſuſpended in order to be preſerved; nor would he allow that there exiſted any of that wearineſs which required reſt in the rights of the people of this country.

He confeſſed that he did not ſee the propriety of the alluſion to Cæſar and Brutus, as he could not ſuppoſe that our ſituation was ſuch as to make us apprehend danger from the diſputes of individuals to any number, much leſs from the diſputes of any two individuals. He wiſhed it likewiſe to be remarked, that after Rome ſubmitted to Cæſar, ſhe never again recovered her liberty. If, therefore, Rome was to be quoted as a leſſon for us, the inſtruction to be derived from her example would be, that a ſubjugation to foreigners is never ſo irreparable a calamity, as to any of our fellow citizens.

In noticing Mr. Burke's alluſion to the French domiciliary viſits, he contraſted them with ſomething of the ſame kind, as he ſaid, which might be found among ourſelves. In elucidation of his meaning he referred to the conduct of the recent aſſociations, particularly to the one under the direction of Mr. Reeves, all which he ſtrongly reprobated as acting upon abſurd ſuſpicions and ſuperfluous jealouſies. There was ſcarcely, he aſſerted, a houſe in the metropolis, where they had not applied in a dictatorial manner for deſcriptions of the inhabitants.

The bill in general was defended by Mr. Hardinge, who conceived its principle to be correct, and founded in truth: a principle to which all its proviſions in a general point of view were clearly, politically, and even mercifully applied. In times of difficulty, he contended, that it is always expedient to declare doubtful caſes of treaſon, to make treaſons already clear in point of law better and more generally known, and even to enact new treaſons, if the exigencies of the caſe naturally pointed them out.

The queſtion being put for poſtponing the preamble, was negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Grey then immediately propoſed an amendment to the following effect, that after the word "whereas" theſe words ſhould be inſerted, "doubts and inconveniencies having ariſen on the conſtruction of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third, and whereas it is expedient to obviate the ſame in future, and whereas it is expedient to prevent aſſiſtance being given to his majeſty's enemies during the preſent war, be it enacted." This amendment, after a ſhort converſation, was negatived; and the words, as they ſtood in printed bill, agreed to.

When the firſt clauſe was read, Mr. Sheridan aſked, whether or not by the words, "within any of his majeſty's dominions," and, "being a ſubject of his majeſty," it was meant that the act ſhould extend to Ireland.

Mr. Fox argued, that it muſt certainly be ſo intended, as the people of Ireland were undoubtedly ſubjects of his majeſty; whence in conſequence it would follow, that the paſſing of the bill under conſideration would be conſtrued into an attempt to legiſlate for Ireland.

As the ſubject appeared of a delicate nature, Mr. Pitt was averſe from entering upon it; yet thought he might go ſo far as to ſay, that if England was to make an act treaſon in all his majeſty's ſubjects, which was not ſo by any law of Ireland, and a treaſon of this deſcription were to be committed in Ireland by an Iriſhman, who ſhould afterwards come into England, that perſon, although an Iriſhman, might be here tried and executed for it. In like manner, if the Iriſh parliament were to make an act treaſon, which was no treaſon by any law of England, and if an Engliſhman ſhould commit that treaſon in England, and afterwards go into Ireland, he might be arraigned and executed for it there.

Mr. Fox termed this the moſt extravagant doctrine he had ever heard. The idea of one country legiſlating for another under its dominion, was eaſy to be apprehended; but he had never yet heard of two independent countries legiſlating for each other by turns.

After a ſlight diſcuſſion principally confined to this ſingle point, the attorney general moved to adjourn the further conſideration of the bill.

When the debate was reſumed, the ſolicitor general ſtated, that he wiſhed to make ſeveral amendments, and particularly to limit the operation of the act to Great Britain.

March 26.

Several amendments were accordingly propoſed during its progreſs through the committee, one of which was the withdrawing of the clauſe prohibiting the return of any of his majeſty's ſubjects into this country without the king's leave. When this clauſe was read for the purpoſe of negativing it, Mr. Whitbread aſked the ſolicitor general, whether he conceived that his majeſty was empowered by law to iſſue a proclamation forbidding for a time ſubjects of this country from returning into it under certain reſtrictions. A proclamation of this kind, he heard, had been iſſued (although he had not himſelf ſeen it); and this circumſtance induced him to inquire, what were the ſentiments which a law officer of the crown entertained reſpecting the legality of ſuch a proceeding.

The ſolicitor general replied, that, although Mr. Whitbread had been miſinformed as to the extent of the proclamation alluded to, yet he heſitated not to aſſert that his majeſty had certainly a right to make a regulation reſpecting the internal policy of the country.

Theſe expreſſions were reprobated by Mr. Fox, who, in oppoſition to the opinion which he ſuppoſed to be contained in them, maintained, on the other hand, that if the king had the right of preventing any perſon from returning to England under the ſpecious pretext of regulating affairs of general policy, his majeſty had in fact the power of keeping in perpetual baniſhment any perſon he might think proper.

In anſwer to Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt obſerved, that neither the proclamation itſelf, nor the words of the ſolicitor general in explanation properly conveyed the meaning which had been given them. The proclamation confeſſedly had not been even read by thoſe who diſapproved it. He therefore begged them to read it firſt; and then, if they pleaſed, propoſe a day for the diſcuſſion of it.

The

The clauſes were at length finally ſettled on the ninth of April, when the queſtion was put that the bill do paſs. Mr. Fox then roſe to oppoſe it the laſt time, pronouncing it to be one, which, without a ſingle exception, was the moſt unjuſt in its principle, inadequate in its proviſions, and tyrannical in its effects, which had ever paſſed that houſe; one, for which, there was nothing like a precedent either in policy or humanity. Many of its clauſes, he ſaid, were ſuch as no man, who had the leaſt feeling for his fellow creatures could approve. He particularly noticed a clauſe which turned upon the conſtruction to be put on the word "agree." Any one, he remarked, might eaſily ſwear, that he heard two perſons agree to any thing, and it might be difficult, perhaps impoſſible to refute ſuch teſtimony, how falſe ſoever it might be; yet, although on other occaſions the wiſdom of the legiſlature had enacted, that no man ſhould be bound by a verbal agreement beyond the ſum of ten pounds, yet by the bill in queſtion all ideas of juſtice and humanity were abandoned, and that, which in a civil caſe would not affect a man's purſe to the amount of ten pounds, was here allowed to take away his life.

He next adverted to the clauſe which prohibited his majeſty's ſubjects in Great Britain from purchaſing lands in France. An Engliſhman, he remarked, might purchaſe ſuch lands when he was in Ireland without guilt: but if the purchaſe were made when he was on the continent or in France, upon his return to his native country he would become liable to a capital puniſhment. Of all the acts of cruelty, of all the tyranny and abſurdity, that ever diſgraced a Britiſh act of parliament, this he denominated the worſt.

He likewiſe animadverted with ſeverity upon a clauſe, which denied the uſe of counſel to perſons accuſed of treaſon under this bill. Was it, he aſked, no advantage to a priſoner charged with high treaſon to be indulged with counſel, who might viſit and attend him, and aſſiſt him in drawing up his defence?

At the concluſion of his ſpeech he noticed the ſhifts to which he ſaid the authors of this meaſure had been driven, the commitments and recommitments of the bill; which he thought ſtrongly indicated a conſciouſneſs of impropriety in their procedings.

Mr. Burke again entered into a general defence of the principle of the bill, obſerving, that there were only two points, in which, according to his idea, it ought to be conſidered: the one, whether it was conformable to law; the other, whether it was conſiſtent with policy. Could it be regarded as hoſtile to the conſtitution? In a judicial point of view, the conſtitution, he conceived, as conſiſting of king, lords, and commons, appeared thus to be repreſented: the king by the judges, the lords by the writ of error, and the commons by the juries. Contemplating the conſtitution in this light, he perceived not the hoſtility of the bill againſt it.

If he were aſked, whether the meaſure infringed on liberty, his anſwer would be in the affirmative; for it was the nature, he remarked, of all laws to take away ſomething from the portion of liberty. But he maintained, that it did not take

away more of liberty than was neceſſary.

He then entered into a legal compariſon of this with ſeveral ſimilar bills at different periods of our hiſtory, in order to prove that its proviſions in general harmonized with the principles of the conſtitution, and were juſtified by the example of our anceſtors.

In anſwer to Mr. Fox's argument drawn from the ſtatute of frauds and perjuries, that a ſum above ten pounds could not be recovered under a verbal agreement, he pointed out, that the criminal law puniſhed an offence on account of a ſum far below that upon which a civil action could be maintained; an inſtance of which he adduced in its being felony to forge a two-penny ſtamp on paper.

After alluding to ſome leſs prominent points of conſideration, Mr. Burke concluded with giving his moſt cordial aſſent to the bill, perſuaded that it would tend to prohibit an adulterous communication with France, and by withholding from that country reſources to be derived from this, would prevent Engliſhmen from acting hoſtilely againſt England, and from making contracts to its ruin.

The numbers for paſſing the bill were 154, againſt it 53.

When carried up to the Lords it was oppoſed in almoſt every ſtage of its progreſs through that houſe. The earl of Guilford termed it a compound of political abſurdities, which extended to an alarming degree the law of treaſon, while at the ſame time it deprived perſons accuſed of thoſe benefits on their trials which the juſtice and mercy of the legiſlature had hitherto allowed in all caſes of treaſon.

It was likewiſe oppoſed by the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Lanſdowne, and the lords Lauderdale and Stanhope. Lord Thurlow acknowledged the propriety of declaring on difficult emergencies by a particular enactment, what ſpecific acts would fall under the general terms of the ſtatute of Edward the third, but he thought that this might have been done in a more ſimple form than had been adopted on this occaſion.

Several amendments were made to it in the committee. The contents for paſſing it were 62, the non-contents 11. It was not only defended by the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, but on the other ſide by the dukes of Portland and Leeds, and lord Portcheſter.

The next motion of importance connected with the ſubject of the war, which was brought forward in parliament, was one made by Mr. Sheridan relative to an official paper of our ambaſſador at the Hague (lord Auckland) which had been delivered to the States General upon the fifth of April. When this paper was noticed, Mr. Sheridan repreſented it as replete with ſentiments hoſtile to the avowed object of the war. It ſeemed, he ſaid, to imply, that the war was carried on for the purpoſe of extermination, or of avenging crimes which had been committed in another country, of an atrocious nature. It ſtigmatized the French as a nation of miſcreants, and propoſed, that the commiſſioners of the convention (who, by the treachery of Dumourier, had been given up to the Dutch) ſhould be murdered and aſſaſſinated. Nor did this bloody propoſal, he ſtated, extend only to thoſe who voted for the king's death in the convention, but to the army, the communes, and the departments.

April 25.

The

The paſſage in this memorial, which he principally alluded to, and which excited his ſevereſt animadverſion, was the following: "Some of thoſe deteſtable regicides are already in ſuch a ſituation, that they may be ſubjected to the ſword of the law." Mr. Sheridan contended, that if miniſters coincided with lord Auckland, the war would neceſſarily become a war of extermination; and all hopes of peace would prove fruitleſs, until a new form of government ſhould be accepted by France. He then propoſed an addreſs, humbly beſeeching his majeſty to diſavow the ſentiments contained in the memorial, as inconſiſtent with the wiſdom and humanity of the Britiſh nation, and derogatory to the dignity of the Britiſh crown.

After remarking, that Mr. Sheridan had abandoned what had been underſtood to be the object of his intended motion, the impeachment of lord Auckland, Mr. Pitt defended the conduct of that nobleman, who, for his general ſervices, merited, he was convinced, the applauſe, and not the cenſure of his country. He maintained, that the paper in queſtion contained no expreſſion which could properly be conſtrued as bearing the remoteſt tendency to the concluſions drawn from it. Lord Auckland's language was merely the warm effuſion of a mind animated with a juſt abhorrence of thoſe men, who had perpetrated a fact which excited the general indignation of Engliſhmen, and enlivened with the hope, that an example would be made of them. Sentiments of this kind were no other than what he profeſſed himſelf to entertain, and what he thought every Engliſhman muſt entertain with him. Yet, while he heſitated not to avow ſo much, he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that he by no means conceived any thing of this nature a proper object of our interference.

In the whole memorial, he aſſerted, that there was not a ſingle ſentence, which implied any alteration of the purpoſes of the war, or which could affect it either in its progreſs or termination. Stronger terms of reprobation againſt the murderers of Louis the ſixteenth had not been uſed by lord Auckland than had been contained in every addreſs of that houſe to his majeſty, and in every anſwer to thoſe addreſſes. But nothing, he remarked, could fairly be extracted from it, which pledged us to make the internal government of France regulate the purpoſes of the war. If he were aſked, what ſhould induce us to engage in hoſtilities, his anſwer would be, principles of policy and ſelf-defence. Europe was threatened with a political convulſion; which, if ſubmitted to without reſiſtance, would at once introduce anarchy and a total change of the exiſting governments. But the impatience of France had left us no alternative by a declaration of war, before any hoſtile meaſure had been adopted on our part. The real cauſe therefore of the war was evident to every capacity, and the effect of it he hoped would be, that with the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, we ſhould ultimately obtain indemnification for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future.

In reply to Mr. Sheridan's idea, that a general proſcription of all, in the communes and departments, ſuppoſed to be concerned in the

king's murder, was insinuated in the memorial, he observed, that much as the national character of the French had been stained by that transaction, as well as by some later events, yet, to say that the greater part of the nation consented to it, was contrary to probability; and to force such a construction upon the paper in question was unjust, ridiculous, and unsupported by any document whatever.

With regard to the much censured passage of subjecting the regicides to the sword of the law, he was confident lord Auckland meant no more by it, than at a proper and convenient time they should be tried by their own countrymen, and, if guilty, suffer the punishment which they deserved. It was not the intention of his lordship to make any kind of allusion to the commissioners of the convention, who had been sent by Dumourier to Maestricht. The idea was simply this, that as a speedy counter-revolution was likely to take place in France by the desertion of Dumourier, and in consequence of the Austrian successes, the persons principally concerned in the murder of the king might soon be in a situation to be brought before criminal tribunals in their own country, and be thus subjected to the sword of the law.

Mr. Fox supported the motion, contending, that as the commissioners of the convention had been taken into custody and delivered up to the Austrians immediately before the memorial was written, it was natural to conclude, that lord Auckland particularly alluded to that circumstance. If, however, by the sword of the law was meant the sword of some law to be revived or established in France, why, he asked, was not such a qualification of terms inserted in the paper itself? By proposing to subject to the sword of the law persons given up as hostages for the survivors of the royal family in France, not by way of prevention, not as a warning to deter, but upon a principle of vengeance, he thought that lord Auckland had made a proposal which obviously tended to provoke retaliation, and might endanger the lives of those for whose safety the commissioners had been given as hostages.

He observed, that the minister professed to wish for a termination of the war; but how, he asked, could that be obtained without negotiation? And when the hour of negotiation came, with whom were we to treat? With those very men, whom now in our memorials and public acts, we were stigmatizing with every vilifying and opprobrious epithet,

While contending with one species of tyranny, he hoped we should be careful not to tolerate the adoption of another, still more dangerous, by our connexion with the allied powers, and a participation of their views. In his opinion, despotism was more formidable than anarchy, as the latter in its very nature could prove but momentary, while the former, by being more systematic, became more permanent. He did not mean that we should reject the assistance of our allies; but that we ought well to consider what price would be expected for their assistance, and whether their views were in conformity with our own.

At any rate, he remarked, although the motion might prove unsuccessful, it had nevertheless been attended with one good effect at least, the calling forth from the minister a repe-

a repetition of those causes and objects to which the nation had a right to look up for the commencement and continuation of the war.

Mr. Pitt, in explanation, repeated what he had before advanced, that we had taken up arms for the purpose of repelling aggression, and of obtaining indemnity for the past as well as security for the future. He likewise again declared, that we had no wish or intention to intermeddle in the internal affairs of France: yet by that declaration he did not mean to assert, that we should consider ourselves as precluded from such interference if it tended to accelerate the termination of the war.

The address was lost by a majo- of 175, ayes 36, noes 211.

Notwithstanding the fate of Mr. Sheridan's motion in the house of commons, lord Stanhope brought forward the same subject June 17. in the upper house towards the conclusion of the session, proposing an address of a similar nature. Lord Grenville moved an amendment of the address to the following purport: "that the paper in question was conformable to the sentiments of his majesty and both houses of parliament, and that it was consonant to those ideas of justice and policy which it became the honour and dignity of the nation to express." Lord Auckland being present at the debate, spoke in his own defence. His memorial, he said, contained three paragraphs. The first was a recital of what he had done in his former applications to the States General, and of their proceedings. The second was an observation upon what had happened in France, and contained some remarks upon the regicides, who had committed the most horrid of all crimes; and the third was an application that such of them as should fall into the hands of the Dutch, might be surrendered at a proper time to a court of justice for their trial. He likewise particularly noticed the prayer of the memorial, which entreated, he remarked, their high mightinesses, by every means in their power, to prevent, if possible, the detestable regicides from entering the dominions of the United States, but if they, nevertheless, came there, to deliver them up to justice. This was the whole object of the paper. Never, he asserted, had it entered his mind, that they should be put to death in Holland. All he meant was, that they should be reserved in custody, till such time as the course of justice should be restored in France, and that then they should be tried in courts competent to that purpose. With regard to the language of his memorial he thought no apology requisite for it. He had called the murderers of Louis detestable regicides, and so he should continue to call them, not conceiving any epithet too severe for those who had shewn themselves capable of such an atrocious crime.

Lord Grenville's amendment was carried.

While subjects more or less connected with the war were under discussion, a petition was presented by the East India company for the renewal of their charter. When the house resolved itself into a committee to take this petition into April 23. consideration, Mr. Dundas expatiated at some length upon the flourishing state of the

the company's revenues, and pointed out the propriety of continuing to them their exclusive charter as well as the government of their territorial poſſeſſions. Upon the laſt point, he was aware, there might be found a difference of opinion; but, preferring experience to ſpeculation, he wiſhed not to abandon a ſyſtem which had been productive of many ſolid advantages, which had conſolidated the power, augmented the revenues, and extended the territories of our Indian empire; and that apparently upon the moſt permanent footing. Beſides, would any man, he aſked, anſwer for the conſequences of the convulſion which a change of ſyſtem might produce? The natives of India, much governed by habits and opinions, had long been accuſtomed to look up to the company, as the only fountain of Britiſh power among them. Would it be perfectly ſafe to unhinge that opinion? He reprobated the idea of deſtroying the excluſive trade and throwing it open to adventurers of all deſcriptions. This, he contended, would annihilate the benefits which the public derived from Indian commerce, and prove the ruin of our Indian empire. The reſolutions he propoſed, being of conſiderable length, were laid, without being read, upon the table of the houſe, and then printed for the conſideration of the committee.

Mr. Francis diſapproved the intention of continuing to the company their ſovereignty over the territorial poſſeſſions, wiſhing to have them conſidered only in the light of a ſociety of merchants, and not as kings and governors. At the ſame time, however, he allowed the propriety of granting them an excluſive commercial charter.

The principal alteration propoſed related to the board of controul. By the act for the eſtabliſhment of that board his majeſty could call no perſons to it except privy councillors. It was now propoſed, that the king ſhould appoint two additional commiſſioners, who were not privy councillors; and who held no other office, with certain fixed ſalaries to be paid by the company.

This clauſe was conſidered by Mr. Fox as the means of increaſing the power of the crown, already too great, and upon that principle was oppoſed by him when the report of the committee was received. He objected to the allowance of ſalaries, which, when the board of controul was eſtabliſhed, had not been granted, conceiving, that among his majeſty's privy councillors there certainly muſt be many holding lucrative places, who might find ſufficient leiſure for attendance at the board.

May 17.

In reply, Mr. Dundas contraſted ſome of the proviſions of Mr. Fox's India bill with the clauſe before the houſe, contending, that the former extended the power of the crown much further than the latter. Of the propriety of ſuch an appointment as the one propoſed, he was convinced from experience, the reſtriction to privy councillors being too confined, and not affording a ſufficient ſcope for appropriate ſelection. When the clauſe was put to the vote, there were in favour of it 113, againſt it 42. Determined however to give every poſſible oppoſition to it, Mr. Fox again divided the houſe upon it at the third reading of the bill, when the numbers

numbers were 30 for his motion, and 123 againſt it. Immediately after this deciſion, diſliking the proviſions of the bill in general, and that in particular reſpecting the board of controul, yet not wiſhing to negative it altogether, as a neceſſity might exiſt for a temporary renewal of the company's charter, he propoſed that the period of the grant ſhould be ſhortened, and that the year 1797 ſhould be fixed for its termination, inſtead of the year 1811. The chancellor of the exchequer oppoſed an amendment to this effect moved by Mr. Fox from a conviction, that the time would be too ſhort for any beneficial purpoſe. The amendment was loſt, the numbers being for it only 26, againſt it 132.

At the ſame time that parliament was occupied in the conſideration of a charter ſolicited for a wealthy and thriving company, a commercial application was made to it of a very different deſcription and moſt unpleaſant nature in conſequence of a temporary ſtagnation of trade and credit, by a ſudden and unexpected demand for money upon our principal mercantile houſes. A deputation of merchants waited upon the miniſter, and repreſented to him the ſituation to which they were reduced, and for which ſome immediate remedy appeared requiſite in order to prevent a moſt alarming bankruptcy. Mr. Pitt accordingly introduced the buſineſs in the houſe of commons, where a committee was appointed to take the ſubject into conſideration. On the 29th of April the report of the committee was received. It ſtated in a minute and full detail, among a variety of other facts, that the cauſe of the late numerous failures and mercantile embarraſſments was a ſudden check which had been given to circulation, and a conſequent difficulty in diſcounting bills; that there were but few, if any, of the merchants and manufacturers ſtopping payment who were deficient in real property, many of them being poſſeſſed of merchandize and other reſources ultimately much more than ſufficient to anſwer all demands upon them; and that unleſs means were deviſed to relieve trade from the embarraſſments under which it thus laboured, it would be impoſſible to calculate the conſequences; conſequences, which might prove detrimental to the whole mercantile intereſt of the kingdom.

The plan propoſed for the remedy of this evil, was the iſſuing of exchequer bills to the amount of five millions ſterling, the management of which was to be entruſted to twenty commiſſioners to be appointed by parliament. Theſe commiſſioners were to be empowered to advance different ſums according to their diſcretion, as the urgency of particular caſes required, upon the credit of goods to be depoſited in particular warehouſes ſet apart for that purpoſe, which goods, if not redeemed by the party depoſiting them before the firſt of May 1794, were at that period to be ſold. The ſums thus advanced were likewiſe to bear an intereſt of two-pence halfpenny per cent. per day, or three pounds ſixteen ſhillings a year.

On the ſide of oppoſition it was remarked, that there was a ſingular coincidence between the embarraſſments in trade, and the war with France, which might well warrant an opinion, that the former was the effect of the latter. But the principal objection to the meaſure was the light in which it appeared when contemplated in a conſtitutional

tional point of view. An influence over commerce should never be blended with the legislative or executive authority. But, by furnishing government and parliament with the means of supporting the credit of commercial houses by an advance of money upon stock in trade, it was contended that they were about to be invested with a controul over the whole commercial interest of the country.

On the other side it was indeed confessed, that the measure bore an unconstitutional aspect; and that, if it were meant to be of a permanent nature, it could not but be indefensible, for as commerce flourished the more in consequence of its being unconnected with government, any system, which might place it for a permanency under a controul of that kind, would unavoidably prove its ruin; yet, that the necessity of the case was its justification, the question not being, whether government ought to interfere with the merchant, but whether the merchant could possibly carry on his trade under existing circumstances without the assistance of government. As a permanent system therefore it was acknowledged that the measure would be intolerable; but as a temporary one the happiest effects were likely to be the result of it, perhaps the very salvation of our trade, of all things the most important in a commercial nation.

The necessity of granting relief was admitted on both sides; but it was suggested by opposition, that the bank would be a better and more constitutional medium for the distribution of that relief, than commissioners appointed by parliament. To this it was answered, that as the sums to be advanced were raised upon a principle of security, unknown to the bank, and as the bank never lent money upon goods, nor passed loans for a longer period than two months, the proposal of making it a medium upon this occasion would not perhaps prove agreeable. Indeed it was to be expected that the directors of the bank would not consent to such a proposition; and to compel them entirely to change their whole system of management, and that only for a temporary purpose, which might be equally well effected another way, would be at once unwise and unjust.

The bill was accordingly brought in without loss of time, and passed the commons upon the sixth of May.

The question of the abolition of the slave trade, which had been so often agitated in parliament, was renewed early in the present session by Mr. Wilberforce; but as it had been frequently and fully argued before, no new elucidation could be expected, or was indeed attempted. Mr. Wilberforce proposed on the twenty-fifth of February, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the twenty-eighth, to consider the circumstances relative to this trade. His proposal was opposed by sir W. Young, who moved an amendment that instead of the twenty-eighth of February the words "this day six months" should be inserted. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a majority of eight. Upon the fourteenth of May a precise and limited object was taken up by Mr. Wilberforce, and supported by his former opponent sir W. Young, who on this occasion seconded the motion. It was that "leave be given to bring in a bill for abolishing the trade carried on by English merchants

for

for supplying foreign territories with slaves. The principle upon which sir W. Young grounded his support of this measure, was this, that although we had a right to do whatever might be deemed necessary for the existence of our own West India possessions, yet that we had no right to carry on a trade, never to be defended but upon the ground of necessity, when it was not for supplying our own immediate wants, but those of foreign nations. The motion was carried by a majority of seven.

Immediately after this favourable decision, Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in another bill "for limiting the importation of slaves into our islands for a time to be specified therein." But in this attempt he failed, the ayes being 25, the noes 35.

Before the house resolved itself into a committee upon the bill, for the introduction of which leave had been obtained, an opposition to the measure took place, but without success, the question in favour of it being carried by a majority of 43. Nevertheless, as a determination seemed to exist of opposing it in almost every part of its progress, a second division was called for on the same day as the former, which likewise proved equally ineffectual. At length, however, on the twelfth of June, when it was proposed, "that the house do now go into a committee upon the said bill," it was lost by a majority of two, the numbers being for an amendment of delay moved by Mr. Cawthorne 31, against it 29.

May 22.

Another subject which had been in part previously discussed in the preceding session, the important question of a parliamentary reform, was brought forward towards the conclusion of this. In consequence of a former *notice of Mr. Grey, a variety of petitions was presented to the house praying for a reform of this kind: Mr. Grey himself presented one, which was said to be the petition of a society, calling itself "The friends of the people," of which society he was a member, and at the request of which he was supposed to have originally undertaken the business. This petition was signed by a number of individuals of no corporate capacity; but who were represented to be persons resident in the metropolis or its vicinity. On the sixth of May, Mr. Grey spoke at some length upon the subject of reform; a subject, which he conceived to be one of general attention, and anxiety, but which had been so frequently debated, and by men of such superior abilities, that there seemed little left except trite and threadbare observation. He remarked, that the object at present principally urged against the measure was the supposed impropriety of the times for such a discussion. This objection had been used at all periods, in times of peace and in times of war, in times of prosperity, and in times of adversity; in short it appeared never out of season to contend, that the present was not the proper period for reform. He pointed out the many ineffectual attempts which had been made to obtain the object in question; and insisted, that reform had always been patronized by the wisest men

* See Annual Register, 1792, p. 359.

and

and beſt patriots. He then expatiated upon what he termed the partiality and injuſtice of the repreſentation in parliament from a compariſon of the population in the different places repreſented, upon the interference of the ariſtocracy, upon the inequality of the repreſentation, upon the abuſe of burgage-tenures, and upon the undue influence of the crown through the peerage. At the concluſion of his ſpeech he propoſed, that the reſpective petitions ſhould be referred to a committee.

Meſſrs. Jenkinſon, Powys, and Windham oppoſed the motion, which was ſupported by Mr. Erſkine. Mr. Pitt likewiſe ſpoke againſt it, remarking, that ſeveral circumſtances had occurred which confirmed him in the ſentiments delivered by him, when Mr. Grey gave notice of his intention the preceding year. Societies, he ſaid, of various ſorts had been eſtabliſhed in different quarters, openly profeſſing and diſſeminating the principles of the jacobins, and recommending them to our imitation. The French and the party in connexion with them had openly and triumphantly avowed, that their hopes ran high as to the effects of the propoſal for a parliamentary reform, which they conſidered as the channel through which their principles might find admittance and their projects be executed. They knew upon whom they relied; and truſted, that if the ſpirit of innovation was once abroad, it would be impoſſible ſo to frame any reform, as to ſatisfy all ſides; and thus might they poſſeſs an opportunity of bringing the diſcontent, which might ariſe, into action. If, on the other hand, the propoſition ſhould fail, after the expectations of the people were excited, there would then be a very plauſible ground for accuſing the parliament, and rendering it unpopular with the nation.

He alſo animadverted upon the ſingularity of the circumſtance, that all the petitions, which had been preſented to the houſe, the one of the friends of the people alone excepted, contained the ſame prayer, and were compoſed in the ſame ſtyle and language, although they came from places which had little intercourſe and no natural connexion with each other. His comment upon this obſervation was, that they were all the manufacture of a ſmall but active party, which had contrived ſuch a mode of diffuſing a ſpirit of innovation.

Mr. Fox ſeverely cenſured the miniſter, for inconſiſtency and tergiverſation of conduct, and inſiſted, that from paſt experience, particularly in the American war, that the houſe of commons, as now conſtituted, was neither adequate to the due diſcharge of its duties at preſent, nor afforded any ſecurity that it would prove ſo in future,

The motion was afterwards oppoſed by Meſſrs. Stanley, Buxton, Anſtruther, ſir W. Young, and lord Mornington; and ſupported by ſir W. Milner, and Meſſrs. Duncombe, Francis, Whitbread, and Sheridan, the laſt of whom was not leſs complimentary in praiſe of the miniſter's "manly" eloquence, than pointed in animadverting upon the verſatility of his political principles in the queſtion under conſideration. When the diviſion took place, the numbers were, ayes 14, noes 282.

A relief was this year extended to the

the Scotch Roman catholics, in a bill introduced by the lord-advocate of Scotland. Being incapacitated by law from holding or transmitting landed property, and liable to other severe restrictions which it was conceived could not at the present time be justified, either on the ground of necessity or expediency, they were relieved by this bill from various penalties and disabilities imposed on them by several acts of parliament, particularly by one, which passed in the eighth year of king William. This measure obtained the concurrence of all parties.

In the course of the session the managers of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings were called upon by the house of lords to sum up their evidence. This message was delivered to the house of commons on the twenty-eighth of May; and the day fixed by the lords for the purpose proposed, was the fifth of June. A committee being appointed to consider their lordships' message, and the report of that committee received, it was moved, that the managers should be ready to proceed on the twelfth of June instead of the fifth, an earlier day proving highly inconvenient on account of the length and multiplicity of the evidence. Upon this occasion the question was canvassed, to whom the supposed delay, during the whole of this important trial ought to be attributed. The managers contended, that it was not imputable to them, stating, that, although the trial had lasted seven years, the period of one hundred and sixteen days only had been allotted to it, and that out of those one hundred and sixteen days, only sixty-five could properly be said to have been occupied by them. In the year 1791 the lords, it was said, only allowed four days for the trial, and in the preceding year only fourteen; but that the managers would have been willing to have continued the business from day to day, had the lords been so disposed.

A division took place upon the question for delaying the summing up of the evidence to the twelfth instead of the fifth of June, which was carried by a majority of 45.

Mr. Burke then moved, that in order to clear up all doubts respecting the conduct of the managers, an inquiry should be instituted into the various circumstances of the impeachment. The previous question being proposed and put, the numbers appeared equal, when the speaker gave his casting vote against it, by which it was consequently negatived. The house then divided upon the original motion, which which was nevertheless lost by a majority of four.

After an unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Grey to have the trial postponed until another session, and a subsequent declaration, that it was impossible for him to be ready, as manager, upon the day appointed by the lords, which was now the tenth of June, Mr. Dundas proposed, that a message should be sent to the upper house, requesting further time. This proposal was carried by a majority of 36.

At the conclusion of the session, principally for the purpose of recording his own opinion on the subject of the war, and June 17. in order, perhaps, to discover, if possible, whether any alteration had taken place in the supposed views of administration, with respect

reſpect to the object or termination of it, Mr. Fox ſuggeſted an addreſs to his majeſty, earneſtly and ſolemnly requeſting, that his majeſty would adopt the earlieſt meaſures for procuring peace on ſuch terms as might be conſiſtent with the profeſſed objects of the war, and with that good faith, ſtrict juſtice, and liberal as well as enlightened policy, which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhes the Britiſh nation. Defence and ſecurity, which he ſtated to be thoſe profeſſed objects, had already been ſufficiently obtained by the reverſe of the French arms, and the ſucceſſes of our allies. The Dutch, he obſerved, had been completely relieved from all apprehenſion of danger, and every fear of French aggrandizement ſeemed entirely removed. For what therefore, he aſked, could we be ſuppoſed ſtill to contend? If for indemnification, the kind we wiſhed for ought to be ſpecified; but for the mere ſake of an unſpecified indemnification to perſevere in a ruinous war, appeared to him the height of madneſs and of folly.

The commercial embarraſſments of the country he likewiſe principally imputed to the war, adding, that if they were conſidered to have ariſen even from a different cauſe, yet would peace be neceſſary for our recovery from them.

Mr. Windham and Mr. Burke both pointed out the danger of diſſolving the exiſting alliance againſt France, and not only the danger, but the degradation of an attempt at negotiation. The latter expreſſed his determined reſolution (which he flattered himſelf was not attributable to any blind pertinacity, regardleſs of all conſequences) that he would never conſent to proſtrate the throne of Great Britain at the feet of the French jacobins, or the French national convention.

Mr. Pitt conſidered the motion as fraught with the greateſt miſchief, evidently intended to delude the public into an opinion, that there was a poſſibility of peace, and on that opinion to graft a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction which might tend to fetter the progreſs of the war. On the other hand, in conſideration of the many grievous and inſolent aggreſſions of the French, he conceived, that it was incumbent upon us not to ſheath the ſword, till we had received both ſecurity for the future and reparation for the paſt. No nation, he maintained, except under the preſſure of ſome very heavy calamity, had ever ſubmitted to ſuch humiliating and impolitic terms, as to forget the indignities offered to it; and confine its operations againſt an aggreſſive enemy merely to the defenſive. But the French had erected an execrable ſyſtem of tyranny and anarchy at home, and of injuſtice abroad, under which circumſtances it would be folly to hope for ſecurity, and raſhneſs to beſtow confidence. The periods, however, in which ſecurity might probably be obtained, he thought might be ranked in the following order: The firſt, when the perſons holding the power of government in France ſhould no longer predominate; the ſecond, when experience and the miſeries of their ſituation ſhould have brought on reflection with a conviction of error; and the third when the iſſue of the war ſhould have ſo far weakened them, and ſtrengthened us, that they ſhould be obliged to accept of reaſonable and proper terms.

Instead of accelerating peace, the proposed motion, he insisted, would prove an insuperable bar to it, by holding out to our enemies impunity and encouragement. If it were adopted, with all the expence of war, we should incur, he said, the dangers of peace. We should leave the Netherlands to be again over-run by the French; and should voluntarily abandon the fair prospect of a glorious termination of the war for the precarious issue of an impolitic treaty, and a delusive accommodation with a perfidious set of men, who have neither the disposition to keep faith, nor the security even for a day, that if willing, they should be able to do so.

For Mr. Fox's motion the ayes were 47, the noes 187.

On the twenty-first of June parliament was prorogued. The most remarkable passage in his majesty's speech on this occasion, was the following: "the rapid and signal successes which in an early period of the campaign have attended the operation of the combined armies, the respectable and powerful force which you have enabled me to employ by sea and land, and the measures which I have concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war, afford the best prospect of an happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged. It is only by perseverance in vigorous exertions, and by endeavouring to improve the advantages already acquired, that we can hope to obtain the great end to which my views are uniformly directed, the restoration of peace on such terms, as may be consistent with our permanent security and with the general tranquillity of Europe."

CHAP. XIII.

Civil history of France resumed. Animosity of the factions. Tyrannical proceedings of the Commune. Girondists defeated in several attempts to repress that usurping body. Federates seduced from their interest. Manuel and Kersaint resign in disgust. Letter of Manuel. Still bolder letter of Kersaint. He severely attacks the massacres of September. Decree passed against the perpetrators of those massacres. Murder of Lepelletier St. Fargeau. Fury of the Jacobins on this occasion. Decree passed giving funeral honours to Lepelletier. Address to the French people on this occasion. Paris, the murderer of Lepelletier, shoots himself. Seeming compromise between the parties as to Roland and Pache. Roland resigns. Pache dismissed. Policy of the Jacobins in this measure. Pache elected Mayor of Paris. Beurnonville appointed minister of war, and Garat, minister of the home department. Character of Garat. Ill treatment of Roland. Petition for a repeal of the decree against the massacres of September. Impudent language of it. Noble exertions of Lanjuinais in support of the decree. It is, however, virtually repealed. The new constitution brought up by Condorcet. Its character. It is ordered to be printed, and is then neglected. Pillage in Paris for two days. The Commune takes no steps to put an end to it. Attempts in the Convention to punish the robbers. They

are fruitleſs. Immenſe reinforcements voted for the army, and a profuſion of aſſignats iſſued to defray the expence. Barrere brings up a report againſt the conduct of Spain. War declared againſt Spain. Union with the republic of the territories conquered in the preceding campaign. Conſpiracy of the 10th of March againſt the Girondiſts. It proves abortive. Weak conduct of the Girondiſts. They allow their enemies to eſcape unpuniſhed. Animoſities between the parties encreaſed by the defection of Dumourier. Girondiſts attack Danton. His victorious defence Roberſpierre accuſes the Girondiſts. Eloquent reply of Vergniaud. The Girondiſts gain the day. Danton procures a virtual repeal of the decree of the nineteenth of November. Arts of the Jacobins in the ſections. Petition of the ſections againſt ſeveral of the Girondiſt members. Diſcuſſion of it poſtponed. Denunciation of the department of the Gironde againſt the Jacobins. Daring meaſures of the Commune. They are diſapproved of by the Convention. The Girondiſts ſucceed in getting the petition of the ſections declared calumnious. Marat committed for trial. Acquitted, and brought in triumph to the Convention. Convention removes to the Thuilleries. Violent conteſts between the parties about Bourdeaux and Marſeilles. Guadet moves ſeveral deciſive meaſures. Barrere procures the formation of a Commiſſion of twelve to examine the proceedings of the Commune. Briſſot's addreſs to his conſtituents. Camille Deſmoulin's anſwer. Plots of the Jacobins againſt the Girondiſts. Meetings of the Jacobins at the mayoralty houſe and archiepiſcopal palace. Plan for the maſſacre of eight thouſand perſons. It is fruſtrated. Second plan, for privately aſſaſſinating twenty-two of the Girondiſts, ſpreading a report of their emigration, and forging a correſpondence between them and the Auſtrians. It fails. It is denounced to the Convention. Meaſures in conſequence. The Commiſſion of twelve arreſts Hebert and other Jacobins. Steps taken in conſequence by the Commune. Commune at the bar demands the releaſe of Hebert. Threatening reply of the Preſident Iſnard. Scarcity in Paris. Second demand of the Commune for the releaſe of Hebert. The commiſſion of twelve aboliſhed by ſtratagem. The Girondiſts obtain its re-eſtabliſhment. Commune reſolves on an inſurrection. Meaſures taken by it in conſequence. Bribes to the mob. Plunder of the Palais Royal offered to the rabble of the ſections. The rabble march againſt the Palais Royal. Find the armed force of the ſection of Butte des Moulins drawn up to oppoſe them, and abandon their project. Violent debates in the Convention. Momentary aſcendancy of the Girondiſts. They are at laſt defeated. The commiſſion of twelve finally aboliſhed, and the meaſures of the Commune ſanctioned. Addreſs to the French people publiſhed on the following day. An attempt made by ſome friends of the Girondiſts to win over Danton. It is unſucceſsful. Proceedings of the ſecond of June. The Convention beſieged by an armed force. Debates in the Convention. Lacroix inſulted by the armed force. Danton takes fire, and propoſes ſtrong meaſures. The Convention leaves the hall, and goes among the armed force. It is threatened by Henriot, and ordered back by Marat. On the motion of Couthon it finally puts the principal Girondiſt members under arreſt. Character of the Girondiſt faction.

FROM our view of public affairs in a country protected by juſt, equal, and temperate laws, attached to, and reverencing, in ſpite of inſidious and treaſonable arts, its ancient conſtitution, and where even the conflict and ſhock of parties only ſerved to aſſiſt in keeping alive the ſpirit of liberty, we muſt turn to contemplate again the melancholy ſpectacle of a once gallant and loyal people, ſpurning at order and religion, plunging blindfold into crimes of the deepeſt die, aſſailed from without by numerous and formidable enemies, and diſtracted within by the deluſions and the tyranny of furious demagogues, who poſſeſſed an unbounded and uncontroulable empire over the lives and fortunes of their fellow citizens. The monarchy in France was deſtroyed, and all power was in the hands of thoſe who had effected its deſtruction. But an equal diviſion of the ſpoil was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the cravings of either claſs of the ſpoilers. On the ruins of the throne we ſhall now ſee them contending for ſupremacy, with a rancour which could only be paralleled by that which they had diſplayed towards their unfortunate ſovereign.

The commune ſtill continued to exerciſe, as rigorouſly and as inſolently as ever, its uſurped authority. During the trial of the king, almoſt daily conteſts occurred, between that encroaching body and its enemies the Girondiſts, in which the latter had generally the diſadvantage. They made an attempt to put an end to the permanence of the council general, and the ſections, but were defeated; and a motion which they brought on, a few days after, to get into their hands the police of the capital, was not more fortunate. A drama, called the Friend of the Laws, being found guilty of containing ſome expreſſions in favour of morality and public quiet, the repreſentation of it was prohibited by the commune; and although the convention, after ſeveral long and angry debates, allowed it to be acted, the prohibition was ſtill maintained by thoſe who had iſſued it. Illegal arreſts were multiplied, in defiance of the legiſlature; and robberies and aſſaſſinations perpetually committed, by the partiſans of the Jacobins, without any meaſures being adopted to prevent or to puniſh them. By the machinations of their antagoniſts, the Girondiſts were alſo deprived of that defence upon which they had placed very conſiderable reliance, for the ſecurity of their perſons, and the freedom of their debates. The bands of federates, which they had procured to be ſent to Paris, were no longer at their command. A part of theſe troops had been ſeduced by the bribes and arts of the Jacobins, and ſuch as had been found refractory, had been diſpatched to the frontiers, or driven back to their homes. Paris, and all it contained, was in the hands of the commune.

Diſguſted and wearied by continual ſtruggles, and foreſeeing that worſe might in future be expected, Manuel and Kerſaint, as ſoon as the fate of the king was decided, loſt no time in reſigning their ſeats. The letter of Manuel, announcing his intention, was written with much vigour. Againſt the verdict which had recently been given, he aimed a ſhort ſentence of indignant reproof, cenſured the puſillanimity of the aſſembly, and boldly told its members that they were incapable of

saving the country. The letter of Kersaint manifested still more intrepidity. "It was impossible," he said "for him to support any longer "the shame of sitting in the same "hall with men of blood, whose "councils, backed by terror, were Jan. 20. "suffered to bear down "those of honest men. "If the love of his country had led "him to endure the misfortune of "being the colleague of those who "had promoted and panegyrized "the assassinations committed in "September, he would at least save "his memory from the reproach of "having been their accomplice, "and to effect this he had but one "moment—it was the present; "to-morrow it would be too late."

A warm debate ensued on the reading of this epistle, during which Gensonné moved, that the minister of justice should be instructed to prosecute all those who had stimulated, planned and executed, the massacres and robberies of the month of September. The motion was seconded by Barrere, and carried, notwithstanding an outrageous opposition from the Jacobins, who succeeded, however, in adding two articles, by which the defenders of the Thuilleries, on the tenth of August, and other friends of the king, were involved in the same punishment with the sanguinary assassins of unarmed and innocent prisoners.

On the evening of the day preceding that which terminated the sufferings of Lewis, an event occurred, which afforded to the Jacobins a fresh subject of hatred and accusation against their political adversaries. It was the murder of Lepelletier St. Fargeau. According to the report, which was presented to the convention by the minister of justice, Lepelletier had dined at a tavern in the Palais Royal, and was on the point of coming away, when he was accosted by one of the king's body guards, named Paris, who questioned him as to the vote he had given on the king's trial, and being answered that he had voted for death, drew his sabre, and plunged it into the body of Lepelletier, exclaiming at the same time, "Receive thy recompense." Having done this, he made his escape. The wounded deputy was carried home, and in a few hours expired.

When the news of this murder was communicated to the convention, it roused all the fury of the Jacobins. Robespierre, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, and Thuriot, instantly attacked the Girondists in the most acrimonious manner. Danton alone acted with some moderation, and appeared desirous of conciliating his opponents. The debate, or rather altercation, being at last ended, a decree was passed, charging the executive council with the prosecution of the murderer, conferring upon the deceased deputy the honours of the Pantheon, and ordering for him a splendid public funeral, to be attended by the legislature in a body. It was also decreed, that an address should be published to the French nation. This address was drawn up by Barrere, and contained, with some invective against the late king, a pompous eulogium upon Lepelletier, much declamation on the glorious destiny of France, large promises that a perfect constitution should soon be produced, and an assurance to the people that their representatives had laid down all their rivalships and mutual suspicions, and had firmly united for the salvation of their country.

Paris,

Paris, the * ſuppoſed murderer, was diſcovered, a few days after, at Forges-les-Eaux, where, finding it impoſſible to eſcape, he put an end to his own exiſtence. From papers ſaid to be found on his perſon, it appeared that, had not Lepelletier fallen by chance in his way, Orleans was deſtined for the victim.

A ſort of apparent compromiſe now took place between the contending parties, with reſpect to Pache and Roland. Both theſe miniſters had been aſſailed by the hoſtile factions with the greateſt fury, and denunciations had been poured in againſt them from various quarters. The Girondiſts at laſt became weary of the perpetual efforts which they were compelled to make in defence of Roland; while the Jacobins, on their part, found that it would be impracticable to ſcreen Pache much longer from the conſequences of his mal-adminiſtration. Each ſide, therefore, tacitly conſented to abandon its favourite miniſter. Roland accordingly reſigned, and Pache was, ſhortly after, removed. This arrangement was a maſter ſtroke of Jacobin policy. The mayoralty of Paris was at this moment vacant; Chambon, who had been a ſhort time in that office, having refuſed to retain it, on the ground of his weak health, and his utter inability to make himſelf heard at the tumultuous meetings of the council general, where his voice was entirely drowned by inceſſant clamour. To this important ſituation was Pache inſtantly elevated by the ſtrenuous exertions of the Jacobins, and thus was the complete direction of all the civil and military authority of Paris ſecured in their hands.

Pache was ſucceeded, as miniſter of war, by Beurnonville, the intimate and pupil of Dumourier. The home department was given to Garat, who, attached from principle to the Girondiſts, was yet, perhaps, more dangerous to their cauſe than an open enemy could poſſibly have been. His conſtant adoption of half meaſures, his credulous hope of a reconciliation, and his ſtubborn diſbelief of the projects imputed to the Jacobins, were admirably calculated to forward the ruin of his friends.

The reſignation of Roland did not ſecure him from perſecution. He was ſtill, as much as ever, ſubjected to the ſarcaſms and charges of his inveterate enemies in the convention, who ſeemed to delight in wounding his irritable feelings. That he was treated with flagrant injuſtice muſt certainly be allowed. It was not the malice of individuals alone to which he was compelled to ſubmit. On his quitting office he had given in his accounts, without delay, but an examination of them, which he importunately called for, was repeatedly poſtponed; and on the firſt of April, without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſuch a meaſure, ſeals were put upon his papers,

* The Girondiſts were fully impreſſed with the belief that this murder was not done by a royaliſt, but that it was the work of the Jacobins, and contrived for the purpoſe of caſting an odium on the character of the Girondiſt party. That ſuch an uſe was made of the event is certain, but it is ſtill not improbable that the murder was really committed by the perſon to whom it was attributed, and from a deſire of revenging the death of the king.

by one of the conventional committees, and he was forbidden to depart from Paris.

The little reſpect which the convention paid to the claims of morality and juſtice, was ſtrongly ſhewn by the complete impunity which it afforded to thoſe who had ſtamped indelible diſgrace upon France by the maſſacres of September. The decree which had been paſſed, for bringing to puniſhment the authors of thoſe atrocities, ſtruck too home at the ſafety of ſome of the principal Jacobin leaders, for them to allow of its being quietly executed. It was neceſſary, therefore, to make a deſperate effort to obtain its repeal. They had recourſe to their uſual mode of a menacing petition.

On the eighth of February, a deputation from a body of men, ſtyling themſelves the defenders of the people, appeared at the bar, where the ſpokeſman, after prefacing his harangue by a threat of a new maſſacre, proceeded to defend, in the moſt unqualified terms, the murder of the priſoners, which he repreſented as being the act not, as had been ſaid, of a few individuals, but of the whole population of Paris. In order perhaps to ſilence the Girondiſts, the orator, with much adroitneſs, called to their remembrance the aſſertion of Iſnard, that "popular vengeance is a ſupplement "to the ſilence of the laws;" and to terrify the well-diſpoſed citizens of the capital, and their friends in the legiſlature, he alſo loudly inſiſted that, if the proceſs againſt the murderers were not ſuſpended, it ſhould at leaſt include the ſigners of thoſe counter-revolutionary petitions * which, during the preceding year, had been procured in ſupport of the throne. He concluded, however, by demanding an immediate repeal of the obnoxious decree. All the Jacobins, and they appear on this day to have collected together their whole force, were clamorous in ſeconding the demand. Chabot, St. André, and Lamarque, exerted themſelves with peculiar energy, and did not fail to bring to the recollection of their hearers the ſcandalous amneſty granted to the crimes of Avignon, and the ſanction which ſome among the Girondiſts had given even to the horrors of September. On this great occaſion, the Girondiſts diſplayed but little vigour. They were, probably, diſconcerted and abaſhed by the conſciouſneſs of their having themſelves been the ready defenders of the moſt abandoned criminality. Salles, Grangeneuve, and Lanjuinais alone oppoſed the motion. The conduct of the latter eſpecially reflected upon him the greateſt honour. Diſdaining all artifice and management, he inveighed, in a ſtrain of indignant eloquence, againſt the petition, its bearers, and its object; painted, in glowing colours, the flagrant enormities which had been committed, with the ſhame which muſt fall on thoſe who tolerated them; and conjured his colleagues not to trample juſtice and the laws under foot, by diſgracefully yielding to the violence of thoſe who were only eager to ſave themſelves and their accomplices from the ſevere chaſtiſement which, by their infamous conduct, they had ſo juſtly merited. The noble exertions

* For an account of theſe petitions, ſee Annual Regiſter 1792, Hiſt. Part, pp. 470, 490, 495, &c.

of

of Lanjuinais were unfortunately fruitleſs. The proceſs was ordered to be ſuſpended, till the committee of legiſlation could enquire into the propriety of it, and no attempt was afterwards made to obtain its revival. An act of oblivion was thus paſſed with reſpect to former crimes, and an implied licenſe given for the commiſſion of new ones.

A committee, appointed for the purpoſe, had long been employed in preparing a new conſtitution for the French republic. The code, ſo anxiouſly expected by the people, was at laſt completed, and, on the fifteenth of February, was laid before the convention by Condorcet, the principal if not the ſole framer of it. This maſterpiece of legiſlation was a tiſſue of abſurd propoſitions, and metaphyſical whimſies and incongruities, as ridiculous in conception as impracticable in execution. It was introduced by its author with a tedious ſpeech of equal merit. The ſpeech and the plan were both ordered to be printed, and profuſely diſtributed. The ſame favour was alſo extended to other projects of the ſame kind which might be drawn up by members of the convention. Here the buſineſs was ſuffered to ſleep. Two months elapſed before any further notice was taken of the conſtitution. At the end of that time a decree, appropriating certain days to the diſcuſſion of it, was moved and carried by Lanjuinais.

The conſtitution was ſcarcely laid on the table, before the multitude of Paris gave a ſtriking example of its contempt of all laws. Inceſſant calls for the eſtabliſhment of a maximum of price on the neceſſaries of life, and inceſſant declamations againſt monopoly, had, from day to day, been made to the convention, in addreſſes and petitions. As that body had not complied with the deſires of the petitioners, they determined upon acting for themſelves; and this determination was ſtrengthened, if not produced, by Marat, who daily aſſured them, in his paper, that the only way to provide for the public ſafety was to pillage the warehouſes of the monopolizers, and to hang up the poſſeſſors before their own doors. Such tempting doctrine was certain of obtaining proſelytes; and a part of the theory was ſoon reduced into practice. The work of plunder was begun by a troop of women, who got on board ſome veſſels laden with ſoap, which were then lying in the Seine, and ſold the cargoes at ſuch a price as they deemed ſufficient. Far from attempting to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, the municipal officers gave to them, by their conduct, an indirect ſanction. The pillage recommenced the next morning in a more ſerious manner. An immenſe crowd proceeded to the ſhops and warehouſes of the grocers, into which they entered by force, and, ſeizing upon the commodities which they found, made a diviſion of the ſpoil. During the whole of this tranſaction, which laſted an entire day, not the ſlighteſt effort was made by the civil power for the protection of property. It was not, until the council of the commune knew that the plunderers had fully executed their deſign, that it iſſued an order requiring them to deſiſt. The next day it addreſſed a proclamation to the people, deſcanting upon juſtice and order, and laying upon the artifices of the royaliſts all the Feb. 24 & 25.

blame of the robberies which had been committed. In the convention theſe daring violations of the laws excited vehement debates, and an attempt was made, by Barrere and the Girondiſts, to bring the ring-leaders to trial; but the cauſe of the robbers was ſo warmly eſpouſed by the Jacobins, that the ſubject was ſoon dropped, and no more was ever heard in the convention of redreſs or of puniſhment.

Diſtracted and divided as the preſent rulers of France were, by their unceaſing ſtruggles for the maſtery over their country, they never for a moment laid aſide their ſchemes of conqueſt and aggrandizement, nor were they careleſs of the means by which thoſe gigantic ſchemes might be carried into effect. After repeated debates on the military ſituation of the republic, a decree was paſſed, by which all the national guards, between Feb. 20. the ages of eighteen and forty, being unmarried, or widowers without children, were put in a ſtate of permanent requiſition, and at the command of the miniſters and generals. To complete thoſe armies which were at this moment on foot, an inſtant levy of three hundred thouſand men was alſo ordered to be made. The funds to ſet in motion theſe numerous bodies conſiſted in immenſe iſſues of aſſignats, which, from time to time, were called for by Cambon. A creation of eight hundred millions of livres had been authorized but a few days previous to this augmentation of the forces.

While the revolutionary government was thus increaſing the ſtrength of its armies, it thought proper to increaſe alſo the number of enemies with which thoſe armies had to combat. A war againſt Spain it had, as we have before ſeen, deliberated upon; the time was now come when it reſolved to commence one. On the ſeventh of March, Barrere, in the name of the committee of general defence, brought up a long report on the conduct of the Caſtilian monarch, which was repreſented as diſplaying a marked hatred of and aggreſſion againſt the French republic. A variety of falſe and frivolous allegations were advanced in ſupport of this charge. The true reaſon for commencing hoſtilities was eaſily to be diſcovered in the ſanguine expectations which the reporter expreſſed, that the throne of the Bourbons in Spain would be overturned by a rebellion. To facilitate this deſirable object, the warmeſt praiſes were inſidiouſly beſtowed upon the high ſpirit, and love of glory, which characterized the Spaniſh people. M. Barrere concluded his report by propoſing a declaration of war, which was adopted amidſt the loudeſt and moſt unanimous applauſes. An army of an hundred thouſand men, to act on the frontier of the Pyrenees, was alſo decreed, and commiſſioners were appointed to haſten its formation.

While the chiefs of the republic were preparing for an extenſion of their conqueſts, they were alſo buſily employed in irrevocably annexing to their empire thoſe which they had already gained. Decrees were almoſt daily paſſed, uniting with France thoſe territories in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, and in Italy, which had been overrun in the preceding campaign. Even when a reverſe of fortune had compelled their armies to abandon the dominions of foreign powers, and when the frontiers of France were

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themſelves endangered, the ſame ſyſtem was ſtill purſued with unabated ardour.

That ambition which prompted the factions to extend the limits of their republic tormented each of them alſo with the deſire of being the ſole governors of ſo vaſt a dominion. A conſpiracy was at this moment brooding, which had for its object nothing leſs than the total deſtruction of the Girondiſt party. The details of this plot are involved in almoſt inextricable myſtery; but the plot itſelf appears to have been planned by the commune, or at leaſt by ſome of its members, and it has been aſſerted, with apparent truth, that, on this occaſion, Orleans was prevailed upon to ſcatter the laſt remains of his once overflowing treaſure, in the hope of being raiſed to ſome conſpicuous elevation.

The night of the ninth of March was fixed upon to put the plot in execution. A debate was then to take place, on the important meaſure of eſtabliſhing a revolutionary tribunal, and the Girondiſts were expected to give a full attendance, in order to prevent the ſcheme from being paſſed into a law. Armed aſſaſſins were placed in the tribunes, to diſpatch thoſe who were pointed out to them, and that the work of murder might be done with as little interruption as poſſible, all women were, on that evening, carefully excluded. Should any of the deſtined victims be abſent, they were to be put to death at their own houſes, in the middle of the night. Thoſe deputies, however, whoſe lives were in danger, luckily received intelligence of the deſign, and took the neceſſary precautions to render it abortive. Inſtead of appearing at the convention, or awaiting in their own dwellings the arrival of the murderers, they prudently aſſembled together in arms, at a diſtant ſpot. Kervelegan, one of the number, alſo haſtened to call out a truſty battalion of four hundred men, which had been ſent from Breſt, and which inſtantly put itſelf in march with its cannon; while Beurnonville, having ſcaled the walls of his garden, and ſo eſcaped from his home, which was already inveſted, rouſed up ſeveral of his friends, and putting himſelf at their head, patrolled the ſtreets of the capital. The conſpirators, obſerving theſe movements, were convinced that their plot was known, and they reſolved, therefore, to poſtpone their operations to ſome more convenient opportunity.

At a meeting of the Girondiſts, Vergniaud, of his own accord, undertook the taſk of denouncing to the convention the crime which had been meditated. He acquitted himſelf of this voluntary charge in a manner the moſt abſurd, and the moſt fatal to the intereſts of his faction. In place of boldly unmaſking and impeaching the real movers of the conſpiracy, and inſiſting upon their puniſhment, he made a vague and cowardly ſpeech, in which he ſedulouſly avoided all mention of the Jacobins, and threw the whole of the blame on thoſe whom he knew to be guiltleſs, the royaliſts and ariſtocrats. His harangue excited much ſurpriſe and diſguſt among the wiſer members of his party. When queſtioned by them, as to the motive of ſuch extraordinary conduct, he puſillanimouſly replied, that "he thought it highly expe-
"dient to denounce the conſpiracy,
"without naming the true conſpi-
"rators, for fear of too much ex-
"aſperating

"asperating violent men, already "inclined to every excess." Louvet, who was among those who felt most indignant at this wretched policy, made strenuous endeavours to repair by his writings the serious injury which Vergniaud had done to the cause. But his efforts, spirited and well applied as they were, could be of little use, while the rest of his colleagues acted with such contemptible imbecility and want of union. In the convention, declamations against the plot were for a few days heard, decrees passed for enquiry, reports ordered, and a semblance of doing something kept up; and the subject was then quietly suffered to sink into oblivion, to the great shame of the one party, and the decisive encouragement of the other. The Jacobins, by the result of this business, were experimentally taught, that conspiracy might to them be a gainful speculation, but could never be a dangerous one.

The revolt of Dumourier added fresh fuel to the animosities which already existed between the Jacobins and Girondists. Each party was anxious to fix on the other the stigma of having been connected with him, and privy to his designs. The manner in which Danton had lately espoused the cause of the general, laid him open to hostility, and the Girondists were eager to avail themselves of any circumstance which they thought would enable them to crush, or at least to humiliate, one of their most dreaded antagonists. On the return of Danton from the Netherlands, he rose in his place, and with great moderation gave a short vindicatory account of his conduct. His speech evidently betrayed an earnest desire to avoid, if he possibly could, a quarrel with the faction opposed to him. Union and reciprocal confidence he strongly inculcated. Such language, however, far from conciliating the Girondists, who considered it as dictated by fear, only strengthened their resolves and their inveteracy. The proofs of Dumourier's defection were read in the convention on the first of April, and, as soon as the reading of them was concluded, the Girondists opened their intended attack. Lasource took the lead, and, in a very able and artful speech, laboured to involve Danton in the guilt of Dumourier. Unable any longer to preserve his temper, Danton indignantly rushed towards the tribune, amidst the thundering applauses of his friends and the galleries. His defence was long, vehement, and displayed a very large share of address, in turning against his accusers the shafts which they had aimed at him. To their past actions and speeches he also perpetually alluded, and drew from them such conclusions as were most likely to excite the hatred and the vengeance of the multitude. All management, all attempts to conciliate, he for the future renounced, and furiously exclaimed that a truce should no longer exist between him and his enemies. At the close of his harangue he was cheered by the loudest acclamations, and on descending from the tribune, was ardently embraced by numbers of the the Jacobins.

A very short time elapsed before the Girondists, in their turn, were compelled to defend themselves. Robespierre was their assailant. In a speech of considerable length, he charged them with being accomplices of Dumourier, and moved that all the conspirators, of whom Brissot

was the only perſon mentioned by name, ſhould be put under arreſt, as a meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate. The convention, however, after hearing the reply of Briſſot, paſſed to the order of the day.

Undiſmayed by this defeat, Roberſpiere, in leſs than a week, returned to the combat, with a prepared and voluminous oration, in which he accuſed the members of the oppoſite party of having, in numerous inſtances, betrayed their country. Their public life, from its commencement to the preſent hour, was reviewed, and every action was either aſſerted or inſinuated to have ariſen from treaſonable motives. He concluded by demanding that the chiefs of the Girondiſts, but more particularly Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonné, and Guadet, ſhould be ſent before the revolutionary tribunal, together with the Orleans family, and all thoſe who were in anywiſe connected with it. He revived alſo a motion which he had before made, and which no one had ſeconded, that the queen ſhould directly be put on her trial by the ſame juriſdiction.

The moment that Roberſpierre quitted the tribune it was occupied by Vergniaud, who had at length diſcovered that forbearance was not at all times a virtue. An immediate refutation of the charges which had been advanced was by no means agreeable to the Jacobins, who wiſhed that they might have time, uncontradicted, to poiſon the minds of the people. Delmas, the preſident, one of that faction, accordingly ſtrove, by announcing letters from the armies, and by other contrivances, to prevent the queſtion from being further diſcuſſed. Vergniaud, however, was not to be diverted from his purpoſe. He obſtinately perſiſted, and at length obtained a hearing. In an unpremeditated, but highly ſpirited and brilliant harangue, where wit, irony, ſarcaſm, and argument, were alternately employed, he examined and confuted, one by one, the allegations and calumnies which had been urged by Roberſpierre againſt himſelf and his party. His animated and forcible eloquence produced a ſtrong effect on his audience, and the ſitting was cloſed amidſt repeated and enthuſiaſtic applauſes, from a very large majority of the convention. On the ſucceeding days other deputies who had been inculpated inſiſted upon being heard. The Jacobins, on the contrary, ſtrained every nerve to ſilence them, but were finally defeated. Petion, who had long been nearly mute, now took with his friends an active ſhare in the debate, and ſpoke with a warmth and firmneſs which he had ſeldom ſhewn. Guadet followed him, and, in a ſpeech which almoſt rivalled that of Vergniaud, covered the denunciation of Roberſpierre with ridicule and diſgrace. The advantage remained, on this occaſion, wholly upon the ſide of the Girondiſts.

The defection of Dumourier, which gave riſe to ſuch fury among the factions, produced on the part of the convention a meaſure which was conſonant with juſtice and good policy. From one end of Europe to the other complaints had been heard of the wild decree which had been paſſed, on the nineteenth of November, to aſſure rebels of all countries that France would protect them againſt their lawful governors. For Danton was reſerved the merit of revoking this

this hoſtile and infamous law. He choſe his time, and enforced his propoſal, with a dexterity deſerving of praiſe, and ſucceeded in obtaining a decree, which, while it deprecated all interference of foreign ſtates in the internal concerns of France, ſolemnly "declared, in the name of the French "people, that the national con-"vention would not meddle in any "manner with the governments of "other powers." This abjuration of the right to ſuccour all revolted ſubjects was, however, ſo diſagreeable to the more violent revolutioniſts, that, at a dinner given the next day by the commune to ſome fugitive traitors from Liege, it was, with a manifeſt reference to Danton's decree, unanimouſly reſolved that a new oath ſhould be taken of eternal war againſt all kings, and of peace, union, and brotherhood, with people of all countries, who, adopting the principles of the French republic, ſhould deſire to connect themſelves with it by the ties of fraternity.

April 13.

In aid of thoſe attacks upon the Girondiſts which were daily made by them in the Convention, the Jacobins opened a formidable battery from another quarter. Their influence among the mob of the ſections had been ſtrongly exerted to procure addreſſes to the legiſlature, calling for the puniſhment of their political rivals. Several addreſſes, couched in virulent language, had accordingly been procured from ſingle ſections, in order, perhaps, to diſcover how far proceedings of this kind would meet with favour. As the ſucceſs of the experiment was ſuch as to give encouragement to thoſe who had tried it, they reſolved to bring into action the whole of their ſtrength. A petition drawn up in the name of thirty-five ſections, and approved by the commune, was preſented at the bar by a deputation, at the head of which was Pache the mayor. It conſiſted of a furious declamation againſt the chiefs of the Girondiſts, who were charged with having ſold themſelves to the deceaſed ſovereign, conſpired with Dumourier, provoked a civil and foreign war, excited the departments againſt the capital, and laboured to perpetuate their miniſterial dictatorſhip. The petition was wound up by a demand that Briſſot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Pontecoulant, Petion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Louvet, Gorſas, Lehardy, Fauchet, Lanthenas, Laſource, Valadé and Chambon, ſhould be expelled from the convention, and puniſhed for their crimes; and it was clearly intimated that this liſt of proſcription did not contain the names of all who were deſtined to periſh, as "guilty of "felony againſt the ſovereign "people."

April 15.

As ſoon as the petition had been read it was aſſailed, in a ſtrain of ironical commendation, by Boyer Fonfredé, who alſo magnanimouſly regretted that he had not been included in it, along with his colleagues and friends. His expreſſion of regret was inſtantly and loudly repeated by a large part of the aſſembly. After a ſhort debate the diſcuſſion was poſtponed till the next day. It was not, however, brought to a deciſion at the time appointed, the ſubject being again adjourned, after an ineffectual motion had been made by Laſource, for an early convocation of the primary aſſemblies, in order to aſcertain who were

the repreſentatives from whom the people had withdrawn their confidence.

While the queſtion of the ſectional petition was thus pending, a denunciation againſt the Jacobins was very opportunely brought forward, in aid of the Girondiſts, by the department whence they took their diſtinguiſhing appellation. Several packets, containing letters and incendiary Jacobin pamphlets, addreſſed to the popular ſocieties, and to various individuals of known anarchical ſentiments, had been ſtopped by the adminiſtrative bodies in the Gironde, and found to contain information that a conſpiracy was on foot, and that ſeveral members of the legiſlature were marked out for aſſaſſination. The letters ſo intercepted were inſtantly diſpatched to the convention, under the care of two deputies, who were charged to demand the puniſhment of thoſe who had conſpired againſt the repreſentatives of the people. The papers, after being read to the aſſembly, were, on the motion of Vergniaud, referred to a committee, and the final debate on the petition of the ſections was fixed for an early day.

This unwelcome diſcovery contributed not a little to turn the ſcale in favour of the Girondiſts. An equal ſervice was alſo done them by a falſe ſtep of the commune. That body, alarmed perhaps by the denunciation from the department of the Gironde, thought proper to drop a hint of a new inſurrection, to declare itſelf in a ſtate of revolution, and to take under its eſpecial guard, and make common cauſe with, every individual who ſhould be proſecuted on account of his opinions. That nothing might be wanting to give weight to this extraordinary meaſure, the members of the commune bound themſelves to each other, and to their adherents, by the ſolemnity of an oath.

When the day arrived for diſcuſſing the petition, this inſolent and illegal proceeding of the commune was introduced by the Girondiſts, who deſcanted upon it in terms of great warmth and aſperity, and inſiſted that it ſhould be immediately annulled. So obvious was its illegality, that no one dared at the moment to ſtand up in its defence. Roberſpierre, indeed, towards the cloſe of the ſitting, undertook to juſtify it, but he was then too late, as ſentence of reprobation had been pronounced. Emboldened by their ſucceſs in this point, the Girondiſts now bent all their force againſt the petition, which the Jacobins but feebly upheld. After a ſhort debate the Girondiſts were victorious. The petition was formally diſapproved by the convention as calumnious, and the decree, ſtigmatizing it as ſuch, was ordered to be printed, and officially tranſmitted for publication, throughout the territory of the republic.

This triumph of the Girondiſts was however ſoon followed and obſcured by a defeat on a queſtion of perhaps ſtill greater importance, and where, from the favourable commencement of the buſineſs, they had flattered themſelves with a happy reſult. Daily tormented and goaded by Marat, they had, for a long time, ineffectually endeavoured to bring down upon him the vengeance of the law, for his incendiary publications. The fortunate opportunity for accompliſhing their purpoſe at length arrived. An addreſs to the

the people, ſigned by Marat, and breathing nothing but ſlaughter and rebellion againſt the legiſlature, was dexterouſly introduced by Guadet, in his vindication of himſelf from the charges brought by Roberſpierre; and it kindled ſuch unbounded reſentment in the major part of the convention, that cries for the puniſhment of its author were heard from all quarters. After a debate of twenty-two hours the Girondiſts overpowered the reſiſtance of their antagoniſts, and obtained a decree for ſending Marat to the abbey priſon. The legiſlative committee was at the ſame time ordered to make a report on the act of accuſation againſt him. The report was brought up the next day, and, after a long altercation, it was decreed, by a majority of one hundred and twenty, that he ſhould be put upon his trial.

By the connivance of his jailer, Marat eſcaped from priſon, and, taking refuge in a ſubterraneous retreat, ſtill continued to load the preſs with his libels and his ſanguinary exhortations to the multitude.—Though the jurors of the revolutionary tribunal had been named by himſelf, and though he had been aſſured of his acquittal, yet, ſuch was the cowardice of this bloodthirſty miſcreant, that, it was not without infinite difficulty he was prevailed on by Roberſpierre to make his appearance. He at laſt himſelf named a day for the proceſs to commence. On that day he came before the tribunal with a crowd of his partiſans, and was received with the moſt ſcandalous expreſſions of partiality and applauſe. After a mock trial, in which every principle of juſtice was violated, and which ſeemed to have been ſolely deſigned for the purpoſe of inſulting and criminating his accuſers, he was acquitted, to the great delight of the audience, who teſtified their joy by every mode of tumultuous acclamation. Crowned with laurel, he was then conveyed by the diſorderly crowd to the convention, where he entered in triumph, while that body was compelled to ſubmit to the ſhame of again receiving into its boſom the vileſt of mankind. The Girondiſts felt all the diſgrace of their ſituation, and ſaw at the ſame time with grief that there was little or no proſpect of wiping it off by any future exertion.

The convention removed on the tenth of May to the Thuilleries, a part of which had been fitted up for its reception. Into that palace, whence, by their treaſonable machinations, their unfortunate monarch had been driven to priſon and to death, it is probable that, from the doubtful aſpect of their affairs, many of his dethroners entered with ominous forebodings of their future deſtiny. It is not unworthy of remark, that almoſt the firſt act of the aſſembly, in its new place of meeting, was a refuſal to comply with a requeſt which had been made by Roland, for permiſſion to retire from Paris, for the benefit of his health. To the arts and exertions of this man, thoſe who now covered him with obloquy, and held him in a ſort of impriſonment, were not a little indebted for the power which they deſpotically exerciſed over his character and perſon. Before the convention roſe from this firſt ſitting at the Thuilleries, it decreed, on the motion of Danton, as a preliminary article of the conſtitution, then under debate, that

that France was a republic one and indivisible.

For the discussion of the constitutional code certain days had been set apart. But the time intended for this purpose was generally occupied by the quarrels, and mutual accusations of the hostile parties, which became every hour more personal and rancorous. The convention had not sat a week in the Thuilleries before several violent contests took place. Two of the most important had their rise from the steps taken by the citizens of Marseilles and Bourdeaux, against the Jacobin faction. Marseilles had driven from its walls, with disgrace, two of the conventional deputies, who had attempted to incite the lower classes to pillage; while Bourdeaux, on its side, transmitted to the bar of the legislature a spirited attack upon the Parisians, which was backed by a declaration that, should any injury be offered to the representatives which it had chosen, it would march the whole of its force to exterminate their assassins. On both occasions the Girondists were victorious. In spite of a vigorous opposition, the conduct of the Marseillese was approved, and the address from Bourdeaux was ordered to be printed, and posted up throughout the capital. Guadet succeeded, at the same time, in obtaining a decree, by which two of the committees were directed to make, within eight days, a report on the situation of the assembly at Paris, and the means of defeating and punishing the authors of conspiracy. In a weak attempt which was made by Condorcet, to procure, in the ensuing November, the convocation of a new legislature, the Girondists were not so successful. The motion was combated by Thuriot, and finally rejected.

In this petty and indecisive warfare a triumph was of little benefit to the Girondists, while every defeat sunk them lower in the estimation of the fickle and unthinking multitude. It was obvious that such a struggle could not long be carried on without serious danger. This seems to have been felt by some at least of the faction, and to have produced the resolution of acting with greater vigour. The favourable moment to begin was soon found. A tumult, more indecent than ordinary, having occurred in one of the galleries, Guadet availed himself of the opportunity to utter a vehement invective against the Jacobins, and the commune, whom he openly charged with a design of breaking up the national representation. His exertions were not confined to eloquence alone, for he followed up his speech by moving that all the present constituted authorities in Paris should instantly be broken, and that the supernumerary deputies of the convention, which had been chosen to replace those who died or resigned, should assemble at Bourges, without delay, for the purpose of assuming the reins of government, should the anarchists of the metropolis succeed in their plan of dissolving the legislature. A great portion of the members appeared favourable to this proposal. Barrere, however, while he fully agreed with Guadet in his sentiments and his indignation, was of opinion that the mode of action, which that deputy recommended, was dangerous and impracticable. He insisted, therefore, May 18.

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on the eſtabliſhment of a commiſſion, compoſed of twelve members, which ſhould be charged to examine all the proceedings of the commune, during the laſt month, and alſo to ſcrutinize into the plots which were carrying on againſt order and public liberty. His motion was carried with little difficulty. The members were choſen from among the Girondiſts, to whom the event of this day would, perhaps, have enſured a decided preponderance, had they known how to make a proper uſe of the advantage which they had gained.

Still further purſuing the newly adopted ſyſtem of vigour, it was reſolved to make an appeal to the departments, againſt the Jacobins, and their inſtrument the commune. The taſk was entruſted to Briſſot, and it muſt be allowed that he executed it with a conſiderable ſhare of boldneſs and talent. The fruit of his labours was extenſively circulated in the form of an addreſs to his conſtituents. It painted, in glowing colours, the tyranny exerciſed by the commune, the Jacobin club, and the galleries; the degraded poſture of the convention; the terror under the reſiſtible influence of which that body debated; the diſorganized ſituation of the executive power; the danger to which the ſtate was conſequently expoſed; and it attributed theſe evils ſolely to the dominion of the anarchiſts, who were held up to deteſtation, as the ſcourges of France, and the diſgrace of human nature. "The laws without "execution; the conſtituted authorities impotent and diſgraced; "crimes unpuniſhed; property of "every kind attacked; perſonal ſafe-"ty violated; the morals of the peo-"ple corrupted; no conſtitution; no "government, no juſtice." This was the gloomy picture which M. Briſſot drew of the republic, which he and his colleagues had waded through ſeas of blood to eſtabliſh. Such indeed was the deplorable infelicity of his taſk, that every page of his work afforded concluſive evidence againſt himſelf and his friends. It ſhould never, even for a moment, be forgotten, that thoſe arts and violences, of which they now complained, they had themſelves been the firſt to employ.

By the convention, as it was at preſent compoſed, M. Briſſot had not the ſhadow of a hope that any remedy could be applied to the diſorders of his country. It was only to a new legiſlature, inſtantly convoked by the people, deliberating in ſome other city than Paris, and inveſted with abſolute authority over the police of its reſidence, that he looked forward with any expectation of a beneficial change. In aid of this plan, he hardily propoſed that an end ſhould be put to the ſittings of the Jacobins, that the hall of theſe firebrands ſhould be ſhut up, and a ſeal put upon their papers. The robbers, he alſo added, who, uſurping the name of the inhabitants of Paris as a diſguiſe to decorate their ſanguinary decrees, diſtracted the capital, and outraged the convention, muſt be exterminated before it would be poſſible to effect the reſtoration of order and of law. The commune, againſt which this laſt attack was directed, was not ſlow in providing for its ſafety. It acted while its enemies threatened.

This manifeſto of the Girondiſts was not, however, ſuffered to remain

main unanſwered. To Camille Deſmoulins was entruſted the office of neutralizing its effect. Two ſpeeches, which he had delivered before the club, were haſtily converted into a "Hiſtory of the Briſſotines," which, having received the formal approbation of the Jacobin ſociety, was ordered to be printed, and profuſely diſtributed, not only to all the affiliated ſocieties but throughout the whole of the republic. This pamphlet was well-adapted to work upon the populace. It was declamatory, ſarcaſtical, and filled with daring aſſertions. Dexterouſly availing himſelf of the principle laid down by Guadet, Genſonné, and Briſſot *, that legal proofs of a conſpiracy ought not to be called for, but that ſtrong probabilities were ſufficient for conviction, every action of the Girondiſts was diſtorted by him into a criminal point of view, and was made the ground for a charge of treaſon. The rigid morality which that faction now affected was ſucceſsfully expoſed, and the nation was juſtly reminded that thoſe who ſo loudly exclaimed againſt the horrors of September, had been not only the defenders of the maſſacre at Avignon, but had even given no unequivocal applauſe to that of Paris, at the very moment when it was proceeding with the greateſt fury. Accuſations of corruption, and threats of vengeance, ſufficiently intelligible, brought up the rear of this formidable attack.

Equally active in all ſorts of warfare, the Jacobin chiefs, while they were employing the pen of Camille Deſmoulins to ſtab the characters of their adverſaries, were ſharpening the poniard to plunge in their boſoms. They flattered themſelves, indeed, that by one comprehenſive and maſter ſtroke, they might devote their rivals at once to death and to infamy. A ſcheme to this effect was actually matured. By a decree of the convention an inſtrument of revolutionary tyranny had been erected in every commune, under the name of a committee of inſpection. From theſe commit-

* This paſſage of Camille's pamphlet merits preſervation, as it affords a ſalutary leſſon of the danger incurred by thoſe who break down the boundaries of morality and juſtice to accompliſh their ambitious projects. By the Girondiſts the arguments which their enemy has urged againſt them, however deteſtable in themſelves, are certainly unanſwerable. "But in the firſt place," ſays Camille, "one "preliminary obſervation is indiſpenſable. There is little candor in aſking from "us facts which prove conſpiracy. The only trace which memory yet preſerves "of the famous orations of Briſſot and Genſonné, in which they attempted to "prove the exiſtence of the Auſtrian committee, is the principle they had laid "down, that in conſpiracies it is abſurd to call for demonſtrative facts and judicial "proofs; that in no time have they ever been obtained, not even in the conſpira-"cies of Catiline; for conſpirators are not uſed to be ſo unguarded in their con-"duct. It is ſufficient that there exiſts ſtrong probabilities:—if ſo, then will I "prove againſt Briſſot and Genſonné the exiſtence of an Anglo-Pruſſian com-"mittee, by a collection of probabilities a hundred times ſtronger than thoſe by "which Briſſot and Genſonné proved the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee." This was not the firſt time that the Girondiſts had found this weapon turned againſt their own boſoms. In the convention they had already been aſked why they called for proofs, when in a ſimilar caſe they had produced none themſelves.

tees all nobles, eccleſiaſtics, or perſons of weight, were excluded, and their oſtenſible buſineſs was to keep a ſtrict watch over ſuch foreigners as reſided in France. They did not, however, confine themſelves to this occupation. Forty-eight of them, each conſiſting of twelve members, choſen from among the moſt violent and profligate of the multitude, exerciſed their authority in the ſections of the capital, under the guidance of the commune. At the houſe of Pache, the mayor, frequent meetins were held by theſe men, and projects of the darkeſt kind were imagined, and put in train for execution. This aſſembly was ſeconded by another, ſtill more furious and ſanguinary, inveſted with no legal powers whatever, but pretending, nevertheleſs, to be formed of deputies from the ſections, and to be employed in diſcovering by what means a regular ſupply of proviſions might be enſured for the conſumption of Paris. Their real aim was not the preſervation but the deſtruction of life. In this latter aſſembly, which had taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhop's palace, a maſſacre, equal in atrocity to that of September, was reſolved upon, for the purpoſe of getting rid, by a ſingle blow, not only of the Girondiſt faction, but of all who were known as its defenders and partiſans. Eight thouſand perſons were marked out as the victims. This dreadful plan was fortunately rendered abortive, through the indiſcretion, and want of ſecrecy, of thoſe by whom it had been conceived. Information of the deſign being given to thoſe whom it menaced, numerous armed patroles were ſet on foot, and the conſpirators, finding that they could not, without danger to themſelves, proceed as they had intended, ſought for other means to accompliſh their ends.

This plot having failed, the united committees of inſpection, ſitting at the houſe of the mayor, formed another, leſs extenſive in its action, but equally deciſive in its conſequences. Twenty-two of the Girondiſt deputies were to be ſeized in their own dwellings, at midnight, on the nineteenth of May, conveyed to a ſolitary houſe in the ſuburb of Montmartre, and there put to death, after which their bodies were to be buried in the garden, and deſtroyed by the help of quick-lime. The next morning it would have been publiſhed that they had gone over to the enemy, and a forged correſpondence, between them and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, would have been printed, and diſtributed in every corner of France. This ſcheme, however, had the ſame fate with the former. A perſon having retired from the aſſembly, almoſt at the critical moment when the arreſts were to take place, the conſpirators imagined that they were betrayed, and precipitately diſpatched counter orders to thoſe whom they had employed to ſeize upon the deputies. In one inſtance theſe new inſtructions arrived too late. The houſe of Laſource, who was on the liſt of proſcription, was ſurrounded by the Jacobin emiſſaries; but he had previouſly been informed of their intention, and had made his eſcape.

Theſe proceedings were denounced to the convention, by the ſection of fraternity, in a ſpirited addreſs, calling for vigorous exertions to repreſs the audacity, and puniſh the treaſons, of thoſe who conſpired againſt

againſt the repreſentatives of the people. This addreſs was ſtrongly ſeconded by Buzot, Boyer-Fonfrede, and ſeveral other members, and notwithſtanding the clamours of Marat, was referred to the commiſſion of twelve, which was charged to make an immediate report on the ſubject.

The commiſſion, on its ſide, acted with an alacrity naturally inſpired by a fear of danger, and a deſire of revenge. As a preliminary ſtep to the report which had been ordered, it came forward with the plan of a decree, conſiſting of eleven articles. The aim of this decree was to obtain an encreaſe of the armed force, for the defence of the convention, and likewiſe to throw as many obſtacles as poſſible in the way of thoſe revolutionary manœuvres which were practiſed by the Jacobins in the ſections of Paris. It was alſo, in concluſion, propoſed that the commiſſion ſhould be directed to lay before the legiſlature, without loſs of time, "ſuch great meaſures as were "capable of ſecuring liberty and the "public tranquillity. The decree was faintly oppoſed by Danton and Thirion; and being ably and eloquently defended by Boyer-Fonfrede and Vergniaud, it was finally adopted.

The powers with which the commiſſion had been inveſted, it ſeemed well diſpoſed to uſe with courage and effect. Among the foremoſt of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in preaching carnage and inſurrection was Hebert, deputy ſolicitor of the commune, and editor of an obſcene and blaſphemous paper, called Le Père Duchêne. This man, together with Dopſen and Varlet, two more of the ſame ſtamp, was arreſted by the commiſſion, and confined in the Abbey priſon.—Threats were beſides thrown out, that the ſame rigour would be diſplayed towards others of the Jacobin faction.

Theſe bold meaſures excited great alarm in the conſpirators. But their alarm was not of that kind which depreſſes the ſpirit of thoſe by whom it is felt. It determined them, on the contrary, to act with double vigour. From the decided manner in which the commiſſion had begun to exerciſe its authority, they were well aware that, unleſs they made at once a firm and effectual ſtand, they were irrecoverably loſt. Among the numerous reproaches which they merited, that of wanting audacity was not to be reckoned. They had already vowed a war of extermination againſt their antagoniſts, and the arreſt of their partners furniſhed them with an additional reaſon for bringing the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue.

The council of the commune was, therefore, no ſooner appriſed of the order which had been given to arreſt Hebert, than it aſſumed a poſture of defiance. After aſſuring the priſoner that it would protect him to the utmoſt, it reſolved to continue its ſittings permanently till this momentous queſtion was definitively ſettled. All the members were commanded to be at their ſtation, to deliberate upon what was neceſſary to be done in the preſent emergency, and a circular letter, announcing the event which had taken place, was ſent round to the aſſemblies of the ſections. The council did not ſtop here. The commandant general was ordered to reinforce the poſts, and to watch the artillery with the greateſt care. In all the clubs and ſectional meetings nothing was to be heard but

cries of indignation, and threats of vengeance. Sixteen of the ſections inſtantly decreed that Hebert ſhould be taken under their ſpecial ſafeguard; and by ſome of them the contingent of troops which they had raiſed, and which was on the point of marching for the army in Vendee, was retained in Paris, to combat, as it was ſaid, the enemy in that city. To complete the whole, petitions, as they were called, were drawn up for preſentation to the legiſlature.

On the enſuing morning a deputation, numerouſly attended, from the council of the commune, appeared at the bar of the convention. After a bitter attack on the ſection of fraternity, the ſpokeſman entered into a panegyric upon the virtues of Hebert, and imperiouſly demanded that he ſhould be promptly reſtored to the exerciſe of his functions. Murmurs and applauſes were alternately heard, from the oppoſite ſides of the hall, during the ſpeech of this inſolent orator. Iſnard, the preſident, replied with much firmneſs, and with a mixture of menace, which might not have been ill-timed, had his friends ſecured the means, and poſſeſſed the courage to carry his threats into execution. Severely reproaching the magiſtrates and the deluded multitude, for their continued ſeditious conduct, he declared, in the name of all France, that, if any violence were offered to the repreſentatives of the nation, Paris ſhould be ſo entirely deſtroyed, that, on the banks of the Seine, it ſhould be enquired by the traveller on what ſpot the capital once ſtood. The anſwer of the preſident was warmly applauded by the one ſide, and as warmly reprobated by the other. Danton, in particular, declaimed againſt it with conſiderable art, and contrived to introduce into his harangue a defence of his paſt conduct. In the courſe of this and the next day other deputations came forward in favour of Hebert, and againſt the commiſſion of twelve; but the Girondiſts as yet remained firm to their purpoſe.

The commune and the Jacobins were not now, however, to be intimated by this momentary ſpirit of thoſe whom they had long been accuſtomed to deſpiſe. They knew the nature of the adverſary with whom they had to contend, and the extent of their own force. An idle and tumultuous populace was completely at their command. Circumſtances, not in themſelves political, had indeed wonderfully aided in extending their influence over that claſs from which muſt always be ſelected the inſtruments of ſedition. In ſpite of the loans, or rather largeſſes, which the convention had, at various times, been compelled to make in order to furniſh the Pariſians with bread, and in ſpite of the ſupplies which, with a queſtionable fidelity to their engagements, the United States were, at this moment, ſending, as a * repayment of the money which under the monarchy had been lent them to carry on the war with England; in ſpite of theſe ſuccours, the ſcarcity of bread in the capital was hourly and ſeverely felt by the lower orders. The ſhops of the bakers were beſieged by a hungry crowd, a part of which had not unfrequently waited the whole of the night to receive a

* See Appendix to Chronicle, pp. *196, &c.

ſcanty

ſcanty portion of that article which, and eſpecially to Frenchmen, is one of the chief ſupports of life. It was not difficult to miſlead, as to the cauſe of their miſeries, thoſe who, incapable of reaſoning, had their minds already poiſoned by immoral principles, and irritated by the preſſure of famine. It was to the Girondiſts that the Jacobins openly and conſtantly imputed the ſufferings of the people, and the people gave a ready credence to this dangerous imputation.

Confident of its ſtrength, the commune returned to the charge. Aware of what was in agitation, the commiſſion of twelve prepared to brave the ſtorm. It called to its aſſiſtance a part of the armed force of the ſection of Butte des Moulins, and of a few other ſections which were known to be the beſt diſpoſed. Theſe troops were poſted round the hall of the convention. This meaſure was dictated by a ſound policy.

May 27. Early in the day a long epiſtle, denying the exiſtence of any conſpiracy, and ſtriving to lull to ſleep the vigilance of the Girondiſts, was ſent to the convention by Pache. It was followed ſoon after by a deputation from one of the ſections, demanding the liberty of the priſoners, and the trial of the members of the commiſſion by the revolutionary tribunal. The demand was enforced by an intimation that, if it were not complied with, an inſurrection ſhould take place. This daring language was animadverted upon by the preſident, Boyer Fonfrede, in a bold and dignified manner. But the Jacobins in the aſſembly, and in the galleries, were determined that their friends ſhould not be ſilenced with impunity. Some of them ruſhed towards the preſident's chair, and endeavoured to pull him from it. He was defended by his friends with an equal ardour. In the midſt of this confuſion Danton raiſed his voice, and addreſſed the Girondiſts in a manner which ought to have warned them to collect all their ſtrength for the combat. "I declare," cried he, "that "ſo much impudence begins to tire "us; we will reſiſt you." During this ſcene Marat ſallied forth into the garden of the Thuilleries, and endeavoured to incite the mob to take arms. His efforts, however, were not ſucceſsful, and he was driven back into the hall by the commander of the ſectional guards, at whom he had diſcharged his piſtol for daring to oppoſe him. Garat, miniſter for the home department, now appeared at the bar, and, notwithſtanding the ſtreets were filled with groups of the factious, notwithſtanding an attempt had been made by them to prevail upon the ſpectators to break open the priſon of the Abbey, he aſſured the aſſembly that Paris was tranquil, and that nothing was to be feared.

Midnight was approaching, and, exhauſted by fatigue, Boyer Fonfrede had quitted the chair, which was directly aſſumed by Herault de Sechelles. This circumſtance was highly favourable to the views of the Jacobins. Many members of the oppoſite party had alſo retired home. The field was thus left open, and the golden opportunity was not neglected. A ſecond deputation, ſtill more imperious than the firſt, was introduced for the ſame purpoſe. The demands which had already been made were ſternly repeated, and the trial of Roland, on whom the epithet of infamous was beſtowed, was called for in addition

A flattering and satisfactory answer was given by the new president. Lacroix immediately moved, that the prisoners should be released, the commission abolished, and the conduct of its members referred for examination to the committee of public safety, which was notoriously composed of their bitterest enemies. By the help of the petitioners, who were shamefully permitted to sit among the Jacobin members, and to vote with them, the first two articles of Lacroix's project were carried in the affirmative. This triumph being obtained, the assembly broke up.

Not yet entirely deprived of all courage, and considering the existence of the commission to be indispensably necessary for their own safety, a part of the Girondists determined to make a strenuous effort to repair their late defeat. Accordingly, on the next morning, Lanjuinais, in a short but severe and spirited harangue, insisted upon a repeal of the decree, which had been illegally passed during the tumult of the preceding night. He was seconded by Guadet. A virulent debate ensued, in which Robespierre exerted himself with conspicuous violence and acrimony. The decree was, nevertheless, at last, in part rescinded. As to the prisoners, they were provisionally to remain at liberty. The commission itself, meanwhile, did not appear at all elated by the victory which its friends had gained. It saw, on the contrary, nothing but the difficulties of its situation, and desired leave to resign its hazardous authority. This desire was, however, not gratified.

Foiled in the convention, and in their scheme of private assassination, the Jacobins decided upon having recourse to arms. An insurrection, taking for its model that of the tenth of August, was promptly arranged. The opening of the scene was committed to the society of revolutionists which met at the archiepiscopal palace. At midnight, on the thirtieth of May, these men, at the head of whom was that Dopsen, who had been arrested with Hebert, having previously concerted their operations with the members of the commune, assembled and declared themselves invested, by the sections, with unlimited powers, in consequence of which they declared the city of Paris in a state of revolt against the faction of aristocrats and oppressors of liberty, ordered the barriers to be closed, the tocsin to be rung, and the alarm guns to be fired. The council general was next formally abolished, in the name of the sovereign people, but was immediately restored to the exercise of its functions, with a testimony of its patriotic and constant solicitude for the public safety. After this farce was over, both parties embraced, and bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to fidelity, union and vigour. The provisional command of the Parisian armed force was then given to Henriot, a furious Jacobin, who directly prepared to execute the mandates of his promoters.

At the sound of the cannon and the tocsin, those terrible signals of confusion and slaughter, Paris was overwhelmed with consternation. All the horrors of the past rushed back to the memory. The more respectable and timid citizens confined themselves to their houses, and waited, with trembling expectation, to know what new masters they were to obey, and what new tyranny

to

to ſuffer; the poorer and bolder individuals, who had little to loſe or to dread, flocked in crowds to the uſual places of aſſembling. There, emiſſaries from the commune were ready to buy, with flattering hopes and promiſes, their neutrality or their ſupport. Forty ſous a day, while the inſurrection laſted, and a permanent ſupply of bread at a low price, was the boon offered generally to the populace. But to the inhabitants of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, whoſe ſuperior ſkill in the practice of rebellion was not to be ſo cheaply bought, a higher reward was held out. The rich plunder of the Palais Royal was aſſigned to them as their prize. It was, nevertheleſs, not merely by an intention of gratifying its ſatellites that the commune was actuated in this proceeding. The Palais Royal was ſituated in the ſection of Butte des Moulins, which had ſo lately furniſhed a guard to the convention, and whoſe ſpirit was ſtill dreaded. To ſpur on the inhabitants of the ſuburbs, they were told that the citizens of this ſection had, amidſt loud cries of "The king for "ever," aſſumed the white cockade, and trodden the national colours under foot.

Fired by this pretended inſult, and by the hope of pillage, the inhabitants of the ſuburbs put themſelves in motion, with a train of artillery, to exterminate the citizens of the offending ſections. Their march, from various obſtacles, was fortunately ſo ſlow, that thoſe who were menaced obtained information of the danger. Senſible that their ſafety could only be provided for by courage, they took inſtant meaſures to repel their aſſailants. The Palais Royal was ſhut up, cannon was procured, and the military force of the ſections of Butte des Moulins, and Du Mail, occupied all the avenues, which were entrenched as well as circumſtances would permit. Raffet, the commander who had lately driven back Marat into the hall, was at the head of the troops. When the rabble arrived from the ſuburbs they ſaw, to their great ſurpriſe, that every thing was prepared for a vigorous defence. As they came to murder and plunder, and not to fight, they were greatly diſconcerted by this unwelcome and unexpected diſcovery. Inſtead of commencing a combat, which might end to their diſadvantage, they reſolved, therefore, to ſend a deputation to enquire whether the white cockade had been really worn. The aſſertion was found to be falſe, and an opportunity was thus afforded them of receding from their deſigns, without the ſhame of defeat. Explanations were accordingly entered into, embraces exchanged, and the whole was happily terminated, without an effuſion of blood.

The convention, during this time, was in a deplorable ſtate of tumult and uproar. By the deputies againſt whom the inſurrection was directed, and who were apprized of what was going on, the night had been paſſed in anxiety and terror. For nearly the fiftieth time, ſince the tenth of March, they had ſlept from home, collected together in ſmall bodies of ſix or eight, and well provided with arms. They were rouſed, at three in the morning, by the alarm bell, and proceeded to the convention, with melancholy forebodings, to which a few of them, and Rabaud St. Etienne in particular, gave vent, by exclamations of worſe than wo-

manifeſt cowardice. On their arrival they were received by ſome of their enemies with ferocious aſpects, and by others with ſmiles of a malignant pleaſure.

After ſome obſervations of trifling importance, from other members, Valazé roſe, and, ſeverely animadverting upon the circumſtances of the alarm bell being rung and the cannon fired, he boldly moved that Henriot ſhould be ordered to the bar and put under arreſt, and that the commiſſion of twelve ſhould be charged to produce its report on the conſpiracy which it had diſcovered, and which now manifeſted itſelf in ſo hideous a manner. This mode of action appearing to be too ſtrong, Vergniaud ſubſtituted in its place a demand that Henriot ſhould be called to the bar, and that all the deputies ſhould ſwear to die at their poſts. This trivial propoſition, utterly incapable of effecting any good purpoſe, was unanimouſly decreed, and then forgotten. Rabaud, the organ of the commiſſion of twelve, next appeared with a report, and claimed to be heard, but was furiouſly oppoſed by the whole of the Jacobins. A conflict of more than three hours duration took place upon the ſubject, during which all that hatred could ſuggeſt, of invective and inſult, was laviſhed upon the Girondiſts by their enemies. A momentary ſtop was at length put to the torrent of abuſe, by the entrance of a deputation, the orator of which informed the convention that a great plot was found out, whoſe authors ſhould be arreſted and delivered over to the ſword of the law, that the people had a third time riſen for the ſalvation of liberty, and that the council general had thought it expedient to put the property of the rich under the ſafeguard of the poor, for which ſervice every individual of the latter claſs ſhould receive, from the rich, a daily pay of forty ſous, till all counter-revolutionary projects were completely unmaſked. Some of the Girondiſts were now rouſed into reſiſtance. Guadet, notwithſtanding repeated interruptions, exerted himſelf with ſpirit and eloquence; and it was at laſt decreed, on the motion of Camboulas, that the executive council ſhould proceed legally againſt thoſe who had violated the law by ſhutting the barriers, ringing the tocſin, and firing the alarm gun. This courage, however, was but ſhort lived. The decree had but juſt paſſed before a crowd of petitioners appeared, who inſiſted upon its repeal. They likewiſe demanded that the denounced deputies, together with Le Brun and Claviere ſhould be arreſted, all nobles diſmiſſed from ſuperior ranks in the military profeſſion, a revolutionary army of ſans culottes raiſed, and a tax laid upon the rich, in order to furniſh bread to the poor at the price of three ſous a pound. Theſe humble ſuitors were followed by the members of the commune, and the pretended commiſſioners of the ſections, with another long and bitter petition againſt the Girondiſt faction. On this day, and not till then, Barrere, foreſeeing the ruin of thoſe with whom he had hitherto acted, ſeems finally to have decided on going over to the ranks of the Jacobins, and his example was not without imitators among the wavering and timid. As ſoon as the commune was retired from the bar, the diſcuſſion of a project was reſumed which had been brought up by him from the committee of public

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lic safety, and the object of which was to dissolve immediately the commission of twelve. Dispirited by a contest which had been continued the whole of the day, the Girondists made but a feeble opposition, while their enemies, on the contrary, exerted themselves with redoubled energy. Barrere's project was at last adopted. To make the triumph of the Jacobins more complete, the order of the commune, allowing a certain daily salary to the mob, was converted into a law by the convention, at the desire of Lacroix, and those galleries which had been reserved for the citizens of the departments were thrown open for the admission of the Parisian populace. It was not one of the least extraordinary occurrences of this eventful sitting, that, on the suggestion of Vergniaud, the sections of Paris were declared to have merited the thanks of their country. His motive for procuring this vote is not obvious; but he was probably actuated either by a hope of conciliating those who were adverse, or of rousing, to some important exertion, by the stimulus of praise, those who were favourable to the declining party.

As if the convention had not already shown sufficiently its timidity and degradation, it the next day sanctioned, without a dissenting voice, an address to the French people, drawn up by Barrere, in which the violent proceedings that had taken place were represented in the most flattering colours, every idea of the national representation being exposed to injury was considered as unfounded, and fraternity and union were largely declaimed upon. The printing of this address was hardly decreed, when a deputation from the sections appeared at the bar, to demand, in language of unqualified insolence, that twenty-seven members of the legislature should instantly be put under arrest, and that all conspirators should be given up to the vengeance of the law. The demand was received with great humility, and referred to the committee of public safety, which was charged to make a report on the subject within three days.

Scarcely any of the principal deputies of the Girondist faction were present at this sitting. At the request of Louvet, they had agreed to dine in a body, and deliberate upon the course to be pursued, under their critical circumstances: but when they came together nothing was done. The greater portion of them seem indeed to have been thoroughly panic struck, by the boldness of their enemies, and the dangers to which they were exposed in this final struggle. Not a single attempt was made to rally round them their numerous partisans in the sections, nor to call to their succour that part of the armed force which they knew to be friendly to their cause. Nothing was thought of but tame submission, or a flight into the departments, for the purpose of exciting them to draw the sword against the tyranny of Paris.

In this situation of affairs some of their friends determined, as a last resource, to procure a conference with Danton, and to try if, by flattering his ambition, his powerful friendship might not be obtained. His preponderating weight, they were convinced, would effectually turn the scale in favour of their party. Neither was the scheme so hopeless

as it may, at first sight, appear. Danton, it was evident, had seen, with much displeasure, that his influence among at least a part of his faction was on the decrease, while, on the other hand, that of his competitor Robespierre was daily gaining ground. The commune was no longer under his direction; nor was this the only instance in which he was made sensible of his diminished authority. He was not, as he had once been, uniformly consulted and obeyed; and it seems almost certain, that the whole secret of the conspiracy now on foot had not been entrusted to him, and that he had not divined the full extent to which the measures of the conspirators were intended to be carried. Either from a wish to strengthen himself, or from a serious desire to restore some degree of order, or from both, he had, at various times behaved towards the Girondists with considerable moderation, and even when driven, in his own defence, to the use of harsh language, had not unfrequently closed his speeches by manifesting an inclination to forgive the past hostility of his opponents, if he might thereby gain an exemption from their future. But the Girondists, who felt still more dread of him than of Robespierre, had treated his advances with insult, and had missed no opportunity to goad and to irritate him, by sarcasms, invectives, and reproaches. To Danton, however, it was in this hour of danger thought advisable by a few of the party to apply, and to tempt him with the prospect of exercising a kind of dictatorship. The proposal was forcibly urged to him by a deputy of the name of Meillan. Strongly agitated, Danton, for a moment, seemed to lend a favourable ear; but his remembrance of the outrages which had been heaped upon him by his antagonists, and his dread of their present sincerity, soon checked those feelings which his love of dominion had inspired. "They "will place no trust in me," he repeatedly exclaimed, and then, as if dubious of his firmness, he broke off the conversation, and hastily retired.

Impatient at having yet gained what it considered as but half a victory, the commune made the most formidable preparations for a new and overwhelming onset. The second of June was the day fixed upon to decide whether France should yield obedience to the Jacobins or the Girondists. No precaution was omitted by the former to ensure their triumph. During the whole of the night emissaries from the commune were busily employed in stimulating the disorderly populace of the suburbs to maintain the sanguinary reputation which, by accumulated deeds of violence and cruelty, it had fully established. Other agents were equally active in spreading terror among the peaceable citizens by numerous arrests. To give to the transactions of the day an appearance of expressing the general wish of the people, all the military force of the sections was ordered under arms. The distribution of this force was managed with consummate art. Those battalions which were known to be hostile to the Jacobins, and some of which had resolved to protect the proscribed deputies, were placed at as great a distance as possible from the scene of action, where they remained ignorant of what was going on; while the con-

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vention was surrounded by not more than four or five thousand trusty revolutionists. To each of this chosen corps an assignat of an hundred livres was given, and an abundant portion of spirituous liquors. Henriot was commandant general. Every thing being ready, the tocsin was again rung, and the alarm guns fired.

Utterly disheartened by the proceedings of the last two days, convinced that in this sitting the question would be decided against them, and believing that to attend in their places would be to deliver themselves into the hands of their deadly foes, many of the principal Girondist members resolved not to appear again in the convention, but to make ready for their flight from Paris. A few, not blind to the danger, but more courageous than the rest, determined to brave the storm.

As soon as the deputies had taken their seats, and the sitting was begun, the hall was completely invested by the troops of the commune, and all egress prevented. For a while no allusion was made to the present critical circumstances. The silence was broken by Lanjuinais, who may justly be considered as one of the bravest and most equitable of his sinking faction. With that vigour and animation which had never deserted him, he dared, alone, in despite of murmurs, threats, cries, and imprecations, to launch forth into an invective against the tyranny which was exercised by the commune, to demand, in the strongest terms, the dissolution of the revolutionary committees, and to call down a sentence of outlawry upon those who should violate the laws by an assumption of illegal authority. Unable to interrupt him by their clamours, Legendre, and other Jacobins, started up and forced him from the tribune; but he still continued to urge for vengeance, and to warn his colleagues of the danger to which they would be exposed, by shewing, at this terrible moment, any signs of timidity. Crowds of petitioners now filled the hall, to insist, for the last time, as they said, upon the arrest of the Girondists, and to claim an instant obedience. This petition was referred to the committee of public safety, with instructions to make an immediate report on the subject. After a lapse of two hours, Barrere came forward, in the name of the committee, and proposed that the members who had been accused should voluntarily suspend themselves from their functions, during a certain period. The proposal was agreed to by Lanthenas, Isnard, and others, but was rejected with indignation by Lanjuinais and Barbaroux, the former of whom again poured forth upon his persecutors a torrent of glowing and impassioned eloquence.

While the fate of the deputies remained thus undecided, an incident occurred which had nearly occasioned a schism among the Jacobins. In the orders which Henriot had given to his troops, to prevent any one from quitting the hall, no exception had been made, even of those who were connected with the conspirators. Lacroix, the friend of Danton, having attempted to go out, was rudely driven back with menaces and insult. Enraged at this violence, he hastened to consult with Danton, in whom his information excited no less alarm than anger. The commune, Danton thought, might wish to disembarrass itself, not only of the Girondists, but

but alſo of the greater part of the Jacobins themſelves. On the motion of Lacroix, which was almoſt unanimouſly adopted, the troops were ordered to retire from around the convention. Danton ſeconded him, and alſo obtained a decree that the committee of public ſafety ſhould enquire by what authority the mandate had been iſſued to confine the deputies to the hall, and ſhould at the ſame time propoſe meaſures for "avenging, in the moſt vigorous "manner, this flagrant outrage offered to the national majeſty." "Let us," exclaimed Barrere, "let "us prove that we are free! Let "the convention go and deliberate "amidſt the armed force, by which "it will doubtleſs be protected." This propoſal met with general approbation.

The deputies, with the preſident Herault de Sechelles at their head, deſcended into the court. At the entrance to the ſquare of the Carouſel, they were ſtopped by a line of pikes and bayonets. The decree for the retreat of the armed force was read by Herault, but was laughed to ſcorn by Henriot. "Return "to your poſts," exclaimed the general, "and deliver up the traitors." Then facing towards his troops, "Soldiers!" he cried, "to your "arms: cannoneers, level your artillery." Six pieces of cannon, loaded with grape, were inſtantly pointed at the deputies. Repelled here, the convention made two efforts to find a paſſage in other quarters, but with equal ill ſucceſs. Marat now made his appearance at the head of a hundred deſperate ruffians, and ordered his colleagues to go back to their ſeats, to deliberate, and above all to obey. The convention, without daring to murmur, ſubmitted to his commands.

The very inſtant that the members had taken their ſeats, Couthon roſe, and, inſultingly congratulating them on the proof which they had juſt received of their perfect freedom, demanded that the twenty-two denounced repreſentatives, the commiſſion of twelve, and the miniſters Claviere and Le Brun, ſhould be kept under confinement in their own habitations. So thoroughly was the convention intimidated, that little reſiſtance was made to his demand. Danton, and his friends, had already been quieted by ſatisfactory explanations. In the following ſhort ſcroll of proſcription the ruin of the Girondiſt faction was definitively ſealed. "The aſ"ſembly decrees that it puts under "arreſt at their own houſes, Gen"ſonné, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Gua"det, Gorſas, Petion, Salles, Cham"bon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, "Rabaud, Laſource, Lanjuinais, "Grangeneuve, Leſage, Louvet, "Valazé, Doulcet, Lidon, Lehardi, "Ducos, Lanthenas, Duſſaulx; all "the members of the commiſſion of "twelve, with the exception of Fon"frede and St. Martin, and the mi"niſters Claviere and Le Brun." It was through the interceſſion of Legendre that the names of Fonfrede and St. Martin were eraſed from the fatal liſt. The ſame favour was alſo procured by Marat for Ducos, Duſſaulx, and Lanthenas.

From this moment the reign of the Girondiſts was at an end. Impriſoned, fugitive, proſcribed, or awed into ſilence, they no longer even exiſted as a party. Some the ſcaffold awaited; ſome a death ſtill more horrible; and thoſe who were permitted

permitted to retain their ſeats in the convention were compelled to purchaſe a precarious and degrading ſafety, by ſubmitting to daily inſult, and by lending their ſanction to meaſures calculated to perpetuate their own humiliation, and the ſupremacy of their enemies. Yet, neither for thoſe who died, nor for thoſe who ſurvived to ſuffer the continued agony of diſappointed ambition and compelled obedience to thoſe they hated, can any pity be felt by a virtuous and reflecting mind. They were the artificers of their own ruin, and their fate affords a ſtriking and beautiful example of the retributive juſtice of Heaven. The weapon which they had forged for the deſtruction of their ſovereign was buried in their own boſoms. The puniſhment too followed cloſe on the heels of the crime. This important confeſſion eſcaped, in bitterneſs of ſoul, from Madame Roland, when, after the defeat of her faction, ſhe met Madame Petion in priſon: "I little thought," ſaid ſhe,* "when I was ſharing your uneaſineſs at the mayoralty houſe, on "the tenth of Auguſt, that we ſhould "keep our ſad anniverſary at St. "Pelagie, and that the fall of the "throne would lead to our diſgrace."

Born in obſcurity, or at beſt in a ſtate of mediocrity, but thirſting for the poſſeſſion of power, which they were hopeleſs of acquiring by any legitimate mode, the Girondiſts, in the purſuit of their object, had ſpurned at every impediment, human or divine. The means they had uniformly conſidered as ſanctified by the end. To accompliſh their plans, they had not heſitated, for a ſingle inſtant, in allying themſelves with the moſt deteſtable characters; applauding and protecting enormities at which humanity ſhudders; eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of calumny more cruel than the ſword; releaſing the multitude from all the ties of moral obligation; enuring it to plunder, riot and blood; and finally, in plunging their own and the ſurrounding countries into all the horrors of a war, more malignant in its nature, and more dreadful in its conſequences, than any which had ever been waged in former times.

Arrived at the ſummit of their wiſhes, they fondly flattered themſelves that they ſhould be able to retain a firm hold of their ill-gotten authority, and to "wield at will that fierce democracy" which they had ſtimulated into madneſs, and which they had taught to conſider inſurrection and murder as among the neceſſaries of life. They imagined that, their work being done, they might break the inſtruments which they had employed.† In this, however,

* See Madame Roland's Appeal. Engliſh Tranſlation, Part II. p. 78.

† See note in page 9. A paſſage is there quoted from Madame Roland. The following, from another part of her memoirs, is, perhaps, ſtill ſtronger.

"*In revolutionary movements the moſt active people are not always the moſt* "*blameleſs*: how many beings come forward only that they may appear of ſome "conſequence in the world! *Their ſervices, however, are not to be deſpiſed; but* "*when once the point in view is gained, it becomes neceſſary to loſe no time in re-* "*eſtabliſhing order, to avoid the diſſolution of the ſocial body.* The commune

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however, fortunately for mankind, they were deceived. Peace, order, and obedience became their conſtant themes, but from ſuch teachers they were not likely to be heard with reverence. The mob of Paris, which had been taught to rebel againſt the deſcendant of a long line of monarchs, could not eaſily conceive * why it ſhould ſwear fealty and homage to M. M. Briſſot, Roland, Petion, and their colleagues. Theſe new miſſionaries of tranquillity were accordingly looked upon by the populace as betrayers of the cauſe of confuſion and treaſon. The character which the Girondiſts had abandoned was inſtantly ſeized, or rather ſucceeded to, by the Jacobins, who, while they furiouſly combated their predeceſſors, copied the arts of thoſe predeceſſors with an almoſt ſlaviſh exactneſs. The ſame unprincipled appeals to the worſt paſſions of the crowd, the ſame indulgence for actions reprobated by the laws, the ſame miſerable pretexts, and the ſame calumnious reports and inſinuations, which had been uſed by the Girondiſts, to deſtroy the monarchical government, were employed by the Jacobins for the deſtruction of the Girondiſts. The ſucceſs in both caſes was equally complete.

Yet holding, as they at one time did, all the force of the ſtate, the Girondiſts, had they conducted their

" formed on the tenth of Auguſt had contributed to the fall of the tyrant. *They did* " *well*; but ſeveral of its members had been guilty of various exceſſes; a great " deal of pillage and robbery had taken place at the Thuilleries and elſewhere; " conſiderable ſums had been given to the commune for the purchaſe of corn; " and it was the duty of the miniſter of the home department to demand their " accounts, and to tranſmit them to the legiſlative body. Roland then preſſed " the commune to give in their accounts, but the commune being little diſpoſed " and ſtill leſs able to comply, the miniſter, *with a view to juſtice*, and TO AVOID " SHARING IN THE BLAME, made his report to the aſſembly accordingly."

* Madame Roland has in her account of the tranſaction of the 31ſt of May, given a memorable ſpecimen of the facility and accuracy with which the lower claſs reaſon on a text which tends to free them from the obligations of the laws, and to arm them againſt their ſuperiors, rendered odious by the arts of Demagogues: to her the leſſon muſt have been, if rightly reflected on, in the higheſt degree mortifying. She thus relates it: " Citizens, ſaid I, to ſome ſans-culottes, " who were collected near a cannon, have matters gone well? Oh, wonderfully, " one of them anſwered—wonderfully well! the deputies embraced, and ſang the " Marſeillois hymn, there, at the tree of liberty—And was the right ſide appeaſed? " Oh, yes, they were compelled to yield to reaſon—And the committee of twelve? " Oh that is trampled under foot.—And thoſe twenty-two?—Oh the municipality " will have them arreſted—Good! but have they a right to do ſo?—Gadzooks! " *are they not the ſovereign?*—they muſt be ſo to repreſs thoſe abominable traitors, " and ſupport the republic.—But will the departments be pleaſed to ſee their re- " preſentatives?—What do you mean! the pariſians do nothing *but by the con-* " *currence of the departments*; *we are told ſo in the convention.*—But that is not " quite certain, for in order to know their ſentiment, the primary aſſemblies ought " to be convened.—*Pray was that done on the 10th Auguſt*; *and did not the de-* " *partments on that occaſion approve what Paris had done*; *they will do the ſame* " *now, for 'tis Paris that ſaves the departments.*"

affairs

affairs with but a moderate degree of wiſdom, might at leaſt have kept the victory longer in ſuſpenſe, if not have triumphed over their adverſaries. But their policy was as deſpicable as their conduct was criminal. Confident in their own talents, and unwiſely ſcorning thoſe which were oppoſed to them; proud of their eloquence, but neglecting to employ it in ſeaſon; diſplaying none of that foreſight and ſteady vigour which aſtoniſhes and overawes; acting with no concert among themſelves, and no regular plan; blending temerity with cowardice, and ſometimes raſhly advancing only to ſhew their weakneſs by a trembling retreat; they were, as we have ſeen, after a ſhort ſtruggle, overborne by the ſuperior aſcendant which, partly from conſiſtency of principle, and ſtill* more from conſtant, unanimous, and well-directed exertion, was obtained by their brothers in iniquity. Their downfal affords a terrible leſſon to viſionary theoriſts, and deſperate adventurers, to beware how they break with ſacrilegious hands all thoſe bonds by which the fabric of civil ſociety is held together. Their lives were diſaſtrous to the human race; their deaths may perhaps, if rightly contemplated, do it a ſerious and laſting ſervice.

* Madame Roland herſelf complains in more than one place of the want of perſeverance and exertion in the members of her party. Speaking of Buzot ſhe ſays, "a few wreſtlers of his ſtrength might have given the convention the "impulſe it wanted: but the reſt of the men of talents, keeping themſelves back "as *orators* for great occaſions, were too neglectful of common daily conteſts, "and not ſufficiently wary of the arts of their inferior adverſaries."—Madame Roland's Appeal, Engliſh Tranſlation, part I. p. 126.

CHAP. XIV.

Formation of the new Conſtitution. Its acceptance by the People. Celebration. Tombs at Saint Denis broke open. The Oriflamme deſtroyed. Laws of Marriage and Divorce. New Conſtitution ſuſpended. Proviſional Revolutionary Government. Committee of Public Safety. Its Functions. Committee of General Security. Syſtem of Terror. Perſecution and Impriſonment of ſuſpected Perſons. Domiciliary Viſits authorized. Perſecution of Prieſts and Ex-nobles. All Ariſtocrats outlawed. Foreigners oppreſſed. Particularly the Engliſh. Mr. Pitt declared an Enemy of the Human Race. Decree for the Arreſt of all the Engliſh. And all Natives of Countries at War with France. Priſons thronged. Fruitleſs Complaints and Exertions. Revolutionary Tribunal. Its barbarity. Cruel treatment of the Queen, her two Children, and the Princeſs Elizabeth. The Queen ſeparated from her Son, who is conſigned to the care of Simon, a cobler. Her removal to the Conciergerie. Trial and Execution. Her Advocates impriſoned. The Duke of Orleans impriſoned at Marſeilles. Removed to the Conciergerie. Trial and Execution. Arreſt of the Counteſs du Barry. She is condemned and executed, together with her Father and two Brothers.

AMIDST the numerous cares resulting from the embroiled state of military transactions, the French legislators paid considerable attention to the establishment of a new republican constitution. Even in the most stormy periods of contest between the Brissotines and the Mountain, frequent discussions were maintained on this subject; but among opponents so inveterate and so eager for popularity, debates on abstract principles of government generally produced references to personal conduct, and terminated in reproach, defiance, and acrimony; little progress in the task was consequently made. Numerous plans were sent to the committee of general jurisprudence; systems of worship, state of citizens, maximum of population, and divisions of the country, and the reports on each subject produced abundance of wrath, with some good reasonings, and many verbose declamations, in which solicitude for personal estimation was more conspicuous than zeal for the public good. On these subjects, perhaps, no reader will think it worth his labour to peruse the metaphysical subtleties of Condorcet, Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, and Isnard; the specious sophisms of Robespierre and St. Just, or the eccentric ravings of Anacharsis Clootz; their whole product was little more than the arrangement of a series of propositions to be discussed, which, according to the prevailing system of delay and altercation would not have been terminated during the lives of the members. The formation of the basis of a constitution was at length (30 May) referred to the committee of public safety, and to accelerate their work five new members were added for that sole purpose.

For sometime after the decisive events of the second of June, the adherents of both parties were equally assiduous in remonstrating with the convention on the necessity of speedily forming a constitution. For this great purpose, and not for the indulgence of personal rancour, and formation of ambitious feuds, said the friends of the Girondists, did the nation intrust you with the sacred character of representatives. Give us, exclaimed their opponents, a constitution, a republican, democratic constitution, which shall crush for ever the hopes of the intriguers, the faction of statesmen, the federalists, the royalists; frame a constitution, unmask and punish those traitors; then you will have fulfilled the task of representatives of the people, and then shall France be free, united and prosperous. Paris, where the Mountain possessed the greatest influence, was most urgent in these demands; "the sections," said Chaumette, in the council general of the commune, "must go to the convention on Monday (7th June) to demand a constitution; on Thursday, and in short on every day till it is obtained, to demand a democratic republican constitution."

These urgent remonstrances were not without their effect: with almost incredible dispatch, the committee of public safety (10th June) presented the constitutional act to the legislature, and (24th) after many discussions on particular articles, a complete constitutional code was decreed, preceded by a declaration of rights; but as the whole composition will be found in another part of this volume, no analysis

lyſis of its contents or comments on its merits or defects, is given in this place.* One of the moſt remarkable circumſtances attending the formation of this code, was the refuſal of the convention to limit a period for its own duration. Motions to this effect were made by ſeveral members, but defeated by the logic or authority of Roberſpierre. "To fix by the conſtitution," he ſaid, "a period to the exiſtence of the national repreſentation would imply a forgetfulneſs of the ſovereignty of the people. Danger would attend the diſſolution of the convention at a fixed period; and if the ſittings were unduly prolonged, the diſguſted nation would compel the members to abandon their functions."

In the courſe of theſe diſcuſſions occurred one of thoſe traits of the French character, which deſerves to be preſerved as a hint to other nations, to reſiſt the inſolent efforts of thoſe who ſeek by affected compariſons to degrade the rank of their own country. When the 121ſt article of the conſtitution, which declares that the French nation will not make peace with an enemy who occupies its territory, was under deliberation, Mercier obſerved, that ſuch articles were written or eraſed with the point of the ſword, and that even on her own territory a nation might conclude an advantageous treaty. "Do you flatter yourſelves," he continued, "that you will be always victorious? Have you made a compact with victory?"—"No!" anſwered Bazire, "we have made one with death!"—"This extravagance of thought," Mercier replied, "is not true greatneſs. Hardly have you attained to think rightly on liberty, and you have the preſumption to place yourſelves on the level with the Romans; I move the expunction of this article, becauſe the preſent generation is not yet raiſed to its proper elevation."

"I ſhould never have believed," Roberſpierre exclaimed, "that a repreſentative of the French nation would have dared to profeſs in this place maxims of ſlavery and cowardice. I ſhould never have believed that he would have dared to diſpute the republican virtue of the people he repreſents. In what has this man diſcovered our inferiority to the Romans? Where has this man diſcovered that the conſtitution we are about to complete is inferior to the decrees of that deſpotic ſenate which knew not the rights of man? How does he prove that our nation, ſhedding its blood for univerſal liberty, is inferior to the Romans, who were not the heroes of freedom, but the oppreſſors of mankind? Such a man deſerves no anſwer! In ſpite of all ſuch reaſoners we will decree an article which we are worthy to maintain. Let them know, all thoſe who are unable to appreciate the energy of a free people, that this article is an expreſſion of that people's will! A nation which treats with an enemy on its own territory, is already conquered, and has renounced independence: never will the French nation ſubmit to ſuch an indignity; and not only will we decree the article in diſpute, but we will maintain it." In this diſcuſſion ſpeculative reaſoning and truth were on the ſide of Mercier; pa-

* See State Papers, p. 292.*

triotiſm and prudence on that of his opponents. The article was adopted amidſt loud applauſes, and the enthuſiaſm it inſpired, proves the folly of preaching to a nation the ſuperiority of its enemies, or of holding out either to the enemy or the people the proſpect of peace attended with diſhonour.

As ſoon as the conſtitution was decreed, the popular jealouſy was directed towards imaginary plots for its deſtruction, and while it was yet under diſcuſſion in the primary aſſemblies of the people, the federaliſts and anarchiſts were equally accuſed of intending to prevent its taking effect, and pain of death was decreed againſt the publiſhers, venders, and diſtributors of falſified copies of the conſtitution or the rights of man. Deputations and letters, however, daily arrived in the convention announcing the acceptance in all quarters. The acceſſion of the capital to the conſtitutional act, was declared on a memorable day, the fourteenth of July: it occaſioned a conſiderable parade in the hall of the aſſembly, and produced a decree that the ſections of Paris ſince 1789, and the municipality ſince the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, had never ceaſed to deſerve well of the country; and Palloi, an artiſt, who, during the ſitting of three legiſlations, ſeems to have monopolized the wrecks of the Baſtille, preſented to the convention, the declaration of the rights of man engraved on one of the ſtones of that famous edifice.

It was early decreed that the conſummation of the conſtitutional act ſhould be celebrated by a fete in the Champs Eliſées: the arrangement was principally confided to David the painter, who made a pompous report on the ſubject, and, the period opportunely concurring, the tenth of Auguſt was ſet apart for this new federation. This characteriſtic feſtival, which combines all the abſurdities of pagan idolatry with the moſt ridiculous mummeries of corrupted worſhip, and ſome ideas of magnificence, but more of degrading barbariſm, was placed by David in five ſeries of action or ſtations.

The firſt aſſemblage was formed on the ruins of the Baſtille, where was to be ſeen the fountain of regeneration repreſented by an image of Nature, expreſſing from her exuberant breaſts pure water, of which eighty-ſix commiſſioners repreſenting the eighty-ſix departments were to drink; the preſident of the convention beginning the ceremony by throwing ſome of the water on the ground as a libation. After fraternal embraces, diſcharges of artillery, muſic, and a ſong to the tune of the Marſellois hymn, the proceſſion commenced by the departure of the commiſſioners, headed by a banner on which was repreſented the eye of Providence piercing through a thick cloud. They were followed by the convention in a body, with bouquets of wheat-ears, and fruits in their hands, while eight carried under an arch, the table of the rights of man, and the conſtitutional act. The convention was ſurrounded by the commiſſioners from the primary aſſemblies, each bearing in his hand a pike, and an olive branch. A third groupe was compoſed of the whole maſs of the people, in undiſtinguiſhed confuſion, each individual carrying the tools of his trade; amongſt them were the blind and the foundlings from their reſpective

reſpective hoſpitals; a car was alſo formed from a plough on which were ſeated an old man and his old wife, drawn by their children. A military groupe ſucceeded, with a car drawn by eight white horſes, containing an urn which enclosed the aſhes of thoſe who died in defence of their country, accompanied by tumbrils loaded with fleur-de-lys, and the emblems of royalty and nobility, with an inſcription reminding the people that theſe were the origin of all their woes.

The ſecond ſtation was at the *Boulevard Poiſſonniere*, where under a portico or triumphal arch, the proceſſion was met by the fiſh women of the fifth and ſixth of October 1789, ſeated on cannons, and they received from the preſident of the convention a branch of laurel in memory of their exploits at Verſailles.

The third ſtation was the ſquare called *Place de la Revolution*, where on the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of Lewis the XV. was raiſed a temporary ſtatue of Liberty formed in clay, till one could be caſt in braſs. On the oaks which ſurrounded this idol, were hung three-coloured ribbons, caps of liberty, hymns, inſcriptions, and emblematical paintings; and at the foot of the ſtatue the inſignia of royalty and nobility were burnt on a funeral pile, which was ſet on fire by the commiſſioners from the departments, who brought torches for the purpoſe. The name of Lewis XVI. was then devoted to execration, and birds were ſet at liberty with light collars on their necks, inſcribed with the rights of man, "that in their flight they might carry to heaven teſtimonials of the reſtoration of liberty on earth."

At the *Place des Invalides*, which was the fourth ſtation, a ſilly emblem repreſented the triumph of the Mountain over the Briſſotines, which was thus deſcribed in the report:—"In the middle of the ſquare, on the ſummit of a mountain, the French people ſculptured, as a colloſſal figure collecting with vigorous arms the departmental faſces; ambitious Federaliſm riſing from his miry marſh, and with one hand bruſhing aſide the reeds, endeavours with the other to unbind ſome portion of the faſces; the French people perceives him, ſeizes a club, ſtrikes, and compels him again to ſeek ſhelter in his ſtagnant waters, whence he is never more to iſſue forth."

The *Champ de Mars* formed the fifth and laſt ſtation, the entrance to which was ſo contrived that a large levelling machine touched the head of every individual, and compelled the talleſt to ſtoop. After paſſing through this ridiculouſly emblematical ceremony, the members of the convention, and commiſſioners from the departments took the oath of fidelity to the conſtitution, and the people ſwore to defend it till death. The day terminated with a repaſt taken by the people ſitting on the graſs in tents, while the principal events of the revolution were repreſented in pantomime. At each of theſe ſtations, Herault de Sechelles, the preſident of the convention, made a ſpeech. On the ſame day, as a further ſacrifice to the deities of popular worſhip, the tombs of the kings and heroes at St. Denis were thrown down, and their remains

disinterred, and subjected to the brutalities of the rabble. In the evening the city was generally illuminated, less as a mark of chearfulness than as a measure of security against depredators and insurgents. The next day, the commissaries of the departments read in the convention a gratulatory address to the French nation on the happy event which had taken place: the triumph over the old system was completed by snatching the ancient oriflamme of France from the ceiling of the Hall, and tearing it in pieces; and on the motion of David, a medal was struck to commemorate the new federation.

Notwithstanding this pompous inauguration, and although the acceptance of the constitution by several millions of voters was boasted as a proof of falsehood in those who asserted that France was under the dominion of a faction, the new code was never made a practical system. To have given effect to that code, the convention must have been dissolved; a measure which neither suited the state of the times, nor the views of political leaders. To gain time for producing a disposition in the public mind favourable to the perpetuation of their power the convention (11th August) decreed, that as the mode of electing representatives was changed, and population the only basis, each commune, (and there were 44,000) should present a table or list of its inhabitants, which, with the observations incident to each, were to be addressed to the members of a committee of division.

In the interval afforded by this delay the legislative body framed some laws towards a civil code.—Cambaceres presented a long report, embracing all the conditions and relations of social life, and offering systems for the regulation of individuals in all. Of these some were wise, some fantastic, and some absurd. The regulations relative to matrimony and divorce are in themselves the most singular, and gave rise to the strongest debates. Marriage was defined to be a compact by which a man and a woman engaged to live together, and bring up the children born in consequence of their union; and it was declared liable to dissolution by the persevering will of either party. In ordinary affairs, twenty-one was declared to be the age of majority, but boys at fifteen and girls of thirteen were authorised to marry. The objection to this regulation, arose, not as might be expected from the permission being granted too early, but from its being withheld too long; Chabot and Cambon strenuously contending that nature would point out to boys and girls the fit age, and that laws on that subject were therefore redundant and contrary to liberty. Their objections were overruled. These minors were not, however, permitted to wed without the consent of their parents. In case of divorce the property of each party was to be restored, and the goods possessed in common divided; the party who assumed the care of the children was to retain a portion of the property to defray the charges of their education. The form of obtaining divorces was this, the party applying was to convoke a family council, composed of six relations or neighbours; chosen equally by the husband and wife, and

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and at which a public officer must be present. A declaration was then to be made of the motives for desiring a separation, and in a fortnight, if no change of opinion was announced by the party requiring it, the divorce was to be pronounced. But this delay of a fortnight might be abridged in certain cases, such as insanity, conviction of crime, flagrant adultery, and emigration.

These discussions (October 10th) were succeeded by a report from the committee of public safety, which fully developed the views of those who held the reins of government with respect to the suspension of the constitution, and the continuance of their own power. "It is time," said St. Just, the reporter, "to disclose a truth which ought to be ever present in the minds of those who govern: the republic will never be completely founded till the will of the sovereign, (the people) shall compress the monarchical minority, and reign over it by right of conquest. The committee of public safety has calculated the causes of the public misfortunes, and has found them in the feebleness with which the decrees of the legislature are executed; the want of economy in the administration; the instability of political views, and the vicissitudes of passions by which government is influenced! Means were then proposed "to cleanse the state from the conspiracies with which it was infested." Not only treason, but indifference was declared a crime, and it was necessary to punish all who were passive, and did nothing for the republic.—Maxims of peace and natural justice were well among friends of liberty, but between the people and their enemies nothing was mutual but the sword: those who cannot be governed by justice must be ruled by steel, and tyrants must be subjected to oppression. These maxims of blood and terror were followed by a long statement of the situation of the republic, tending to prove that while the people were desirous of economy, no responsibility was established, and every one plundered the state; generals made war against their own armies; while the possessors of the productions of the earth, and other articles of subsistence, were in league with all the vices of the monarchy against the people and the convention. The report was followed by a series of decrees, which were afterwards considerably extended: they established, till peace should take place, a provisional revolutionary government. The provisional executive council, ministers, generals, and constituted bodies were placed under the inspection of the committee of public safety, which was to give an account every eighth day to the convention. All measures of safety were to be adopted by the executive council, and all revolutionary laws to be rapidly extended. The entire product of grain and articles of subsistence were placed in the disposal of the committee of public safety; the quantity necessary for each department was to be estimated, and the remainder subjected to requisitions which were to be authorized and regulated by the provisional executive council, which was also to send garrisons into all cities where counter-revolutionary movements existed. This tyrannical system of government was not relaxed, but rather strengthened by subsequent debates in the conven-

tion, and the people were reconciled to it by the hope of relief from their preſſing neceſſities, and the promiſe that it would facilitate their connections with other nations, by enabling their rulers to treat for peace. Some efforts were made to refer this plan of government to the people in primary aſſemblies, but were fruſtrated by the accuſtomed pretext, that ariſtocrats and intriguers would be thus enabled to pervert the public mind.

The committee of public ſafety, to which ſuch extenſive powers were conſigned, was propoſed on the 25th March, to the convention, under the name of committee of general defence and public ſafety, and to be compoſed of twenty-five members. Its intended functions were to propoſe all laws and meaſures requiſite for the exterior and interior defence of the republic; to inſpect the conduct of the miniſters compoſing the proviſional executive council, and to give weekly accounts to the convention, of the ſtate of the republic, and its operations. Although ſeveral members of the Briſſotine party were in the liſt of the propoſed committee, they reſiſted its formation on ſuch terms, as tending to the eſtabliſhment of a worſe than dictatorial tyrranny, and their exertions againſt it were ſo vigorous that the convention, inſtead of the firſt project, adopted one (April 3) for forming the committee of nine members only; to deliberate in ſecret, to watch over and accelerate the action of the adminiſtration, confided to the proviſional executive council, and even to ſuſpend the decrees of that council, when repugnant to the intereſts of the nation, but with an expreſs charge to give an immediate account of ſuch proceeding to the convention. The committee was authorized in urgent circumſtances to take general meaſures of defence, and its decrees ſigned by a majority of the members preſent at a deliberation, (for which ſix at leaſt were required) were to be executed without delay by the proviſional executive council. The committee was reſtrained from iſſuing warrants of arreſt, except againſt its own agents. Accounts were to be rendered weekly to the convention, of its operations, and its duration was limited to a month. The number of the committee was once augmented to twelve, ſubſequently reduced again to nine, and afterwards eſtabliſhed at ten. The members being eligible to ſerve again, on the termination of their functions, it was ſoon contrived to render their ſituations permanent; and in an election which took place after the eſtabliſhment of the revolutionary government, (Dec.) the following members were nominated, and formed a permanent executive power: Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Carnot, Collet d'Herbois, C. A. Prieur, Robert Lindet, Robeſpierre, Couthon, Saint Juſt, and Jean Bon Saint André.

There was alſo a committee of general ſecurity, but it was circumſcribed in its functions, devoid of popularity, and in every reſpect inferior to the committee of public ſafety.

Under this government began that horrible ſyſtem founded on blood, murder, and crime; a ſyſtem in which the hope of reward was never to be entertained, and in which the fear of puniſhment was ever to predominate. Government adopted as an axiom or rallying word,

word, "terror is the order of the day;" and their ſyſtem was appropriately denominated the ſyſtem of terror. When we conſider the numerous pretences for tyrannical vengeance which the irritable jealouſy of the people, the unſettled ſtate of the government, the laws againſt emigrants, foreigners, conſpirators, and foreſtallers afforded, it will ceaſe to excite ſurpriſe that the priſons were filled with ſuſpected perſons; that the revolutionary tribunal in Paris daily delivered increaſing numbers to the rapid deſtruction of the guillotine, and that in the departments more expeditious and horrible modes were reſorted to for vengeance and deſtruction.

In common ſpeech it would almoſt ſeem ludicrous that the mere fact of being *ſuſpected** ſhould expoſe the unfortunate objects of ſuſpicion to impriſonment, and be aſſigned as the only cauſe for ſubjecting them to an ignominious death; but in the technical language of the French Revolution, to be ſuſpected, implied all kinds of treaſon againſt the ſovereignty of the people, undefined by any expreſs law, and not eaſily reducible to any preciſe deſcription. It varied according to circumſtances, and was the general appellative for ſins againſt the circumſtances of the moment, or the prejudices of the party paramount, which no ſagacity could foreſee, nor any caution avoid.—Some were ſuſpected becauſe they were nobles, prieſts, bankers, rich men, or related or in correſpondence with ſome of theſe. To have done nothing for the revolution, was a ſtrong ground of ſuſpicion, and to have been active in promoting the revolution, while La Fayette or Briſſot held the aſcendancy, was ſtill ſtronger. A decent coat, a new pair of boots, or a few louis d'ors indiſcreetly diſplayed, ſubjected a man to a ſuſpicion of being ſuſpected; but a powdered head, a miſnomer in the days or months of the new calendar, or the uſe of the words Monſieur or Madame were confirmed proofs of ariſtocracy. To ſpeak on political topics was an inevitable cauſe of ſuſpicion, and ſilence was conſtrued into *inſouciance*, or indifference, and equally criminal. It was ſometimes dangerous to profeſs atheiſm, but the leaſt word in favour of religion left no doubt that the ſpeaker was thoroughly grounded in fanaticiſm, and proved a certain paſſport to the guillotine. Ever ſince the dethronement of the king rigorous exertions had been made againſt the claſs of men termed ſuſpected; and early in the preſent year (March 26th) the commune of Paris adopted reſolutions for diſarming all ſuſpected perſons, and putting thoſe on whom ſufficient grounds for ſuſpicion appeared in a ſtate of arreſtation. But as the execution of this decree did not proceed with ſufficient rapidity, a decree was obtained obliging all proprietors

* This crime of being *ſuſpected* ſeems to have owed its origin to the law of the legiſlative aſſembly againſt the emigrants on the eighth of November, 1791, the firſt article of which decrees "that the French aſſembled beyond the frontiers are from that time declared *ſuſpected* of conſpiracy againſt France." From that period the word *ſuſpected* came into common uſe in the debates and in prints.

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and renters of houſes, and all ſervants to whom the cuſtody of them was entruſted, to place on the outſide, in a conſpicuous place, and legible characters, a liſt of all the perſons at that time reſiding within; their chriſtian and ſurnames, ages and profeſſions, which liſts were to be renewed on every arrival or departure, or whenever the old liſt was defaced, and copies ſent to the committees of communes or ſections, under penalty of impriſonment not exceeding ſix months.—The execution of this decree furniſhed a pretext for an extenſive plunder of arms and money. In all ſubſequent political commotions the men called ſuſpected were expoſed to new perſecutions, new deſcriptions were included, and new means of inſpection found: they were ordered to be kept in a ſtate of arreſt at their own dwellings, and threatened with a confiſcation of a third part of their property, to defray the expences of the war. This power of arreſting for undefined cauſes became a dreadful ſcourge on all claſſes of men, and in proportion as the revolutionary government gained ſtrength, the ferocity of perſecution was augmented. One ſection declared they would conſider as ſuſpected, and arreſt all who ſhould prepare the minds of others not to receive the law relative to the great meaſures required by the circumſtances of the times. The abuſes committed in conſequence of theſe decrees occaſioned numerous complaints, both to the commune and the convention; pretended officers extorted money by means of forged mandates of arreſt; "we have ſeen," ſaid a deputation, "ſons torn from the arms of their agonizing mothers; fathers of families, whoſe eldeſt ſons were ſupporting the cauſe of liberty on the frontiers, ſnatched from their wives and remaining children; public officers raviſhed from their functions; the houſes of peaceful citizens violated; the moſt ſacred rights of man diſregarded; and terror and deſolation every where hovering over this vaſt city."

The legiſlature felt, however, no diſpoſition to relent, but on the contrary added freſh rigour to their former proceedings. On the motion of Billaud Varennes (Sept. 4th) domiciliary viſits, which had been for a time declared illegal, were again authorized, and a general power granted to the committees of inſpection, which were founded in every commune, and became immenſe engines of tyranny, to proceed in arreſting and diſarming ſuſpected perſons, and they were exempted from the reſtraint or intervention of any authority whatever. In vain was it required that ſome intelligible definition of the characteriſtics of ſuſpicion ſhould be given; the propoſition was received with deriſion, and deemed unworthy of an anſwer. And it was even ſtated with applauſe, and without contradiction, that a man ſuſpected was civilly dead.

At length however (September 17th) the convention iſſued a decree founded on a report of the legiſlative committee, not defining the limits of ſuſpicion, but authorizing the incluſion within that deſcription, and the conſequent *arreſtation*; firſt, of all who by their conduct, relations, diſcourſes, or writings, had ſhown themſelves partizans of tyranny or federaliſm; ſecond, Thoſe who could not legally certify their means of gaining a liveli-

a livelihood, and the performance of their civic duties; third, Thoſe to whom certificates of civiſm had been refuſed; fourth, All public functionaries ſuſpended by the national convention or its commiſſioners, and not reinſtated; fifth, Thoſe of the ci-devant nobles, the huſbands, wives, fathers, mothers, ſons, or daughters, brothers or ſiſters, and agents of emigrants, who had not conſtantly manifeſted their attachment to the revolution; and ſixth, All who had emigrated between the firſt of July 1789, and the eighth of April, 1792, although they might have returned to France within the period limitted by any previous law. Of all theſe deſcriptions of men throughout the republic liſts were to be made, ſeals put on their papers, their effects ſtored in warehouſes to be paid for by themſelves, and retained till peace; and their perſons were to be arreſted, and lodged in national buildings. Finally it was declared that men who had been accuſed of crimes, and diſcharged for want of accuſation, or acquitted on trial, might by the authority of the court be committed to theſe houſes of arreſt, as ſuſpected perſons.

As if the means of tyranny contained in this latitudinary decree were not ſufficient, the council general of the commune added, (October 10th) by a new edict, freſh deſcriptions of ſuſpected perſons ſtill more vague, more myſterious, and more ſerviceable to the intereſts of plunder and oppreſſion. They declared they would conſider as ſuſpected, all who in public aſſemblies, impeded the energy of the people by crafty ſpeeches, turbulent cries, and threats. Second, Thoſe more prudent perſons, who ſpoke myſteriouſly of the misfortunes of th republic, pitied the lot of the people, and were always active in diſſeminating bad tidings with affected regret. Third, Thoſe who had changed their conduct and language according to events; who though mute on the crimes of royaliſts and federaliſts, declaimed emphatically againſt the ſlight errors of the patriots, and, in order to appear republicans, affected a ſtudied auſterity and ſtrictneſs, but relaxed whenever a *modéré*, or an ariſtocrat was in queſtion. Fourth, Thoſe who pitied the farmers and avaricious merchants againſt whom legal meaſures were taken. Fifth, Thoſe who with the words of liberty, republic, and patriot always in their mouths, frequented *ci-devant* nobles, revolutionary prieſts, ariſtocrats, feuillans, and *modérés* intereſting themſelves in their fate. Sixth, Thoſe who had taken no active part in the concerns of the revolution, but who excuſed themſelves by alleging that they had paid contributions, made patriotic gifts, and performed ſervices in the national guard, by ſubſtitution or otherwiſe. Seventh, Thoſe who had received with indifference the republican conſtitution, and diſcloſed pretended fears reſpecting its eſtabliſhment and duration. Eight, Thoſe who, though they had done nothing againſt liberty, had done nothing in her favour. Ninth, Thoſe who did not frequent the meetings of their ſections, alleging as an excuſe, that they were not orators, or were hindered by buſineſs.—Tenth, Thoſe who ſpoke with contempt of the conſtituted authorities, the ſigns of the law, the popular ſocieties, and the defenders of liberty. Eleventh, Thoſe who had ſigned counter-revolutionary petitions,

tions, or frequented anti-civic clubs or societies. And twelfth. The partizans of La Fayette, and the assassins who attended in the *Champ de Mars*, on the seventeenth of July, 1791. To these the commune afterwards added, the fact of possessing any patent, or other writing issued in the name of the king, though no use was made of it; and the convention further (10th Oct.) reinforced these edicts of blood, and proscription by ordaining that their commissioners throughout the republic might liberate or confine whomsoever they thought deserving, and change their place of confinement, or try them on the spot, or send them to Paris to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal. To prevent escape, (Nov. 2d) the jailors were made responsible for the prisoners, and subjected to privation of office, and two years imprisonment, unless they could prove that the captive was rescued by a superior and unexpected force.

The crowds which these decrees sent to the different prisons, or houses of arrest, were greatly increased by other regulations. The cry against priests and ex-nobles being raised throughout the republic, Danton procured a decree declaring all aristocrats out of the protection of the law, and although a number of the legislature (March 31st) moving a repeal of this decree, observed, that it was atrociously unjust, and so indefinitely worded, that the best patriots might be put to death in consequence of a misconstruction, no amendment was obtained, nor any answer made but by an explanation, declaring the sense to be, not that any man who met an aristocrat might destroy him, but that in the trial of such persons the ordinary forms might be dispensed with; and thus the law remained. Bankers and the *fermiers generaux* of the old government, though not yet arrested, were under a vigilant guard, their effects sequestered, and seals put on their papers till they should render certain accounts required by the legislature; merchants, always treated with scorn, calumny, and abuse, began to feel serious alarm for their personal safety, when the misfortunes of the republic were loudly and confidently attributed to the selfish spirit of trade. The foreigners whom business, curiosity, or a prepostrous love of the revolutionary system had drawn to France, were particularly exposed to the suspicion and rigour of the republican government. In their behalf no allegation of principle, no protestation of attachment was allowed to prevail, but a series of cruel and oppressive laws deprived them of liberty, and of every resource.

The first of these decrees (Mar. 2d) compelled every subject of the countries at war with France, to make within twenty-four hours a declaration of his name and additions, place of birth, means of subsistence, and in default of proving all his statements by the testimony of six citizens, he was to be banished from the republic. This conditional severity was not, however, sufficient to Robespierre, who moved for a law of peremptory banishment; (June 5th.) but the danger and impolicy of the measure occasioned a reference to the committee of public safety. The English were particularly exposed to the rancour of the ruling party; every event detrimental or disgraceful

disgraceful to the nation, was attributed to the treachery, machiavelism, bribery, or wickedness of the English minister. Mr. Pitt was on that account made the subject of invectives so ludicrous, mixed with calumnies so atrocious, that it was doubtful whether contempt or anger should be suffered to prevail against such clumsy libellers. Sometimes the convention was amused with the supposed intercepted correspondence of his spies, and taught to believe that by means of British gold all the dock-yards and arsenals in France were to be set on fire. At another, pompous accounts were given of the arrest of two of Mr. Pitt's supposed relations, Benjamin and Elizabeth Joannes Pitt, at Abbeville. Garnier moved to decree that Pitt was an enemy of the human race, whom every man had a right to assassinate; the orator declared he had no doubt that a Scevola would be found to deliver the world from such a monster; but the convention declined employing murderers, and contented themselves with decreeing, that Mr. Pitt was an enemy of the human race. The English government was also denounced in the name of outraged humanity to all nations for its base, perfidious, and atrocious conduct in subsidizing assassination, poison, conflagration, and all other crimes to promote the triumph of tyranny, and annihilate the rights of man.

Happy would it have been for the English and other foreigners resident in France, if the national spleen had evaporated in these empty denunciations, and in the silly projects which were formed of landing a hundred thousand men on the English coast, burning the vessels, and leaving them to fight for an establishment. More malignant and effectual persecutions were commenced; at first (July 20th) the foreigners were denounced as stock-jobbers, and again threatened with banishment. But (August 1st) after the reading of some supposed intercepted letters, a decree was issued for arresting all the English in Paris. They were accused of preaching patriotism in France, while at London they vaunted attachment to loyalty; of wearing counter-revolutionary clothes; of insulting the French by laughing at their dress; of poisoning the public morals by their insolent luxury, and of impoverishing the nation by speculations in the funds. This decree was afterwards (5th September) extended to all natives of the countries armed against France, excepting labourers and artisans, and individuals who could give indisputable testimony of civism and attachment to the French revolution. If these proofs were satisfactorily established, certificates of hospitality were to be delivered; but a removal from the place of residence assigned, or failure to produce the certificate on demand, amounted to a forfeiture of protection. No certificates were allowed jobbers, spies, or persons corresponding with the coalesced powers or the emigrants. Death was the punishment of those who lurked in disguise, denied the country of their birth, or entered the republic after the promulgation of the decree. In vain did the English who were obnoxious to the laws of their own country, apply for pity; they were declared to be in detention as hostages, and their effects were seized for the benefit of the republic.

lic. After the surrender of Toulon the decrees of arrest and confiscation were (October 9th.) inforced, with additional severity, and the importation and sale of English goods prohibited, on pain of ten years imprisonment. In consequence of these numerous decrees, the prisons were thronged with a confused mass of persons of different ranks, provinces, and nations. Lecointre of Versailles (October 18) complained to the convention that the jails re-gurgitated with patriotic victims to private malice, and that in consequence of abuses and delays in making out the declarations of causes of commitment, the committee of general security could not adopt proper measures for liberating the innocent. But although Lecointre returned (November 6) to the charge, and drew an affecting picture of the miserable condition of the prisoners, heaped up in the houses of arrest, and stripping themselves even of their last resources to pay their keepers, and purchase necessaries, the convention refused attention to his remonstrances, and adopted the previous question.—Danton, blending humane intentions with ferocious expressions, endeavoured to give a more lenient impulse to the law by requiring that all the really suspected should be put into a state of arrest, but that such measures should in future be executed with greater discrimination. Camille Desmoulins, who mingled with an intriguing disposition and a great share of ferocity, no inconsiderable portion of pleasantry, wrote in a periodical paper entitled, *Le vieux Cordelier*, a feigned translation of Tacitus, in which he decried the tyrannical mode of arresting and incarcerating the suspected with equal force and humour. These efforts, however, produced no benefit to the victims, though they were afterwards recollected to the prejudice of Danton and Camille. The resolves of government were so firmly fixed, that every endeavour to mitigate their severity were treated as treasonable. A number of females who (December 20) petitioned for the liberty of their husbands and relations, declaring at the same time their innocence, were harshly repulsed by Voulland the president, while Robespierre overwhelmed them with reproaches, and frustrated the effect of their prayer by arguments equally sophistical and inhuman. "To judge by the number of women here present," he said, "we must suppose that all the relations of all the prisoners are at the bar; now all the prisoners cannot be patriots, and it must therefore be aristocracy which brings hither such a concourse of petitioners." He then reviled their want of modesty, doubted their being, as they pretended, wives and sisters, because delicacy would have dictated separate and private applications to the Committees, and after terrifying them by insinuating that their exertions were counter-revolutionary, sent them away weeping. A law was, however, passed (Dec. 26th) for establishing secret committees to examine the cases of prisoners, but the mode of appointment, and the jealousy of individuals rendered them rather an engine of renewed oppression, than a source of redress. The last reports of the year (December 25th and 26th) from the committee of public safety, recommended increased vigilance and severity,

verity, and at this time the number of prisoners in Paris alone amounted to more than four thousand.

If the probabilities of relief in confinement afforded the prisoners few motives of consolation, the prospect of acquittal, or even of candid trial was still less inviting. A new court established (Mar. 10th) on the motion of Danton, called at first "the extraordinary criminal tribunal," but afterwards and more generally known by the name of the "revolutionary tribunal," was appointed to take cognizance of plots and attempts against the liberty and sovereignty of the people, the unity, indivisibility, external or internal safety of the republic, and of every plan tending to establish royalty. It consisted of six judges, a public accuser, and two assistants, twelve jurymen, (whose appointment did not depend upon the culprit, but was fixed by the legislature, and recompensed with a salary,) and three occasional substitutes or deputies. Their sentences were without appeal, and might be passed in the absence of the party accused. This court was at first temporary, but it was soon rendered perpetual, its powers enlarged, and in consequence of a great increase of business it was (September 5th) divided into four sections, all armed with the same powers.

The most illustrious and most ill-treated victim of this ferocious tribunal, was the unfortunate widow of Louis XVI. From the period of his murder, her family in general, but she in particular, were the marked objects of popular rage, and subjected to the jealousies of rigorous inspection, the insults of studied suspicion, and the disgraces and necessities inflicted by a beggarly parsimony, the result of envy, brutality, and a meanness of spirit which had sharpened avarice into cruelty, and made a speculation on the means of reducing the subsistence of three or four persons to the smallest possible expence, an object worthy of legislative care. The guards at the temple, their supposed conferences with the royal captives, the possibility of their being engaged in counter-revolutionary plots, formed frequent subjects of debate in the council of the commune and the convention. At sometimes the ruling powers seemed disposed to relieve themselves from care, and their prisoners from pain, by a sentence of banishment, but against this many political reasons were opposed, and the princess Elizabeth, sister of the king, the queen and her two children were still detained, sometimes as hostages, sometimes as criminals, but the manner in which they were always mentioned by the mountain party, left no doubt that they would ultimately be sacrificed as victims.

Motions for delivering over the queen to the revolutionary tribunal were incessantly made by Robespierre during the contest with Brissot; although these were not immediately productive of the desired effect, they allowed the jailors to increase their cruelty, and the commissioners from the municipality to redouble their insolence, and she could not obtain the slightest necessaries for herself or children, without an application to the commune, which was captiously debated and sometimes capriciously rejected.

The first act of rigour exercised against

againſt the queen after the triumph of the Mountain, was (July 3d) her forcible ſeparation from her ſon, by virtue of a decree of the committee of public ſafety, iſſued on pretence of conſpiracies for reſtoring the dauphin to the throne. To diſqualify him from the reſumption of his birthright ſhould Fortune unexpectedly ſmile, the care of his perſon was conſigned to one of the dregs of the mob; Simon, a cobler, a wretch devoted to the Cordeliers, who intoxicated him with ſpirituous liquors, and familiarized his infant tongue to oaths and obſcenities.

The news of the ſurrender of Valenciennes formed the ſignal for new ſeverities againſt the queen. The misfortunes of the republic were as uſual attributed to intrigue, and counter-revolutionary faction; a decree was (Auguſt 1ſt) obtained for trying her, as the imagined centre of all theſe plots, before the revolutionary tribunal, and for her immediate removal to the Conciergerie, the place of confinement for the worſt malefactors, and where they endured the moſt diſgraceful treatment, and the greateſt miſery.

In virtue of this decree, two municipal officers repaired to the Temple in the dead of the night, and compelling their victim to riſe from her bed, announced their orders. They retired a moment while ſhe dreſſed, and then ſearching her pockets, took away all the trifling neceſſaries which ſhe had reſerved from the wrecks of her former ſtate. Deaf to all her intreaties, they refuſed her the ſad conſolation of bidding her ſon adieu, and allowing her only a ſmall parcel containing a change of linen, hurried her into a hackney coach. But, alas! the object of their perſecutions no longer retained thoſe graces which contributed to inflame the rancour of her enemies. Grief and agitation had obliterated the beauties of her countenance; dejection long continued degenerated into feebleneſs, and gave her the appearance of premature old age. At the Conciergerie ſhe was placed in a cell eight feet ſquare, on a hard ſtraw mattreſs thinly covered; ſhe was terrified by the barking of two maſtiffs, and paſſed the firſt night of her abode in this, the laſt manſion which a cruel nation had aſſigned her, in the writhings of inceſſant convulſions. During her abode in this place, her keepers brutally made a profit of her misfortunes, by admitting people to ſee her as a ſhow; ſhe was fed on the fare of hoſpitals, and when ſhe applied to the municipality for a few neceſſaries, her requeſt was brutally refuſed as repugnant to the deity of the day's worſhip, holy equality.

It was at firſt expected that the act of accuſation againſt the queen would have been prepared by the convention, but they declared Marie Antoinette not diſtinguiſhed from any other woman; and the jacobin club appointed a committee to collect the charges neceſſary for her trial. As a preparatory meaſure, ſome of their emiſſaries (October 10th) went to the Temple and endeavoured, by inſidious interrogatories, to gain from the two royal children hints or ſcraps of intelligence which might aid their cauſe, and on theſe converſations they founded a hideous unnatural charge againſt the queen, ſo abominable

minable that Robespierre himself expressed horror and astonishment at the wickedness and folly of the inventors.

She was at length (October 14) put on her trial, if indeed it may be called a trial, which was founded on a flagitious and abusive libel, called act of accusation, in which, instead of the sober language of a court of justice, we find only the distempered obloquies of resolute assassins, and instead of the formal and precise allegations requisite to bring alleged crimes within the scope of a declared law, a wide range is taken into the life, conduct, and transactions of the prisoner, not merely before the deposition of the king, or even the first day of the revolution, but even before her arrival in France. The evidence in support of this informal farrago was not less absurd than its composition; hearsay, conjecture, surmise, suspicion, all were pressed into the cause, and no efforts were spared to make the queen criminate herself by insidious interrogatories. All these efforts were, however, unavailing; for though the jury pronounced her condemnation, no reasoning being who reads the trial, can aver that any one criminal charge is proved, or any slander against her in the slightest manner substantiated. But if this conviction results from the trial of the queen, another far more important to her injured fame must be derived from the same source. If all the busy malignity of preparation could not produce a single witness to substantiate one charge derogatory to her moral character, when wealth and high employment might have been the reward of disclosure, how strong must be the resulting persuasion that all the reproaches against her were mere fabrications of her enemies, which have only gained their credit among the inconsiderate by being confidently repeated by the wicked.

Her execution (October 16th) speedily followed her condemnation, and the cruelty of her confinement and the iniquity of her trial were in perfect consonance with the low insolency of sending to the scaffold a person so highly born, in poor and dirty habiliments, and seated on a tumbril.* Tronçon du Coudray, and Chauveau, who were assigned as her official defenders, although they made no exertions of influence or eloquence in her behalf, were put in arrest immediately after the trial, separately examined, and confined for a time in the Luxembourg; nor was their enlargement granted without many reflections on their conduct in accepting the office of defending her whom the nation had resolved to condemn; a gens d'arme, named Mingault, was condemned to eight days imprisonment for having dipped a handkerchief in her blood; and the commune of Paris ordered prosecutions against all those journalists who published perverse or false reports of the trial.

Another member of the royal family, to whom the misfortunes of the more virtuous parts might be in a great degree attributed, soon followed the fate of Marie Antoinette. The agency of the Duke of Orleans in the most atrocious events of

* For the trial of the queen at length, and a description of her execution, see Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 154.

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the revolution, is too well atteſted by all parties to admit of a doubt; the preciſe nature and extent of his views are not aſcertained, nor perhaps had he himſelf exactly defined them. His rapid career in wickedneſs was interrupted only by momentary viſitings of fear, which produced tranſitory ſymptoms of repentance, but no reform of life. The conſummation of his villany, his vote againſt the king, produced no good effect to his intereſt, but changed to an active principle of hatred, the profound ſcorn and deteſtation with which he was previouſly viewed. From the day of the king's murder, terror was never abſent from his mind: anonymous letters threatened his life; his former aſſociates deſerted, and his wife obtained a ſeparation from him, and retired to her father; fear ſuggeſted numerous precautions for his preſervation, but caution rather augmented than allayed his alarm. His name was uſed in accounting for tumults and conſpiracies, for which no other motive could be aſſigned. Motions for his baniſhment were made by the Briſſotines, and the mountain, both ſeeming to conſider them as exculpatory teſtimonials againſt the accuſations of being his partizans; though till the deſection of Dumouriez, theſe exertions were not conſidered ſerious, but ſet aſide by the order of the day. In the alarm and conſternation occaſioned by that event, (April 1ſt) he appeared a proper victim to popular rage; his name was eraſed from the liſt of jacobins; deputations from the ſections were inſtructed to petition for his trial; and (April 4th) in a midnight ſitting, the two parties in the convention quarselled for the preference in obtaining a decree againſt him and Sillery, by which they were ordered to be taken into ſtrict cuſtody, with liberty however, to go any where within the limits of the capital. This indulgence was the next day (5th) reſtricted, and D'Orleans ordered to be arreſted till the committee of public ſafety ſhould decide on a place for his impriſonment, which was at length (7th) fixed in the Chateau de notre Dame at Marſeilles. Some oppoſition was made to this propoſal, leſt the priſoner might find means to communicate with Biron who commanded the army of the Alps, and was known to be intimately connected with him; but Biron himſelf proved the futility of this fear, by voluntarily arreſting the younger ſon of his friend and benefactor, whom the convention confined with his father. The remaining property of D'Orleans was ſequeſtered, without prejudice to the claims of his creditors.

Complaints were ſoon preſented to the convention that the preſence of the members of the Bourbon family occaſioned diſturbances in Marſeilles, where D'Orleans was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs great influence; nor was this ſuppoſition belied by the reſult of an examination, (May 8th) to which he and two of his ſons were ſubjected, and from which the criminal tribunal of that department declared they could derive no information which had a tendency to criminate them. They were not, however, ſet at liberty; but rumours of conſpiracies to effect their reſcue having been circulated they were removed (May 27th) by night to fort St. Jean; the duke occupied a chamber which had no window, except one towards

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the sea, and he could not even view that uninteresting prospect without standing on a chair: on the bare walls of his dungeon were pourtrayed by preceding prisoners images of punishment, which the persons, who had custody of the Bourbons, in a letter to the convention, termed, with revolutionary facetiousness, unlucky emblems. From this dreary abode he petitioned the municipality and the convention for relief and liberty to take the air, but in vain; the one derided his complaints, the other civilly negatived his request by referring it (June 21st) to the committee of public safety. After this his name was only called to recollection by the applications of his creditors for portions of his property, till it was collaterally connected with the Brissotine party in the report presented by Amar; yet his trial was not connected with theirs; a separate motion was (Oct. 5th) made and granted without opposition, for bringing him to Paris, and lodging him in the Conciergerie. His seclusion from all knowledge of public affairs had been so complete that when he saw the municipal officers he fully expected a restoration to liberty; he testified, however, no impatience at his disappointment, and his arrival (Nov. 2d) in Paris was treated only as an ordinary event.

His trial was (Nov. 6th) rapidly and unexpectedly brought on; the act of accusation which had been voted in the convention against Brissot and his party, served also for him; the interrogatory to which he was subjected, tended to extract answers proving a connection between him and the Girondists, and some witnesses were tendered to show that in conversation with one Poultier, he had insinuated his hopes of being king of France. The jury found him guilty of conspiring against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and he was ordered for immediate execution. He was drawn to the *Place de la Revolution* in a cart, with four other persons, who displayed the most dreadful apprehensions; but on this awful occasion, Orleans exhibited an elevation of mind, which, had it been his portion in more prosperous days, would have secured him happiness and reputation. His intended execution was so little known in Paris, that few people were present when first he ascended the cart, but the rumour soon flew and attracted innumerable gazers. They reproached him in the coarsest terms with all the crimes of his past life, his debaucheries, his assassinations, his perfidy, his vote against the king, every thing memory could suggest. When the cart reached the *Palais Royal*, with a refinement in cruelty truly Parisian, they made it stop ten minutes, to observe the effect produced by contemplating the former scene of his grandeur and debaucheries.—On this great day he disappointed the hopes of malevolence; he maintained during the whole progress a serenity of countenance and dignity of deportment altogether princely. He looked at the *Palais Royal*, and read the inscription on the front denoting it to be national property, without the least apparent emotion. The populace disappointed of their expected gratification, at length permitted him to proceed. At a small distance from the place of execution, he entered into conversation

with a prieſt, who was allowed to attend the priſoners, and ſo continued till he came to the foot of the ſcaffold, where, without loſing for a moment his unuſual intrepidity, he ſubmitted to the guillotine, which terminated his exiſtence in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, in leſs than ten months after the murder of the king, to which he had contributed by ſo much expence, ſo much intrigue, and ſo many crimes. His body was thrown without diſtinction amid the croud of carcaſſes which daily butchery conſigned to the burying-ground of St. Mary Magdalen.

Another individual whom the avarice of government, and the hatred of every thing connected with the royal family hurried to the grave, was the celebrated counteſs du Barry, ſo long the favourite miſtreſs of Louis XV. This unfortunate woman retiring with the wreck of royal prodigality from public life and public notice, ſought at an early period of the revolution, an aſylum from the threatening ſtorm in a foreign land. In an evil hour, her hope of ſecuring ſome property from confiſcation, and her confidence in the declared laws of the country, impelled her to return. The revolutionary municipality arreſted her at Luciennes, (Oct. 30th) and ſent her to the priſon for women.—This arreſt was thought of conſequence enough to intereſt the legiſlative body, "I am aſtoniſhed," ſaid Clauzel (Nov. 2d) "that you ſhould not open your eyes to the dilapidations of the *penultimate* tyrant, the Sardanapalus of France. You have founded a republic, but no republic can exiſt unleſs founded on virtue, and the baſis of virtue is morality. How then can you permit the infamous proſtitute of Louis XV. to retain her ſcandalous fortune? I move that all her property be confiſcated." The convention paſſed to the order of the day on this motion, alleging with indiſputable truth, that as ſhe was in priſon, the revolutionary tribunal would render the ſolicitude of the convention unneceſſary. Her act of accuſation (Dec. 8th) was an incredible compilation of abſurdities, and a mockery on every form of juſtice. It included all the tranſactions of her life ſince the year 1769, and imputed to her all the errors and crimes of the king, her lover, and all the meanneſſes of his courtiers. It traced her conduct in retreat, after the acceſſion of Louis XVI. and beſides the ordinary crimes of favouring the ſucceſs of the foes of France, and holding correſpondence with the enemies of liberty and equality, accuſed her of wearing, while at London, mourning for the late king, of living in familiarity with the miniſterial party, and particularly Mr. Pitt, whoſe likeneſs on a ſilver medal ſhe had obtained, and carefully preſerved. To theſe crimes were added, the poſſeſſion of counter-revolutionary books and engravings, and having buried the letters of nobility belonging to an emigrant, and the buſts of ci-devant courtiers. On this ſtrange accuſation, not only Madame du Barry, but her father and two brothers were condemned and executed. Her conduct in her laſt moments is ſaid to have been marked with terror amounting almoſt to madneſs; for the ſake of a momentary reſpite ſhe promiſed diſcloſures to the committee

mittee of public ſafety, which ſhe was unable to make; and as a laſt effort of deſperation ſtruggled with impotent reſiſtance againſt the executioner. She died at the age of forty-two.

CHAP. XIV.

Intrigues of the Briſſotines. Aſſaſſination of Marat. Character, conduct, and execution of Charlotte Corday. Profane homage and poſthumous honours paid to Marat. Wanderings of the fugitive Deputies. They proceed from Caen to Finiſterre. Purſued by the ruling party. Some of them ſail for Bourdeaux. State of that City. Its ſubmiſſion to the Convention. Arrival of the Deputies, who are compelled to ſeek refuge at St. Emillion—refuſed protection by their Friends. Their final Separation and reſpective Fates. State of the Deputies confined in Paris. Reports to the Convention. Their accuſation. Removal to the Conciergerie. Trial and Execution of Twenty-one. Fate of Gorſas. Rabaud St. Etienne, his Brother, and Wife. Kerſaint. Valady. Manuel. Biroteau. Couſtard. Perrin. Dupont the Atheiſt. Noel. Duchatel. Le Brun. Claviere and his Wife. Proceedings againſt Roland and his Wife. Her Trial and Execution. Roland ſtabs himſelf—his Brother is executed. Execution of Barnave and Bailly.

FROM theſe remains of royalty and its adherents, who owed their deſtruction to the intrigues of the Briſſotines, the attention is naturally directed to the leader of that faction and his aſſociates, who had fallen from the plenitude of power, by a clumſy repetition of the ſame artifices which they had employed in ſubverting the throne. The exertions of their partizans in the departments were aſſiduouſly quoted to the convention and people of Paris, as proofs that the whole party had been always engaged in a royal conſpiracy, and that their firſt and greateſt object was to ſatiate the unappeaſed vengeance of the ci-devant court againſt the capital, as the cradle of the revolution, and particularly againſt the patriots of the mountain, whoſe incorruptible virtue was the only ſafeguard of the commonwealth.

An incident which happened ſoon after their flight, afforded eaſy means for inforcing a belief of theſe reports, and was attended with circumſtances calculated to render ſuch inſinuations probable. Marat was known by no act of his political life more than by his conſtant and perſevering antipathy to this party; and their principal leaders had not conſidered their ſtrength and talents miſemployed in combating this little incendiary. The walls of the convention had frequently reſounded with their complaints, they had procured his accuſation before the revolutionary tribunal, and their publications teemed with invectives quite as unſparing, and little more decorous than his own. After their expulſion, Marat (June 3d) wrote a letter to the convention, declaring that he would no longer exerciſe his functions till they were brought to a trial. He did not, however, adhere to this

determination, as it was not poſſible to riſk ſo perilous a meaſure as the trial, while the departments continued unſubdued, and Paris in a ſtate of uncertainty. He continued his virulent perſecution againſt the obnoxious party, as long as his health permitted him to attend the convention, and when that was no longer poſſible, his letters breathed the ſame ſentiments. His health was rapidly declining, and his life threatened by a complication of diſorders, among which was the leproſy, when (July 13th) his exiſtence was terminated by the frantic reſolution of a young woman, of good family, whoſe father reſided at Caen, the diſtrict where the fugitive deputies were at that moment collected.

The name of this lady was Marie Anne Victoire Charlotte Corday; ſhe was well educated, and living in a ſtate of moderate affluence.—While Louvet and his aſſociates were at Caen, this young woman called at the town houſe, where they lodged, and converſed for ſome time with Barbaroux, who had been the companion of her earlieſt years; ſhe appears to have been in ſome degree privy to their plans, though probably ſhe did not diſcloſe her own; but was inſtigated to ſome deſperate exploit by ſuſpicions which Petion expreſſed either of her patriotiſm, or her courage. She travelled to Paris in a public vehicle, and on the day of her arrival was introduced to Duperret, a deputy, to whom ſhe brought a letter from Barbaroux. The enſuing day ſhe purchaſed a knife, and went to the houſe of Marat, where ſhe ineffectually ſolicited audience. She afterwards wrote him two letters, declaring that ſhe was arrived from Caen, and wiſhed to communicate important intelligence; the ſecond letter procured her admiſſion, at about half paſt ſeven in the evening.—Marat was juſt come out of the bath, and ſeated himſelf half undreſſed near her on a ſofa; he aſked many queſtions reſpecting the deputies at Caen, and the adminiſtration of the department at Evreux, and having extracted, as he thought, the utmoſt information from his viſitor, ſaid he would in a few days have all the adminiſtrators guillotined at Paris. This denunciation ſerved as a ſignal to Charlotte Corday, who immediately plunged her knife in his heart; he fell back, crying to the woman with whom he lived, "help, help, my dear friend!" but before ſhe could reach the apartment he expired.—The aſſaſſin, contrary to her expectation, was conducted to the priſon of the Abbaye unmoleſted by the populace; on her trial before the revolutionary tribunal ſhe avowed the act, ſaid ſhe was inſtigated only by her own conviction of the crimes which Marat had committed and meditated, and that ſhe had neither adviſers nor confidants. She behaved during her impriſonment, on her trial, and to the very moment of her execution, with the utmoſt calmneſs and preſence of mind, and her letters and diſcourſes were even diſtinguiſhed by a certain degree of wit and playful gayety. The charms of her perſon are highly extolled; and the ſtrength of mind which ſhe diſplayed, and the vile character of the wretch whom ſhe deſtroyed, have given to her name a favourable reception which ought never to be beſtowed on an aſſaſſin. It is not the leaſt wonderful circumſtance in this extraordinary

dinary tranſaction that the conduct of Charlotte Corday inſpired a young man named Adam Lux, ſupernumerary deputy from Mentz, with a violent paſſion; his enthuſiaſm in her cauſe conſigned him to the guillotine, and he died a profeſſed and exulting victim to her charms.

But if the enemies of Marat were too lenient in their judgment of Charlotte Corday, their error was ſlight when compared with the abſurdity diſplayed in the extravagant homage paid to the deceaſed demagogue by his faction, and through them by all France. It is indeed among the moſt abject degradations to which the human mind can be ſubjected, to ſee a whole people, in an enlightened age, in the profeſſed ſearch of philoſophy, truth, and liberty, proſtrated before the image of a wretch, more ugly than the idols of Tartar worſhip, and more malignant than the ſpirit whom the unlettered Indian adores through fear. Yet an impure and odious love on one ſide, and an abject and diſgraceful fear on the other, prevented the raiſing of a ſingle voice, or a ſingle hand againſt the national proſtration before the ſhrine, the buſt, the picture, the very name of Marat. His death was announced in the convention, the commune, and the clubs, as a national calamity and diſgrace; his eulogy was pronounced with enthuſiaſm by members of each, by orators of deputations, and by ſections who attended *en maſſe*; his half putrid body was laid in ſtate, and expoſed to idiot adoration; his funeral attended by the convention and conſtituted authorities, and rendered ridiculous and diſguſting by a thouſand abſurd and antichriſtian fooleries; he was extolled above thoſe of Cato, Ariſtides, Socrates, Timoleon, Fabricius, and Phocion; a ſection of Paris aſſumed his name, which was alſo given to ſeveral ports and places belonging to the republic; and finally it was decreed (Nov. 20th) amidſt unbounded applauſes, that the buſt of Mirabeau ſhould be excluded from the Pantheon, to make room for that of Marat. The convention at length grew weary of the repeated efforts of every pretended orator and wit to raiſe himſelf into notice by panegyrizing the friend of the people; and Danton (Dec. 2d) interrupted one who came to read a poem on the ſubject, with the energetic reproof:

"Il nous faut des travaux, et non pas des diſcours."

The blaze of public enthuſiaſm which was thus kindled, was not, however, to waſte itſelf in mere ineffectual exhibition; it was converted into a rage equally intemperate againſt the Briſſotines, whoſe conſent and agency in the aſſaſſination of Marat was perſeveringly affirmed, and though, perhaps, untrue, ſupported by more circumſtances of probability than moſt of the other denunciations and ſuſpicions of Pariſian parties. To the progreſs of the fugitive deputies, our attention is therefore again directed.

After the failure of their plans in the department of Calvados, they found it neceſſary to quit the ſcene of their hopes, which only reminded them of their diſaſters, and in every point of view preſented new dangers. The adminiſtrators of Calvados had made their peace with the mountain, and poſted at the very door where the proſcribed de-

puties were lodged, the edict of outlawry pronounced in the convention againſt them. They were, however, ſtill ſufficiently popular to obtain arms, and the protection of three battalions of volunteers, with whom, and diſguiſed like them, they began a march, the object of which was to croſs the departments of La Manche. L'Iſle et Vilaine, Les Cotes du Nord, and Morbihan, to reach that of Finiſterre, where they expected to find friends, and to arrange means for fomenting the inſurrections in the ſouth, inciting new ones, and giving to events in general a turn favourable to their own ſafety and ambition. At Fougeres, the three battalions among which they had diſperſed themſelves, ſeparated, and the deputies adhered to one, conſiſting of eight hundred men, which was proceeding for Finiſterre, whence they intended to embark for Bourdeaux, and relied with fond confidence on a concentration of their force and influence in the Gironde. Their chances of ſucceſs, and motives of confidence became during their journey daily leſs, and the dangers and alarms hourly increaſed. The decrees and agents of the ruling party purſued them every where; and the country people, either through love of eaſe, or fear of giving offence, were generally afraid of giving them countenance or protection. At Autrain they were immediately endangered; at Dol, they were only ſaved by the weakneſs of the municipality, and the non-arrival of an armed force from St. Malo; in the road to Dinan, their lives were expoſed to great riſk, and on their arrival at that city, they were obliged to accept diſcharges from the battalion, and rely on themſelves alone for ſecurity. Their adherents were ſhaken from them by the argument that as France had accepted the new conſtitution, it was an act of treaſon to eſpouſe the cauſe of thoſe whom that conſtitution had ſubjected to outlawry.

They parted from Dinan nineteen in number, including a guard of ſix men, deſigned at once as a reinforcement, and as guides.—Their project was to reach Quimper by croſs roads; they were amply furniſhed with arms, and equipped like volunteers returning to their homes: their diſcharges were regularly made out, and duly authenticated. The party who travelled together conſiſted of Barbaroux, Buzot, Petion, Louvet, Salles, Cuſſy, Leſage, Meillant, Bergoing, and Girouſt, all deputies, Girey Dupré and Riouffe, their intimate friends; ſix guides, and a ſervant of Buzot. Lanjuinais was not amongſt them, as he had only paſſed through Caen to viſit them; Guadet wandered from them, and reached Quimper alone; Valadi remained at Dinan, Lariviére on the coaſt of Falaiſe, Duchatel and Kervelegan had already proceeded to Quimper to make preparations for their companions; Mollevaut had departed, and Gorſas was gone to Rennes.—Several peculiar circumſtances rendered the progreſs of this party difficult, and their ſafety improbable: they were in general men of ſedentary life, or eaſy fortune, unuſed to privation and fatigue, and without means of inforcing obedience to any general ſyſtem of command; many of their perſons were well known, and expoſed to diſcovery in places and ſituations where it was eſſential to them to remain undetected. Petion in particular, who had been ſo long

long mayor of Paris, and so active in the popular societies, could hardly pass through a town without being recognized. At Moncontour, whither they were led on a market day, through a mistake of their guides, their names were publicly mentioned as they passed; they spent whole days in woods, and on heaths exposed to the sun and the rain, and fainting for want of provisions. A friend near Moncontour afforded them a night's protection, and here two of the party, Lesage and Girouft, were prevailed on to desist from the fatigue and peril of further travelling, and to accept an asylum.

Near Roternheim, where they next stopped, they incurred still greater danger, being surprized in their beds by fifty municipal officers and gens d'armes, and every means used to ensnare them into a surrender of their persons, though the difficulty of a conflict prevented the attempt to secure them by force. From this place, which they anxiously quitted, they proceeded for near thirty-one hours, almost without rest or refreshment, travelling all night, through swamps and bogs, doubtful of their right course, and deprived of all their guides except one. Cussy, crippled with the gout, and Barbaroux, unwieldy through corpulency, and lame with a sprained foot, walked with extreme pain; Buzot, incapable of great exertion, dragged himself along with difficulty, though eased of the weight of his accoutrements; and Riouffe, unable to endure the galling of a tight pair of boots, marched on tiptoe with flayed feet. When they had arrived within four miles of Quimper, they sent forward their only remaining guide, for the danger deterred them from entering the town by day, and lay on the ground for a little repose. The rain descended in torrents, hunger tormented them; and in this situation they passed four hours. Hope and courage had intirely deserted them; their despairing eyes wandered over the dreary waste; their impious tongues uttered maledictions against nature; and suicide familiarized itself to their contemplation as the only means of escaping such accumulated tortures.

From this situation they were however relieved; Bergoing, Meillant, Salles, Cussey, and Girey Dupré were received by Kervelegan; the rest were dispersed at different houses in and about Quimper. But although they had gained in the department of Finisterre, an interval for repose, they found nothing which could inspire confidence, or renovate hope. The imprudence of Duchatel, who made no secret of his name or circumstances, exposed them to great hazards, and more than once they were obliged to change their asylum to escape detection. From this place Cussy, Duchatel, Bois Guyon, Girey Dupré, Salles, Meillant, Bergoing, a Spanish friend of Brissot, named Marchena, and Riouffe, sailed for Bourdeaux; they landed, but were all captured, and the greater part executed without trials as outlaws.

The rest of the fugitives remained quietly in their retreats till the 20th of September, when Guadet, Buzot, Petion, Valadi, and one of his friends, Barbaroux, and Louvet, ignorant of the fate of their associates, obtained with great difficulty a passage to Bourdeaux, and after escaping many dangers, thought themselves happy in reaching the capital of the Gironde, the centre

of their influence, and ſource of their political denominations, where they expected to find warm friends and devoted adherents. There was at one period ſufficient ground for a foundation to theſe expectations, but while the fugitives had loſt their time in intriguing at Caen, in wandering towards Finiſterre, and in preparing for their voyage to Bourdeaux, the more active party of government had effectually deſtroyed all their reſources in the Gironde.

The lofty language ſpoken by the people of Bourdeaux to the convention was not a mere vapour; the city, and indeed the whole department, was ſincerely attached to the cauſe of its repreſentatives, and deeply indignant at the inſolence with which they were threatened; only one ſection of the city, called the ſection of Franklin, contained a club formed on the Cordelier principle. On learning the events of the 31ſt May, Bourdeaux refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the triumphant faction, appointed a committee of public ſafety to reſtrain anarchiſts, armed a departmental force to ſuccour the convention, and ſent agents to Lyons and Marſeilles to concert meaſures of co-operation. Their indignation was ſo violent, and its effects ſo ſudden, that the adminiſtrators of the department (June 6th) wrote to the convention in terms of terror and diſtraction. Two deputies, Trielhard and Mathieu, were ſent (June 17) on the miſſion to the department of the Gironde, and Lot and Garonne; but the new committee of public ſafety, reſolutely avowing their determination to ſupport their compact, intimated to the miſſionaries, the propriety of their retreat, and the dangers they might incur by a protracted ſtay. The miſſionaries retired without loſs of time to the department of Dordogne, and doubtleſs wrote a full account of their reception, although their letter, read in the convention, imported only that the people of Bourdeaux ſeemed entirely devoted to the cauſe of the republic, but deceived reſpecting the tranſactions of the 31ſt May; and a ſmall party appeared deſirous of royalty, as cries of *Vive Louis XVII.* had been heard at the theatre. This letter and ſubſequent information produced a decree of the convention, dated the 6th of Auguſt, annulling all acts of the pretended committee of public ſafety as derogatory to the liberty and ſovereignty of the French nation, and declaring all the members of this aſſembly, and all who ſanctioned, concurred in, or obeyed its decrees, traitors to the country and outlaws, and confiſcating their property for the benefit of the republic. The dreadful authorities created by this decree were not intruſted to the feeble hands of Trielhard and Mathieu; they were recalled, and Tallien, Ysabeau, Garreau, and Chaudron Rouſſeau appointed in their ſtead. Awed by the preſence of theſe deputies, while none of the oppoſing faction had yet made their appearance, terrified at the thoughts of being expoſed to all the ſeverities of the conventional decree, and deceived by miſrepreſentations of the general ſtate of the republic; the people of Bourdeaux eaſily gave way to the ſtrength of authority. They apologized for ſome inſults offered to two of the deputies on their entrance in the city, permitted them to levy in the neighbourhood

neighbourhood a revolutionary army of two thousand men; the club in the section of Franklin was allowed to abolish all the other clubs, the most independent and wealthy citizens were arrested, and sacrificed to the revenge and cupidity of their opponents; and finally, this great city, which had flown to arms to defend its rights, its freedom, and its representatives, suffered itself to be disarmed by a club and an army formed under their own immediate permission, some of the chiefs of which were criminals escaped from the gallies!

Such was the position of affairs when the fugitives arrived, and Guadet with indiscreet openness declared at an inn who they were. Instead of the cordial reception and zealous homage they expected, they found their presence occasioned alarm and terror; they could obtain only a brief and confused account of the late occurrences; they were considered contagious, and far from finding an individual who would venture to receive them into his abode, they could with difficulty procure a man to conduct them out of the city. Guadet retired to Saint Emillion, his native place, hoping to procure a shelter for his friends, who remained during this interval of suspense concealed at Bec d'Ambez. Unfortunately for them the imprudence committed at their landing, rendered their retreat easily discoverable, and such measures were taken for securing their persons that with great difficulty they escaped to St. Emillion, though they were six in number, and Guadet had apprized them that even among his own relations he could only obtain lodging for two. From this temporary asylum they were again expelled by new alarms, and had the mortification of being compelled to abandon in disguise, unprotected, disavowed, and almost pennyless, that department which they had entered with such fond and sanguine expectations. They drained the cup of disappointment to the coarsest dregs; Guadet, incredulous of the obduracy of relations and summer friends, was turned away from more than fifty doors where he begged shelter; and these men whose conduct and maxims had tended so much to overthrow religion and found morals in France, in their extreme distress, obtained from priests and women the most consolatory attentions, and the most generous protection.

Their present distressed circumstances compelled them to separate; Barbaroux, Louvet, Valadi and his friend, set out for Paris without money, without means of disguise, and without a plausible story to shield them from discovery. Barbaroux assumed the character of a mineralogist, and his three companions called themselves merchants who travelled with him for the purpose of working the mines he might discover. This shallow fiction was soon found incapable of answering the purpose, and while these four were concealed in the house of a generous woman who braved every danger, and sustained every privation for the sake of humanity, they were joined by Petion and Buzot, who in a fortnight had been forced to change their abode seven times, and were through famine and despair reduced to the last extremity. The increasing eagerness of their pursuers drove them again from this retreat; Barbaroux,

baroux, Petion, and Buzot departed together, and met their fate; Buzot was found assassinated in a field; the end of the others is uncertain, but they are supposed to have been starved to death; Petion's mother-in-law was guillotined at Paris.

Valadi, whom illness and the fear of death had almost bereft of reason, sought refuge with a friend, but disappointed there, wandered to Perigeux, where he was discovered and sent to the scaffold.

At this time the summer had elapsed, and Louvet, Guadet, with Salles, who had now joined them, set out in November to brave an inclement season, and incur all risks for ultimate personal safety, for to that were all their ambitious projects now shrunk. Louvet, after experiencing great difficulties and distresses, which sometimes drove him to the very verge of suicide, reached Paris, and was safe; Salles and Gaudet were arrested and delivered to the vengeance of Tallien at Bourdeaux, who sent to the scaffold not only them, but Guadet's father, brother, and aunt.

Meanwhile the deputies imprisoned at Paris had ample opportunities of contemplating the approach of their own inevitable destiny, and were reduced to the miserable condition of being inactive spectators of the efforts of their triumphant opponents to weave round them the web of destruction. At first their hopes of a strong popular exertion in their favour might have been sanguine; many addresses of spirited remonstrance were presented to the convention; it was believed that large bodies of men would march from the departments to their rescue; troops were in a train of being levied; public administrators refused to send their taxes to the treasury; and some deputies alarmed at the tremendous crisis, offered to vacate their seats. But the mountain was not so inexpert in the clumsy manœuvres which had so long governed France, as to be shaken by such attacks; to the addresses of the dissatisfied departments they opposed others more numerous and more strong in expression; against the supposed insurrection they fortified themselves with a revolutionary army, raised in Paris and the suburbs, with the welcome license to plunder and recruit in the departments; and the deputies who might have weakened, and rendered contemptible the legislative body by deserting *en masse*, were by well-directed strokes of terror fixed to their unwelcome seats, and condemned to hear themselves and their friends abused in the most gross and malignant terms.

The dangers at first apprehended from the friends of the Brissotines were soon forgotten, the public attention was directed to the new constitution, and when that was perfected it became a potent engine against the depressed faction. — Many primary assemblies mixed with their approbation of the new code, denunciations against the royalist, federalist, faction of statesmen, who had so long impeded the attainment of true republican freedom; the departments themselves, when they had accepted the constitution, were easily persuaded of the impropriety of continuing armed in favour of a party which it did not protect. After this, every success of the insurgents, every failure of the republican arms furnished new themes for petitions against the confined deputies, whose cause none could

could be found to espouse, while assaults against them were redoubled on every side, and before the end of June, the mountain found themselves sufficiently strong to retract their lenient order for the confinement of the deputies at their own homes, and ordered them to be imprisoned like other persons in houses of arrest.

On the eighth of July, St. Just, in the name of the committee of public safety, made a report respecting the imprisoned deputies, which was frequently interrupted by the murmurs of their remaining partizans, though it was affirmed that proofs of all the allegations were in the hands of the committee, and should be published. It began with the character of Brissot, describing him as a monster, who from the first sitting of the convention headed a party, which rather co-operated in his crimes than shared his councils; he was the defender of kings, while he affected to be the champion of the republic; and the aim of his faction was either to prepare for a foreign usurpation, or to re-establish the ancient dynasty. On the tenth of August 1792, though they assisted in subverting the throne, they made war on the republicans. Some of the party wished to place the son of Capet on the throne, and declare his mother regent; others wished to bestow the crown on the duke of York, "who now so politely makes war upon us." Petion on that day signed the order to fire on the people, and the other leaders temporized; they did not openly condemn the revolution of the tenth of August, but they deplored with affectation *all the ensuing accidents* — They were assiduous in calling for laws repressive of popular movements, and made use of Roland as a tool to assail the republican party; Roland who excited disturbances at Lyons, and discontents among the aristocrats, while his party incessantly recalled to the public mind the misfortunes of September. "And we, too," said the reporter, "might found accusations on those crimes: we could accuse Petion and Manuel, who were then magistrates of the people, but when required to repress the tumult, answered that they would not risk their popularity; we might accuse Brissot, who enquired whether his enemy de Morande was assassinated?" The reporter proceeded to charge them with causing the disasters of the army, being accomplices with Dumouriez, sending their own creatures ambassadors to foreign courts, refusing reasonable overtures of peace, and then, in order to save the tyrant, threatening France with foreign vengeance. After the death of the king they had, under pretence of repressing anarchy, bent all their efforts against the popular clubs, and by a placard invited the people to unite with the Bourgeois, and drive out the brigands of the clubs from the sections and the convention. While they were thus inflaming the people, they held correspondence with the insurgents in all the departments, and with Paoli in Corsica, who, like them, complained of anarchy. The committee of twelve pursued their despotic career, soured the public mind, and after having arrested Hebert, they had prepared a conspiracy to spike the alarm gun, seize the cannon at the commune, and the Temple, proclaim Louis XVII.

XVII. king, and his mother regent. Their exertions in the departments ſince their flight were then traced, and it was moved that the fugitives ſhould be outlawed, as traitors to the country, and thoſe who were in confinement put in a ſtate of accuſation.

This curious report was a proof of the dexterity with which the tactics of the Briſſotines were adopted by their enemies: it was a maſs in which ſome truths were mixed with many fictions, and great confuſion of facts and inferences introduced for the purpoſe of perplexing the judgment. The public mind was not yet, however, ſufficiently prepared to ſuffer the execution of the priſoners on ſuch pretexts, but the mountain purſued the infallible method to enforce it. New reports on ſubjects which had no direct relation, glanced at the crimes of the Briſſotines, and deputations again and again denounced them as enemies of the republic and conſpirators againſt its ſafety. The aſſaſſination of Marat, as already has been intimated, furniſhed ample ſources of accuſation againſt the adverſaries of the demagogue; Couthon moved, (July 14th) that the committee employed to prepare the act of impeachment ſhould be heard immediately; the conſpiracy, he ſaid, was no longer to be doubted, and as the chief conſpirator was in their hands, him the ſword of juſtice ought to ſtrike. He alſo affirmed it to be *mathematically* proved that the monſter, Charlotte Corday, to whom nature had given the ſhape of a woman, was an emiſſary employed by the fugitives to murder Marat, Garat, and perhaps many more patriots of the ſame ſtamp. The next day Billaud Varennes read a long report tending to implicate the accuſed deputies in the conſpiracy againſt Marat. The female with whom the popular idol had cohabited, alſo attended in the convention, (Aug. 8th) and preferred loud complaints againſt thoſe inveterate enemies who, not content with having embittered his life by their inceſſant perſecutions, purſued him after death with unabated rage, and even forged his name to ſentiments he had never known. All theſe efforts did not, however, produce the intended effect, and ſome writers have affirmed that an inſurrection was projected, to have taken place on the tenth of Auguſt, in which the impriſoned deputies were to have been ſacrificed; but the fédérés would not co-operate in ſuch an act, and the ſections of Paris guarded the priſoners a whole week.

When the government party had gained additional aſcendancy in the departments, the addreſſes of the convention became more peremptory and violent, and the clamour againſt the Briſſotines more determined: the jacobin club took up the matter with its uſual violence; a deputation reproached the convention (14th Sept.) for ſuffering ſuch traitors to be impriſoned in palaces, while honeſt *ſans culottes* were heaped in dungeons; daily motions were made in their hall requiring that the ſword of the law ſhould avenge the wrongs of the people: they paſſed a reſolution that they would devote inceſſant attention to that great object, and appointed a committee to receive denunciations and papers. The trial of the queen gave additional energy to the eagerneſs

neſs of the people to witneſs that of the confined deputies; an eagerneſs to which the mountain and the clubs greatly contributed by always combining the two ſubjects as if inſeparably connected.

The convention referred the materials for framing the accuſation to the committee of general ſafety, and legiſlation, who apologized for their delays by ſtating (Oct. 1) that for eight days they had been engaged till two o'clock in the morning digeſting and arranging their report; unſatisfactory drafts of decrees had been preſented, but in three a report ſhould be made. On the third of October Amar accordingly made a report of uncommon length, replete, like that of Saint Juſt, with falſehood as well as truth, with well-founded accuſation and malignant calumnies; it induced the convention, however, to confirm the outlawry of the fugitives, and to decree the accuſation and trial before the revolutionary tribunal of forty-five members of their body, as conſpirators againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, and ſeventy-three more, who had ſigned proteſt in their behalf, were ordered to be confined in a houſe of arreſt. The report was ordered to be printed, and ſix copies given to each deputy. The act of accuſation was immediately framed, and thoſe who were in cuſtody in Paris were removed to the Conciergerie.

On the 24th of October twenty-one members, namely Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Duperret, Carra, Gardien, Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, Ducos, Boyer Fonfredé, Laſource, Leſterpt-Beauvais, Duchatel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Lehardi, Boileau, Antiboul and Vigée were put on their trial. Briſſot was placed in an elevated ſeat, ſurrounded by his fellow priſoners. As they were well apprized of the form of accuſation intended to be uſed, they employed all their ingenuity in making ſuch a defence as would expoſe the court to contempt if it could not produce their own acquittal. In fact the period of their proceſs was replete with alarm and inquietude to their adverſaries. On the 27th of October Hebert complained at the jacobin club of the craft and impoſture practiſed in a journal called *Le Bulletin du Tribunal revolutionnaire*, which inſerted all the circumſtances favourable to the priſoners, but ſuppreſſed the evidence of Chabot, and other facts which had the moſt material tendency againſt them. To remedy this ſuppoſed partiality, they decreed that the *Journal de la Montagne* ſhould report their proceedings after a reviſion by a committee of their own body. Complaints were made too of the tardineſs with which the affair proceeded; it had already been commenced five days, and the culprits by their dexterity in croſs-examining witneſſes, and raiſing objections, ſeemed to threaten a tedioufneſs incompatible with the views of the governing party. It was repreſented at the jacobins that the length of the proceſs was a mere fineſſe; the accuſed deputies hoped to gain time till the ſucceſs of ſome inſurrection in the departments ſhould rally around them all their partizans in the capital, and enable them to ſacrifice the mountain. The revolutionary tribunal, Chaumette obſerved, proceeds like an ordinary court, and tries theſe conſpirators, who have trampled under foot the laws of their country, of

of nature, and of humanity, juſt as a poor wretch would be tried who had ſtolen a pocket-book.—Another, named Ricord, propoſed to reduce the trial to two queſtions, Are you Briſſot? Are you the deputy of the national convention? and on his anſwering in the affirmative, to let him be ſhot immediately: ſimilar proceedings, he obſerved, had produced excellent effects at Marſeilles. The judges of the revolutionary tribunal complained to the convention of the forms which impeded their progreſs; in five days only nine witneſſes had been examined, each of whom had given in his own manner a hiſtory of the revolution. The priſoners then anſwered the witneſs, theſe replied, and thus a diſcuſſion was conſequently commenced, which the loquacity of the culprits rendered extremely long, and if afterwards each of them were to make a ſeparate defence, the trials would never be brought to a concluſion; in a word, the court required a diſpenſation from the neceſſity of examining witneſſes, and a decree to aboliſh all forms which impeded their proceedings. A deputation from the jacobins attended the convention (Oct. 29) with a remonſtrance on this ſubject, giving bloody inſtructions, which returned to plague their inventors. "You have created," ſaid the ſpeaker of the deputation, "a revolutionary tribunal, unveiling crime with one hand, and ſtriking it with the other, *but it is ſtill ſubjected to forms which endanger liberty.*" "If a man is taken in the act of committing an aſſaſſination," ſaid theſe curious logicians, "do we need, in order to aſſert his crime, a preciſe enumeration of the ſtabs he has given his victim? and is there any greater difficulty in judging the deputies? Have we not ſeen the ſkeleton of federaliſm? citizens butchered, cities deſtroyed—theſe are their crimes. Is it neceſſary, in order that theſe monſters may periſh, that they ſhould be drowned in the blood of the people? The ſun which enlightens us to diſcover a ſtate crime, ought not to ſhine for the conſpirators. You have on your ſide the *maximum of opinion*; ſtrike! We propoſe to you firſt, to diſembarraſs the revolutionary tribunal of forms, which ſmother conſcience and impede conviction. Secondly, To add a law, permitting the jurors to terminate a trial by declaring themſelves ſufficiently inſtructed; then and then only will the traitors be detected, and terror ſhall be the order of the day. The former part of this propoſition was referred to the committee of legiſlation; the latter, on the motion of Oſſelin, decreed without oppoſition. It was not, however, ſatisfactory to Roberſpierre, who ſhewed his aſcendancy over the convention, by procuring an amendment after the decree had paſſed, by which, when a trial had laſted three days, the preſident of the court ſhould aſk the jury if they were ſatisfied, and on their anſwer in the affirmative, declare the trial at an end; but this amendment was not to prevent the jury from making in a ſhorter time a ſpontaneous declaration. Of this privilege they availed themſelves without loſs of time, (Oct. 30th) declaring themſelves ſufficiently inſtructed, and condemning all the deputies to death. In vain did ſome of them remonſtrate that their names had hardly hitherto been mentioned, and no evidence

examined to any part of their conduct; the buſineſs of the court was not to reaſon, but to condemn. Valazé, in a tranſport of indignation, ſtabbed himſelf in preſence of his judges, but this additional crime was of no avail, he could not avoid the ignominy of his fate, for his corpſe was ordered to be expoſed in a cart, dragged to the ſcaffold, and beheaded as if alive; Vergniaud had provided himſelf with poiſon, but inſtructed by the raſhneſs of Valazé, gave it to the officer of the guard, and ſubmitted to his deſtiny.

On their return to the Conciergerie, which was near midnight, as their condemnation was not pronounced till eleven o'clock, the deputies apprized their fellow-priſoners of the event, by chanting in full chorus, a pre-concerted parody on the Marſeillois hymn. They paſſed the whole night in ſinging, interrupted only by occaſional converſation. The next day (31ſt) at noon they were drawn to the *Place de la Revolution*, and in thirty-ſeven minutes the executioner had completed his office.

Barrere, who during their aſcendancy had been one of the friends and confidants of the party, announced their execution to the convention in the following pedantic laconiciſm: "the federaliſts *have lived*; the republic alone is immortal; let us employ ourſelves on the moſt preſſing intereſts of the people."

During theſe tranſactions and afterwards, other Girondiſts were diſcovered and ſacrificed to the aſcendant party. Gorſas, a friend and literary coadjutor of Briſſot, was executed without trial as an outlaw; Rabaud St. Etienne, who had long concealed himſelf in the Fauxbourg Poiſſoniere, was betrayed by a woman, and in like manner ſent to the ſcaffold (Dec. 5th) without any other proceſs than that of identifying his perſon. The wife of Rabaud put a period to her exiſtence by ſitting on the frame on a well, while ſhe diſcharged a piſtol through her brain; ſo that her ſtruggles for life were abridged by drowning. Kerſaint was apprehended at Ville D'Arras, and executed without a trial. Manuel had retired to Montargis, his native ſpot; for the purpoſe of eluding purſuit, he circulated a report that he was killed in a popular commotion; he was, however, at length arreſted and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal. The crimes he had committed in directing the maſſacres in September were bitterly remembered in his laſt moments; the other priſoners in the Conciergerie expreſſed their deteſtation by reproaches, and when he was going to execution, daſhed him againſt a pillar ſtill ſtained with the blood of that day's victims. Biroteau was executed on board a privateer which he had equipped; the mountain loudly publiſhed that they had drawn from him a valuable confeſſion; that the Briſſotines if triumphant would have aſſaſſinated their enemies with as little regard to forms of law, as they experienced themſelves. Couſtard was beheaded with the duke of Orleans; and the Cordeliers were earneſt in requiring the legiſlature to decree the trial of the ſeventy-three deputies who were ſtill in priſon.

Several other members of the legiſlative body were made victims of the revolutionary tribunal almoſt without an obſervation. Perrin, convicted of ſpeculating in military furniſhments,

furniſhments, was condemned to twelve years impriſonment, but died almoſt immediately; Dupont, who had with equal inſolence and impiety, profeſſed atheiſm in the tribune of the convention, ſuffered on the ſcaffold; and the ſame fate attended Noel, an adherent of Briſſot, and therefore a partaker in his conſpiracy.

The miniſters againſt whom decrees of accuſation were obtained met the fate of the deputies, or evaded them by ſuicide. La Brun was ſeized in a cock-loft, in the diſguiſe of a labourer, and put to death almoſt without an examination. Soon after his arreſt, Claviere (June 13th) addreſſed a letter to the convention, requiring his diſcharge, and affirming that no motive for ſuſpicion had been diſcovered among his papers; this application produced no effect; but although ſeveral motions were made, a decree of accuſation was not obtained againſt him till the fifth of September. He would not, however, await the certain event of a trial, but on receiving his act of accuſation (November 8th) and liſt of witneſſes, ſtabbed himſelf with a knife. His goods were confiſcated, and his example made the public accuſer reſolve that in future when the day of trial was fixed, the priſoner ſhould be ſearched, and watched by ſoldiers to prevent ſimilar events. The wife of Claviere ended her life by poiſon.

Roland, as we have already ſeen, was put in a ſtate of arreſt; and ſeals placed on his papers on the firſt of April, but as his party was not entirely defeated, he obtained the appointment of commiſſioners to inſpect and identify his correſpondence, and his own diſcharge; but although he was ſucceſsful in theſe points, the convention refuſed to wave the examination of his wife's papers, alleging with truth, that ſhe was more occupied in politics than in domeſtic affairs. In the great commotion on the 31ſt May, he was again arreſted by order of a revolutionary committee; proteſting, however, againſt their authority, and declaring his reſolution to oppoſe to the execution of their decree ſuch reſiſtance as a man of his age could uſe, he had the good fortune to perſuade the gens d'armes to retire. His wife apprehending that the reſpite would not be of long duration, prevailed on him to eſcape, while ſhe, remaining in her houſe, was ſeized, conducted to the Abbaye, and for ſome time detained on the pretext of being a hoſtage for her huſband. This proceeding had in it as much ſagacity as tyranny, but it failed of producing the expected effect: Roland, notwithſtanding his known attachment to his wife, remained in concealment, and the governing party found themſelves obliged to diſcharge the lady from her confinement, under the warrant of the revolutionary committee. This apparent juſtice was, however, in effect only a barbarous mockery, for as ſoon as ſhe entered her own dwelling ſhe was again arreſted, and informed her temporary enlargement had only taken place becauſe the commune were under the neceſſity of doing ſo, that ſhe might be taken *legally* into cuſtody. She was now conveyed to the priſon of St. Pelagie, where, as ſhe deſcribes it, ſhe led a temperate life, and ſupported her lot with courage, though her conduct appears open to the charge

charge of oſtentation, and the deſire of making an impreſſion on the memory of her friends ſurpaſſing her real merit. She paſſed much of her time in writing, for which, as to ſtyle and facility of compoſition, ſhe was eminently qualified, but her memoirs and notices, though they contain many ineſtimable diſcloſures of the ſecrets and manœuvres of her faction, muſt be read with great caution when ſhe permits herſelf to panegyrize her friends, or ſatirize the royal family, againſt whom ſhe entertained an inextinguiſhable malignity. After the execution of Briſſot, ſhe conſidered her death warrant already ſigned; and with a view of preſerving in her own power the election between ſuicide and ſubmiſſion to her ſentence, procured a large portion of opium — Her interrogatory before the revolutionary tribunal was conducted with all the brutality and contempt of juſtice which marked that court. She experienced great difficulty in perſuading them to receive her anſwers, which they inſiſted ſhould be confined to yes or no, without explanation; the public accuſer and the judge reviled her as an obſtinate prater, and ſarcaſtically told her, ſhe was not now in the office of the miniſter of the interior to ſhow her wit. The extreme rage ſhown on this occaſion did not diſconcert the priſoner; ſhe perſiſted in giving only ſuch anſwers as ſhe thought reaſonable, and could never be induced to make any diſcloſure reſpecting her huſband. She was removed from St. Pelagie to the Conciergerie, where ſhe remained about eight days: her behaviour is deſcribed by her admiring partizans, as wonderfully heroic, but they alſo inform us, that ſhe ſometimes paſſed three hours in tears at her window. On the morning deſtined for her trial, or rather her condemnation without trial, (November 8) ſhe dreſſed herſelf neatly in white, and heard without emotion her ſentence, which declared her the author and abettor of a conſpiracy againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, and againſt the liberty and ſafety of the French people. She returned to the Conciergerie with an air of gaiety, and in her paſſage to the ſcaffold by her animated exhortations raiſed the deſponding ſpirits of a man executed with her for forgery. When ſhe ſaw the newly erected ſtatue of liberty, on the *Place de la Revolution*, "O liberty," ſhe exclaimed, "how many crimes are committed in thy name!" and in her laſt moment ſhe commiſerated her feeble minded aſſociate, ſo far as to deſire that he might be executed firſt; the executioner, making ſome heſitation in granting her requeſt; "Oh, Sir!" ſhe ſaid, "you will ſurely not refuſe a lady the laſt favour ſhe can aſk!"

Before ſhe went from the Conciergerie ſhe propheſied truly that her huſband would not long ſurvive her. Eſcaping from Paris, Roland had found refuge with ſome ladies at Rouen, who concealed him at the hazard of their lives; when he learned the death of his wife, no arguments could divert him from the reſolution of deſtroying himſelf. Having ſettled the means, and written ſuch papers as he thought fit for peruſal after his deceaſe, he travelled on foot four leagues from Rouen, and ſitting under a tree ſtabbed himſelf with a ſword which he carried in a cane.

His body being discovered, Legendre, who was on a mission at Rouen, attended to identify it, and with the brutality of a jacobin butcher, vented his spleen in gross invectives against the deceased. In his letter to the convention, giving an account of the transaction, he requested that a gibbet might be placed on Roland's grave, with an inscription denoting his crimes. A priest who was the brother of the ex-minister, and captured about the same time by a detachment of the revolutionary army in the department of Oise, also suffered death.

Yet not from the Girondist faction alone were the victims of the reigning faction selected. Those who had in the early days of the revolution enfranchised, by their declamations, the public mind from the restraints of loyalty and humanity, were now made to feel the effects of their own precepts. Barnave, once so popular in the constituent assembly, and for a long time so virulent in declamations against the court, was led to the scaffold amidst the execrations of the people, for having conspired with the court against liberty. Bailly, whose factious conduct, as mayor of Paris, had occasioned many of the early commotions, was hunted to death with unrelenting savageness. His popularity was completely destroyed by the transaction in the Champ de Mars, on the 17th July 1791; and he endeavoured to elude the fury of his enemies by keeping cautiously concealed. But he was the object of frequent denunciations, and was at length, in consequence of a motion by Chaumette, arrested and thrown into prison. He bore his fate with fortitude and gaiety, and gave evidence on the trial of the Queen in a manner so upright and candid as to excite acrimonious animadversions at the jacobin club. His own condemnation affected him little, as he had considered the progress of the revolution too attentively to expect mercy. His execution (Nov. 11th) was attended with singular circumstances of barbarity. He was put into a cart, with his hands tied behind his back, and drawn slowly towards the Champ de Mars, where the guillotine was erected expressly for him. In the cart was placed a red flag; the day was rainy, and during a long and slow progress, this unfortunate man experienced every insult a wanton mob could inflict.—They spit on him, pelted him with mud, struck him, tore off pieces of the flag, and having drenched them in mud, dabbed them in his face.—On his arrival at the Champ de Mars, they forced him to get out of the cart, and walk round the field, overwhelmed with insults and cruel derisions; they next compelled him to set fire to a pile, on which the red flag was burnt, and while it was consuming plunged his head in the smoke. The guillotine was taken to pieces, and removed to a dung-heap near the river, and though the victim was old and feeble, the pieces were piled on his back; but his exhausted frame not permitting the effort of carrying them, he fell under the burthen, and must have perished in the mire, had he not been relieved. His presence of mind never forsook him during these severe trials; he saw the guillotine erecting, and heard the abuse of the populace without emotion. One of them, intending to aggravate his miseries, exclaimed, "you tremble Bailly!"—"'Tis with cold then,

then, my friend," answered he, with unruffled serenity. At last the executioner released him from his miseries. Whatever indignation may be felt against injustice and cruelty, these two sufferers are not entitled to commiseration; Barnave had sanctioned all the blood-thirsty licentiousness of his countrymen, by his wicked sarcasm against those who complained of the murders in July 1789; "Is the blood that has been shed so very pure?" And the friends of Bailly could with little justice complain of his sufferings who had given the epithet *beautiful* to the bloody days of October, 1789.

CHAP. XVI.

Military History resumed. Proceedings on the Northern Frontier. Dampierre takes the Command of the Army of the North. Strange inaction of the Prince of Saxe Coburg's Army. Dampierre encamps at Bouchain. Attacks the allies in their position, but is defeated and killed. Custine appointed to the command. Allies resolve to besiege Valenciennes. Camp of Famars. It is attacked by the allies. The republicans defeated. They retreat, abandoning Valenciennes and Condé to their fate. Valenciennes besieged. Summoned. The Governor refuses to surrender. Issues a proclamation to keep the inhabitants in obedience. Actions in West Flanders. Capture of Furnes by the French. The French defeated at Werwick. Condé surrenders. Outworks of Valenciennes assaulted by the allied troops. A lodgement made. Valenciennes surrenders. Strong measures of the revolutionary government. Decree for raising in a body the whole of the French people. It is rigorously put in execution. Revolutionary army established. System of terror acted upon to push forward the Generals. Custine and others are guillotined. Situation of Cæsar's camp. Attack of the allies on Cæsar's camp. The camp is abandoned by the French. Duke of York marches towards Dunkirk. Action at Lincelles. Field Marshal Freytag advances to co-operate with the Duke of York. Actions between him and the republicans. The enemy defeated near Dunkirk. Siege commenced by the Duke of York. Precautions taken by the enemy to secure the place. A considerable army raised to relieve it, and put under the command of Houchard. Action between Freytag and Houchard. Freytag retires to Hondscoote. Sally of the Garrison. Freytag defeated by Houchard, and compelled to retire. Siege of Dunkirk raised. Houchard guillotined. Siege of Quesnoy. The place capitulates. Defeat of the French near Villers en Cauchie. Irruption into West Flanders by the French. Menin taken. French defeated and compelled to retire. Maubeuge and its entrenched camp. Siege of Maubeuge resolved upon. The enemy driven in, and the place invested. Jourdan ordered to relieve the town. Makes a first and unsuccessful attack. Compels, in a second attack, the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg to raise the siege and re-cross the Sambre. Drouet, the post-master, taken prisoner. A second irruption of the French into West Flanders. Various skirmishes and attacks. Allied corps compelled to fall back. The French march against Nieuport. The Duke of York puts himself in motion to succour West Flanders. French defeated at Lannoy. They retire from Menin. Siege of Nieuport. It

is abandoned by the republicans, who retire within their own frontiers. Surprise of Marchiennes, where two thousand men are captured or killed. Close of the campaign on the Northern frontier.

THE civil history of France for the year being now closed, we must turn back to narrate the military proceedings which took place during the same period of time in various parts of her extensive empire. In the present chapter we shall trace, to the close of the campaign, the war which was waged by the allied powers on her northern, and almost invulnerable, frontier.

The command of that broken and dispirited army which had been chased from the Netherlands, and which was still further weakened and disunited by the defection of Dumourier, was assumed by General Dampierre, who spared no exertions to collect together and to encourage the scattered remnants of this once formidable host. His efforts were not a little assisted by the strange inaction of the allied army, under the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, which, instead of bearing down upon the French divisions in their insulated and wandering state, contented itself with occupying the camp of Maulde, seizing upon a few posts of subordinate importance, and forming the blockade of Condé. Taking advantage of this unaccountable tardiness Dampierre encamped at Bouchain, and, having rallied round him a considerable force, laboured to infuse courage into his soldiers, by commencing offensive operations. The consequence of this was almost daily skirmishes between detached parties of the republicans and their enemies.

A month had elapsed, and the allies had not made the smallest progress on the French territory. The main body of their troops was encamped between the Scheld and the Scarpe, and here, on the first of May, their left and centre was attacked by the French, but without success. Dampierre was not discouraged by this defeat. Having been strongly reinforced he advanced again to the combat, and bent all his efforts May 8. against the posts between the Scheld and the Abbey of Vicogne. Fortunately the allies had anticipated his design, and were prepared to receive him. The engagement was maintained during the whole of the day with great spirit. In their principal object the French were defeated; but they succeeded, nevertheless, in erecting batteries along the front of the position which was occupied by General Clairfayt. From these, however, they were driven on the tenth with great loss. In this affair the English troops first essayed their prowess in the field, and by their gallant behaviour acquired distinguished praise. The killed and wounded of the allies amounted to eight hundred; that of the republicans was believed to be nearly five times as many. Early in the contest General Dampierre was mortally wounded by a cannon ball: his death was greatly lamented by his fellow soldiers, and the Convention ordered a monument to be erected to his memory in the camp of Famars.

On the decease of Dampierre. Lamarche was nominated by the Com-

Commiſſioners, as his proviſional ſucceſſor; but he declined this arduous ſituation, declaring that his talents were inadequate to fill it with propriety. Cuſtine, who at that time headed the army of the Rhine, was pointed out by the troops as the general whom they wiſhed to ſerve under, and he was accordingly appointed by the Convention on the motion of Barrere. The temporary command on the Rhine was given to Houchard.

After the death of Dampierre no further attempt was made by the French to diſlodge the allies, who now in their turn becoming the aſſailants, reſolved to commence the effective operations of the campaign by the ſiege of Valenciennes. To accompliſh this, however, it was neceſſary to expel the republicans from the poſition which they had taken to cover that place. This poſition, favourable by nature, was rendered ſtill more ſo by art.

To the ſouthward of Valenciennes, and between the Ronelle and the Scheld, lie the heights of Famars, which the republicans had ſtrongly fortified; their left being ſupported by the former, and their right by the latter river. In front was alſo an advanced camp, protected by ſeveral redoubts. Along the whole courſe of the Ronelle batteries were raiſed which commanded every acceſſible paſſage. Equal precautions had been taken to ſecure the heights of Anzin, which, to the weſtward of the town, overlook the citadel of Valenciennes. On theſe poſts a general aſſault was projected by the allies.

Early in the morning, on the twenty-third of May, ſixteen battalions of Britiſh and Hanoverian grenadiers, Auſtrian infantry, Britiſh light dragoons, and Hanoverian and Auſtrian cavalry, aſſembled, under the command of the Duke of York, and arriving at day-break on the banks of the Ronelle, near Artre, eſtabliſhed bridges to paſs the river, and turn the right of the enemy. Another column of nearly equal force, under General Otto, proceeded to attack the works thrown up on the right bank of the Ronelle, which ſervice being performed it was to ſecond the operations of his royal highneſs. A column under General Colloredo was deſtined to obſerve Valenciennes, and another under General Latour to maſk Queſnoy. Latour was attacked, but the enemy ſuffered a repulſe, with the loſs of three pieces of cannon.

As the troops approached the Ronelle ſeveral batteries were opened from the oppoſite ſide, but at a diſtance too great to produce much effect. After a ſhort cannonade two diviſions of Huſſars paſſed the river, unoppoſed, at a ford in the village of Merſhe. They were followed by the brigade of Britiſh guards, two battalions of Auſtrian infantry, ſix ſquadrons of Britiſh and two of Hanoverian cavalry. The enemy now retreated from all their advanced line of poſts; falling back upon a redoubt which they had thrown up on the commanding heights, behind the village of Famars.

While the Duke of York's diviſion was thus engaged, General Otto, on his ſide, carried the entrenchments by ſtorm, in which ſeven pieces of cannon, and two hundred priſoners were captured.

To the weſtward of Valenciennes the allies were equally fortunate. The heights of Anzin were aſſailed and maſtered by General Clairfayt, after a ſevere combat.

Having reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy, and perceiving that at this moment the remaining works could not be carried without great ſlaughter, the Duke of York determined to approach and turn them during the night, in order to facilitate an aſſault on the following morning. The republicans, however, did not wait the attack. Aware that the ground they occupied was too narrow to venture a deciſive battle upon, they made early preparations for retreat. After throwing a reinforcement into Valenciennes, they croſſed the Scheld in the night, and retired towards Denain. The total loſs of the allies in this engagement did not exceed five hundred men, one half of which was borne by General Clairfayt's diviſion. That of the French was conſiderably greater.

Condé was now more cloſely inveſted, and the ſiege of Valenciennes commenced in form. The firſt parallel was completed before the latter place on the thirteenth of June, and the trenches were puſhed forward with all poſſible vigour. Batteries were opened on the eighteenth, and ſhowers of ſhells and red-hot ſhot poured, without intermiſſion, into the town, which was ſoon on fire in different quarters. A ſummons was ſent into the place, but the commander, General Ferrand, replied, that he would rather bury himſelf under the ruins of the works, than conſent to a capitulation. It was in vain that the inhabitants implored him to alter his reſolution and to ſave them from inevitable ruin. He anſwered their entreaties by a proclamation, in which he apprized them of a law forbidding him, under pain of death, to abandon the defence of the ramparts before a certain day; and, as this conſideration might not be of ſufficient weight to retain them quiet, he ſtrove to ſecure their fidelity by falſe accounts of the cruelty of the Auſtrians, by promiſing large rewards if they behaved obediently, and by threatening them with all the rigour of martial law if they dared in the ſlighteſt degree to impede his operations.

On the ſide of Weſt Flanders, meanwhile, ſeveral encounters took place between the hoſtile diviſions. Among the moſt important of theſe tranſactions was June 1. the capture of Furnes, where, after a conteſt of four hours, five thouſand French ſucceeded in driving out twelve hundred Dutch who retreated in good order, with their cannon and baggage, to Oſtend. The enemy, having plundered the principal inhabitants, abandoned the town at night, carrying off ſeveral of the magiſtrates, as hoſtages for the contributions which they had levied. Another action took place on the eleventh of June, in the neighbourhood of Werwick, where a Dutch column, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck, attempted to ſurround a body of the French. In ſtorming a battery the Prince was mortally wounded, and his troops were thrown into diſorder, but a reinforcement arriving the poſt was carried with the loſs of about five officers and fifty privates killed. Four hundred of the enemy were left dead on the ſpot, and a hundred

hundred prisoners, besides several pieces of cannon, were taken by the victors.

Condé, after a three months blockade, at last opened its gates, subdued rather by famine and fatigue than by the arms of the allies. The besieged being worn down by incessant toil, and their provisions reduced to barely four days subsistence, General Chancel, the Governor, called together his officers, from whom the proposal to capitulate met with no opposition. The garrison remained prisoners of war, but the officers were allowed to go on their parole, and to keep their swords and private property. In consequence of this capitulation the outworks and the gate leading to Tournay were immediately delivered up to the Austrians. The town was finally taken possession of on the thirteenth of July, in the name of his Imperial Majesty.

July 10.

The fall of Condé was soon followed by that of Valenciennes This place now exhibited in many parts only a mass of ruins, half the garrison had been swept off by disease or the sword, and breaches were made in the walls of sufficient magnitude to admit the passage even of cavalry. An assault upon the covered-way of the horn-work, and the flêche of St. Sauve, was consequently planned.

Three globes of compression being sprung with complete success, three columns each of nine hundred men rushed forward, and made themselves masters not only of the covered-way, but of the horn-work itself, with all the enemy's mines. A secure lodgment was instantly made. The attack on the fleche was at the same time conducted with equal good fortune, and several detached works were likewise carried by the Croats on the side of Mount Anzin and St. Sauve.

July 25.

Having obtained these important advantages, the royal commander of the allies sent a summons to General Ferrand, and a copy of it, with a letter, to the municipality. Ferrand required four and twenty hours to deliberate, which was granted. After several explanatory messages the articles of capitulation were arranged, and on the first of August were put in execution. The garrison, consisting of four hundred and fifty-one officers, and nine thousand two hundred and sixty men, marched out as prisoners of war, but were set at liberty on condition of not serving against the Emperor or his allies until they had been duly exchanged. The town was received in the name of the Emperor, whose arms were immediately substituted for those of the Republic.

Serious as were the losses which it had undergone, and the danger to which it was exposed, the revolutionary government never, even for an instant, suffered its courage to be depressed. The same high and haughty tone was invariably preserved. In all its addresses and proclamations, scorn of its enemies, and confidence in its own resources, were strongly marked.

Numerous measures, many of them very rigorous in their nature, had already been adopted to swell the republican armies to their full complement, and to provide them effectually with the means of action. But all that had hitherto been done, shrunk into insignificance, and appeared utterly devoid of spirit, when compared with the plans which were had recourse to, and which displayed, in their design

and operation, a diſeaſed and monſtrous energy.

By one decree all the church bells, with the exception of a ſingle bell for each pariſh, were ſent to the founderies to be caſt into cannon; by another, all medical men were put in requiſition for the ſervice of the ſtate; and by a third, the penalty of death was denounced againſt every ſoldier who ſhould dare to quit his colours without leave. Theſe, however, were merely the precurſors of a law, paſſed on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, which converted all France into an arſenal and camp, and the whole of its large male population into a ſtanding army. By this celebrated decree the French people were called upon to riſe * in a body as one man, in order to expel the combined powers from the territory of the republic. The vaſt numbers thus obtained were divided into claſſes, of which the youngeſt, conſiſting of five hundred thouſand perſons, was to be the firſt to march to the field of battle.

The firſt military levy was ſoon raiſed; and to avoid as much as poſſible the danger which muſt ariſe from ſending into the field ſuch raw recruits, they were directed to re-

* This decree is compoſed of eighteen articles, of which the following are the moſt important:

I. From the preſent moment till that when all her enemies ſhall have been driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen ſhall be in permanent readineſs for the ſervice of the armies. The young men ſhall march to combat: the married men ſhall forge arms, and tranſport proviſions: the women ſhall make tents and clothes, and wait in the hoſpitals: the children ſhall make lint of old linen: the old men ſhall cauſe themſelves to be carried to the public ſquares, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred againſt kings, and the unity of the republic.--II. The national edifices ſhall be converted into barracks, and the public ſquares into manufactories for arms, the ground of the cellars ſhall be waſhed with lie to extract the ſalpetre.—III. The arms of calibre ſhall be immediately delivered to thoſe who are to march againſt the enemy: the internal ſervice of the republic ſhall be performed with fowling-pieces and pikes.—IV. All ſaddle horſes ſhall be given up to complete the cavalry; the draught horſes and others, except thoſe employed for purpoſes of agriculture, ſhall convey the artillery and proviſions.—V. The committee of Public Safety is charged to take all neceſſary meaſures to eſtabliſh, without delay, an extraordinary manufacture of arms of all kinds, ſuitable to the ſtate and energy of the French nation. It is authorized, in conſequence, to form all the eſtabliſhments, manufactories, and working places, which ſhall be deemed neceſſary for the execution of thoſe works; and to ſummon throughout the republic all artiſans and workmen who can contribute to their ſucceſs. The ſum of thirty millions (1,312,500l) ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the miniſter at war. The central eſtabliſhment of this extraordinary manufacture ſhall be at Paris.—VI. The repreſentatives of the people ſent into the departments to execute the preſent law ſhall have the ſame authority in their reſpective circles, and ſhall concert meaſures with the Committee of Public Safety: they are inveſted with the ſame unlimited powers as intruſted to the repreſentatives of the people with the armies.—VII. No Frenchman ſummoned to ſerve ſhall be ſuffered to ſend a ſubſtitute. The public functionaries ſhall remain on their poſt.—VIII. The riſing or movement ſhall be general: the unmarried or widowed citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, ſhall march firſt; they ſhall form without delay in the chief place of their diſtrict; they ſhall be daily drilled.—XI. The battalion which ſhall be organized in every diſtrict, ſhall be ranged under a banner with this inſcription "*The French Nation riſen againſt the Tyrants.*"

place

place two-thirds of the garriſon in fortified towns; thus at once giving inſtruction to the ignorant, and ſetting free to join the army a large body of experienced ſoldiers.

The utmoſt rigour was uſed to prevent any evaſion of the decree. No plea of ill health was allowed, unleſs atteſted in writing by a phyſician or ſurgeon; and the ſigning of a falſe certificate was puniſhed by two years impriſonment. Thoſe who fled from their uſual places of abode, or concealed themſelves to eſcape from the requiſition, were ſummoned to appear within ten days, and if they refuſed to obey, were conſidered as emigrants, and themſelves, with their property, ſubjected to all the ſeverity of thoſe laws which had been enacted againſt the exiles from France.

As an engine of tyranny, to bear down all oppoſition at home, a corps of a new and terrible kind was raiſed, to which was given the name of The Revolutionary Army. It conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, and twelve hundred cannoneers; its avowed uſe was to compel monopolizers to bring forward their proviſions, and likewiſe to arreſt evil-minded perſons; and it was attended by a tribunal which was empowered to proceed to the trial of priſoners within four and twenty hours.

The ſame ſyſtem of terror which was employed to compel obedience in the interior, was alſo put in practice to ſtimulate to exertion the Generals of the republican troops. Victory or the ſcaffold was the alternative offered to military chiefs. Cuſtine, long the theme of admiration and applauſe, was diſplaced from his command, ſent to trial, and thence to the guillotine, as guilty of conſpiracy with the enemies of the republic. Lamariere and others ſhared a ſimilar fate, and arreſts of officers who had been unfortunate or inactive were daily multiplied, though not with ſufficient rapidity to ſatiate that thirſt of blood which was felt by the Jacobins.

After the conqueſt of Valenciennes, a ſeparation of the allied forces took place, for the purpoſe of beſieging at once the towns of Dunkirk and Queſnoy. Previouſly, however, to commencing theſe two ſieges, it was thought expedient to drive the French army from the ſtrong poſition called Cæſar's camp, which it at preſent occupied, between Bouchain and Cambray. The ſituation of this camp was of the moſt advantageous kind. The front was covered by the Scheld, the right by the fortreſs of Cambray, and the left by the river Cenſé, which falls into the Scheld at Bouchain. The whole line was ſtrengthened by inundations and by numerous redoubts. In the rear the woody heights of Bourlon were fortified with the moſt aſſiduous care; and the retreat, in caſe of extremity, was open to Arras.

This formidable camp it was reſolved to attack by turning its right, while its left and centre were kept in alarm by corps of ſufficient ſtrength for that purpoſe. In purſuance of this plan, the Duke of York, on the morning of the ſixth of Auguſt, gave orders to his forces, which conſiſted of the Britiſh troops, ſeven battalions and ſix ſquadrons of Hanoverians, two battalions and five ſquadrons of Heſſians, and four battalions and ten ſquadrons of Auſtrians, to march from their reſpective quarters and encamp at St. Aubert

Aubert. While these movements were performing some trifling skirmishes took place, in which the republicans were defeated. In the evening the whole of the army reached the spot which had been marked out for it. At three the next morning it pursued its march in one column by the villages of St. Hilaire, Bousiere, and Wambaix, and then forming into two divisions, crossed the Scheld, at Crevecœur and Manieres. A body of the enemy's cavalry from Cambray, which appeared on the right flank during the route, was dispersed without any difficulty. Fatigued by a march of eleven hours, in sultry weather, the troops halted for the night at Manieres. A skirmish occurred in the course of the evening between a body of English horse and another of the French: the latter were worsted with some loss.

While the Duke of York was thus pushing forward, the corps which had been destined to support him, by threatening the enemy's left and centre, were not inactive. General Clairfayt, with a column of Austrians, advanced against Ivuy and Thun St. Martin, which he entered, and possessed himself of all the posts on the right of the Scheld; General Collerodo marching, at the same time, with another column, towards Navez, a central situation, whence he could readily co-operate either with the British or Imperial commander.

On the ensuing day his Royal Highness, dividing his army into three columns, directed his march on the villages of Grandcour, Anneaux, and Cantain, with an intention of attacking the republicans on the heights of Bourlon. He found, however, that they had abandoned their works in the night, and retreated with precipitation towards Arras. A pursuit was instantly commenced, and two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the pursuers. The British commander now called in his detachments, and returned to Cæsar's camp, of which unresisted possession had been taken at day-break by General Clairfayt. An hundred and fifty prisoners and many deserters were lost by the French: the number of their slain and wounded could not be ascertained. The total loss of the British troops in three days, was only three killed, as many wounded, and seven missing.

Such a disgraceful abandonment of a position so admirably formed, both by nature and art, to render any assault upon it doubtful and sanguinary, excited at once the wonder and satisfaction of the combined armies. Had the camp of Cæsar been vigorously defended, the conquest of it could assuredly not have been accomplished by the assailants without the slaughter of very many of their best and bravest troops.

This signal success having, it was thought, incapacitated the enemy from giving for some time any interruption to the allies in this quarter, the Duke of York proceeded to Menin, and encamped in the vicinity of that place. August 18. On the same day the hereditary Prince of Orange attacked the French posts at Mauvaix, Blaton, and Lincelles. At Mauvaix the Dutch troops were repulsed; but at the remaining attacks they succeeded with little loss; and their operations had the good effect of covering the march of the British

British commander, and keeping the French in a state of uncertainty with respect to his designs.

Determined to recover the post of Lincelles, the enemy, at one in the afternoon, advanced against it with a considerable force. As the Prince of Orange had weakened his army by large detachments, he applied to the Duke of York for a reinforcement of three battalions. The required succour was immediately sent, and consisted of the first, Coldstream, and third regiment of guards, amounting to eleven hundred and twenty-two men, at the head of whom was Major-General Lake.

On their arrival at Lincelles they found that place in possession of the enemy, who had compelled the Dutch to retreat by a different road from that in which the British advanced. In front of Lincelles, on elevated ground adjoining the road, the French occupied a redoubt of uncommon strength and size; the road was also commanded by other works, strongly palisadoed; and the flanks of the position were covered by woods and ditches. This powerful line of defence was guarded by more than five thousand men.

The danger of an assault was evident; but, on the other hand, that of a retreat before an enemy so superior in numbers, was scarcely to be less dreaded. With an honourable spirit and promptitude, General Lake determined to confide in the courage of his soldiers, and advance to the charge. The troops immediately formed, and pushed on, under a shower of grape shot and musketry from the various entrenchments. After three or four volleys had been exchanged, the bayonet was resorted to, and the enemy were driven from their redoubts, and pursued to the end of the village. Here, protected by fresh troops, the fugitives for a moment rallied; but being again assailed with undiminished ardour, they fled in confusion, leaving fifty prisoners and eleven pieces of cannon in the power of the victors. Their loss in killed and wounded was estimated at nearly three hundred men. This success was not bought by the conquerors without blood. Lieutenant Colonel Bosville, Lieutenant De Peyster, and thirty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates were killed; and ten officers and one hundred and thirty-seven of inferior rank wounded. The valour displayed in the contest of this day reflected additional lustre on the character of the British troops.

Field Marshal Freytag was in the mean time advancing to co-operate with the Duke of York, towards the reduction of Dunkirk. He reached Vlacmeringhue on the nineteenth of August, and the next morning, having passed the Yser at day-break, he fell upon the enemy at Oost Capelle, Rexpœde, and Hondscoote; killing two hundred of them, making as many prisoners, and capturing eleven pieces of cannon, while his own loss did not exceed forty men in killed and wounded. In a subsequent action he made himself master of Wormhout, Eckelsbeck, and the bridge of Lefferink's Hocke.

The Duke of York, on his side, now put his army in motion. It marched from Furnes on the twenty-second, in three columns, to force the camp at Ghivelde, which, however, as well as a redoubt containing a few cannon, was abandoned in

in the night by the enemy. The allies, in conſequence, took up their quarters within a league of Dunkirk. In their retreat the republicans cut an opening in the dyke of the canal, between Dunkirk and Bergue, by means of which they could inundate from the ſea a large extent of country.

In order to commence the ſiege of Dunkirk it was ſtill neceſſary to expel the republicans from the ground which they held in the neighbourhood of that place. The enemy, however, haſtened the execution of this by an aſſault upon all the out-poſts of the allies, between the canal of Furnes and the ſea. Lieutenant General D'Alton directly advanced to ſupport the Britiſh troops with the reſerve, which was encamped on that ſide. The enemy were finally driven back, with the loſs of one cannon, a few priſoners, and many killed; but the engagement was hot, and attended with conſiderable ſlaughter to the allies, who, by a raſh purſuit, imprudently expoſed themſelves to the fire of the town. The Auſtrian General D'Alton, and Lieutenant Colonel Eld of the Coldſtream regiment, both brave and intelligent officers, were among the ſlain, one hundred and thirty Britiſh and Heſſians were killed and wounded.

At the cloſe of the conflict the poſts neceſſary to be occupied for the purpoſe of carrying on approaches towards the town, remained in the poſſeſſion of the allies. The Duke of York took a poſition on both ſides the canal of Furnes, between Adinkerke and Ghivelde, his front extending along the Dunes, or ſand hills, towards the ſea. Here he was ſeverely annoyed by the republican gun-boats, which kept up a heavy cannonade, while thoſe which were expected from England to oppoſe them, never, through ſome unaccountable and ſcandalous neglect, arrived during the continuance of the ſiege. A ſummons to ſurrender, which was diſpatched into the place on the allies ſitting down before it, was anſwered with a decided negative.

No precaution had been omitted by the enemy to render Dunkirk ſecure. Some doubts being felt of the diſpoſition of the garriſon, the three thouſand men of which it was compoſed were replaced by twelve thouſand who could be relied on, and a large number of horſes, and an abundant ſupply of ſtores was likewiſe provided. In arreſting ſtrangers, and driving out ſuſpected perſons, the utmoſt vigilance was alſo uſed; and the commander, for only expreſſing a doubt whether the city could hold out any length of time, was removed, and three others ſucceſſively appointed, before one could be found of ſufficient confidence to anſwer for the ſafety of his charge.

The French rulers, however, did not truſt the ſalvation of the fortreſs to its internal reſources alone. Collecting together a part of the troops which had lately been driven from Cæſar's camp, and all the diviſions in the vicinity of Bergue and Caſſel, they reinforced them with thirty-eight thouſand men, which had been brought poſt from the armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, and intruſted the command of the whole to Houchard, with orders to raiſe the ſiege of Dunkirk.

Field Marſhal Freytag, who directed the covering force, had at firſt ſome trivial ſucceſs. But fortune ſoon became adverſe to him.

On

On the sixth of September, a general assault was made by the republicans on the entire chain of his posts. At Wormhout, Eckelsbeck, and other villages, they were repulsed; but their immense superiority of numbers enabled them, after an obstinate resistance, to drive the Imperialists from Bambecke, Rousbrugghe, and Poperinghue. His line thus broken in upon, the Field Marshal found himself compelled to retire to Hondscoote, which he did, without interruption, in the course of the night.

During this retreat Freytag and his royal highness Prince Adolphus were for a short time in the hands of the enemy. A patrole of cavalry, which ought to have been in their front having taken another road, they went into Rexpœde, through which one of the columns was to pass, but which was then occupied by the French. Here they were both wounded, though not dangerously. From this perilous situation they were extricated by the gallantry of General Walmoden, who, having been informed of the capture of Rexpœde, put himself directly at the head of some troops, attacked the place, and defeated the enemy with very considerable slaughter.

While Houchard engaged the covering army, a desperate sortie was made by the garrison upon the besiegers. Their principal effort was directed against the right of the allies, which was principally composed of Imperial troops. After a severe conflict they were driven back; yet not till they had slain a hundred and fifty Austrians, killed eleven, and wounded sixty of the British soldiers. In this action Colonel Moncrief, an intrepid officer and skilful engineer, received a mortal wound.

Animated by success, and confident in his superior numbers, Houchard resolved to drive entirely the allies from before Dunkirk. Sep. 8. The army of Marshal Freytag, the temporary command of which, in consequence of the Marshal's wound, was intrusted to General Walmoden, was now posted at Hondscoote, with its left extending to Leyzel. On the eighth of September, Houchard advanced in three columns, to dislodge it, and a bloody engagement ensued. For a considerable time the French were repelled; but their numerical strength enabled them at last to carry their point, and to break through the centre of the entrenched line. A terrible carnage then took place on both sides; that of the Austrians was estimated at fifteen hundred killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy was supposed to be still greater. At the close of the battle General Walmoden fell back upon a position in front of Furnes, behind a small canal which passes from Bulscamp to Steinkirk.

By the decisive event of this day the British army was left uncovered, and exposed to attack from the whole body of the enemy's forces, united with the garrison of Dunkirk. A retreat to Adinkerk was therefore determined upon, and was effected with much precipitation, and with no small loss. Eight hundred barrels of powder, forty-one pieces of artillery the greater part of them battering cannon, six thousand ball, and a vast number of muskets, and other articles of less importance, were abandoned to the republicans. Such was the result of this rash, unmilitary, and ill-conducted enterprize, from which great though irrational hopes of advantage had been entertained by one part at least of the British cabinet.

The

The victor general did not long enjoy his newly acquired reputation. It was soon objected to him that, although he had done much, he had performed but a small part of his duty, since he ought to have driven into the sea the Duke of York, and all the allied army. As a preliminary step to his ruin he was displaced from his command, which was given to Jourdan. He was next violently declaimed against by Robespierre, as a traitor, and was finally committed to the prison of the Conciergerie. A speedy trial, which he demanded, was granted to him; but his services, which he enlarged upon before the tribunal, were not admitted by his judges. He was condemned to the scaffold, as guilty of a conspiracy to favour the progress of the combined powers, and his property was confiscated. Astonishment at the absurdity and ingratitude of the charge brought against him, seemed to be the predominant feeling in the mind of Houchard, both during his trial and on his way to execution.

The want of success before Dunkirk was in a small degree compensated by the reduction of Quesnoy. That place had for some time been invested; and trenches were opened before it, on the twenty-ninth of August, at night. The town was summoned on the second of September, and the governor having refused to surrender, five batteries were immediately opened, to which five more were added with all possible expedition. An incessant cannonade and bombardment was kept up from these on the town, a great part of which was speedily consumed. The governor, for a while, returned the fire with vigour; but after twelve days open trenches, the place becoming untenable, he desired to capitulate on the same terms which had been granted to the defenders of Valenciennes. This, however, was refused by General Clairfayt, who declared that as the garrison had held out to the last moment, they should lay down their arms and become prisoners of war. No hope of succour remaining to the republicans, these hard conditions were accepted. The vanquished, to the number of more than three thousand, were sent under an escort into the Austrian territory.

Unapprized that Quesnoy had fallen, the garrisons of Cambray, Bouchain, and Landrecy determined to make an effort for its deliverance. Joining together their forces, and strengthening themselves with several thousand peasants, they advanced from Cambray, by Villars en Cauchie and Saulsoy, to dislodge the army of observation, under the command of the Prince of Hohenlohe Kirchberg. They were allowed to approach within half cannon shot, when they were furiously attacked in front by the Austrian infantry, while a large body of cavalry turned both their flanks and fell upon their rear. After a short but sanguinary conflict they were utterly routed and put to flight, leaving behind them three thousand of their comrades, with eleven pieces of artillery.

On the side of West Flanders the French were eager to avail themselves of their preponderating force, and to indemnify themselves in some measure for their losses and disgraces in other quarters. The plunder of this province they considered as an object of so much importance,

portance, that the generals had been inſtructed not to loſe time in municipalizing the country, but to put the laws of war in execution, and obtain the greateſt poſſible quantity of ſubſiſtence and of gold.

The firſt attempt was made upon Ypres, but was fruſtrated by a ſucceſsful attack of General Beaulieu upon the enemy's poſts near Liſle, which compelled the invaders to fall back towards Bailleul. Not diſcouraged by this rebuff, the French, after repoſing four days, again reſumed their plan of an irruption into Flanders. They advanced in great ſtrength on the twelfth of September, drove in all the Dutch poſts on the Lys, and compelled the troops of the States to abandon Menin, and fall back towards Bruges and Ghent. General Beaulieu was at this period encamped in front of Courtray. Purſuing their advantages, the republicans aſſailed, with a force of twelve or fourteen thouſand men, the out-poſts of his left, which were ſtationed at Biſſeghem. Foiled in the firſt onſet, they brought up a numerous artillery, and would have ſucceeded in their efforts, had not their left flank been ſuddenly turned, and their rear fallen upon by a body of Auſtrian infantry with cannon, conducted by Captain Malkſham. Surpriſed by this unforeſeen movement, they began to give way, and their confuſion was completed by General Beaulieu, who charged them at the ſame time in front with the cavalry, put them entirely to the rout, and compelled them to take refuge in Menin.

Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, he purſued the fugitives, drove them out of the town, and compelled them to recroſs the Lys. Eight battalions of the Britiſh force had been detached by the Duke of York to aſſiſt the Auſtrian general, but the victory was gained before their arrival, and they had only to aid in the purſuit. The French loſt on this occaſion a conſiderable number of priſoners, with two pieces of cannon, and eighteen ammunition waggons. The enſuing day the army puſhed on their advanced poſts to Werwick, which the French alſo abandoned, retiring wholly within their own boundaries; and the allied commanders had the ſatisfaction of having afforded an effective protection to the provinces of Auſtrian Flanders.

On the right flank of the iron frontier ſtands the fortreſs of Maubeuge, which the allies now reſolved to lay ſiege to, in order to open a way for the ſieges of Aveſnes and Landrecy. Commanded by ſurrounding heights, the ſtrength of Maubeuge conſiſts leſs in its own fortifications, than in an extenſive and formidable entrenched camp, which, extending from Louvroel to Roiſies, entirely covers one half of the town. Thirteen lunettes with various redoubts and batteries, covered by almoſt impenetrable abbatis, formed the circuit of this camp, which contained for its defence a corps of nearly fifteen thouſand men.

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg put his army in motion in three columns to paſs the Sambre, and inveſt Maubeuge. The march began at day-break. The Sep. 29. diviſion of General Clairfayt croſſed at Barlemont, and took a poſition between Aulnois and Baſchamp; while that of General Colleredo croſſing at Pont ſur Sambre and Maumont, ſurprized the

the enemy's camp at St. Remy Malbati, took their tents and baggage, with nine pieces of cannon; killing, wounding, and making prisoners, two hundred of their men. After this success Colleredo occupied the station which had been pointed out for him between Haumont and the Bois de Beaufort. The third column, under General Latour, passed the river below Maubeuge, between Jeumont and Marpent, surprised the camp at Bequignies, took some prisoners, with two pieces of cannon, and killed three hundred men. It then took post at Cerfontaine, occupying the forest of Bonpere, with its left flank extending by Ferriere la Petit to form a junction with General Colloredo. Colonel Seckendorff, who marched at the same time from Charleroy, pushed on without much resistance to Colleretz. At the close of the day the Prince of Cobourg's head quarters were established at the abbey of Haumont; the allies having driven the enemy into their entrenchments before Maubeuge, with no other loss to themselves than fifty men killed and wounded, and two or three officers slightly hurt. The town was now completely invested.

The operations of the siege were commenced without a moment's delay. Numerous sallies were made by the enemy, in which they were uniformly repulsed. Maubeuge also was ill provided with subsistence, and soon began to feel the horrors of famine. It must in a short time have yielded, had not the French rulers, to whom it was an object of the greatest importance, exerted themselves strenuously to drive the Austrians from before its walls. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg was not ignorant of their preparations. He accordingly obtained from the Duke of York a reinforcement, and took every additional measure which prudence could suggest to counteract the designs of the enemy. The task of relieving the town was committed to General Jourdan, and he performed it with a courage which was perhaps considerably heightened by a dread of the scaffold.

The position of the allies extended along a chain of heights, which were crowned with woods, and on which they had established numerous batteries to impede approach. To attack it in front was impracticable, and its great length prevented any attempt of the enemy to turn it, without weakening very much his centre. This scheme was nevertheless adopted. General Duquesnoy was detached with a large force to attack the division under Clairfayt, which was posted with its right near Barlemont, and its left at the village of Wattignies. On advancing into the plain which lay between the two armies, these troops were charged by the centre of the Imperial cavalry, and routed with great slaughter, and the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. A still more obstinate onset of the republicans in another quarter was equally unsuccessful. The next day, headed by Carnot and Duquesnoy, the deputies on mission, they returned to the charge, and bent their principal efforts against the left of General Clairfayt's lines. Here they were enabled to advance within cannon shot of the Austrians, under cover of an immense wood, called the Haye d'Avesnes

Oct. 15.

d'Avesnes, which, when they were repulsed, secured their retreat, and favoured by which they brought up to the assault of Wattignies an overpowering weight of artillery. The allies displayed the utmost bravery and skill, but the enemy, continually reinforced by fresh troops, and regardless of life, at last succeeded. The village of Wattignies, after being three times taken and recaptured, finally remained in possession of the French.

The communication between general Clairfayt's corps and that of Latour, which observed the enemy's camp, being thus cut off, the prince of Cobourg found it necessary to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and to recross the Sambre, which he effected during the night without the smallest interruption. In the two actions the Austrians took twenty-four cannon and two howitzers, while not a single piece fell into the hands of the assailants. The killed and wounded of the allies amounted to two thousand men; but that of the enemy to a much greater number.

At the commencement of the siege, Drouet, the celebrated post-master of St. Menehould, who caused the arrest of Lewis the sixteenth and his family at Varennes in 1791, was among the deputies on mission to the army. In the night of the second of October he was taken prisoner by the Austrians and sent to Spitzberg, a fortress in Moravia, where he was detained in close custody. This event at once rescued him from the ridicule and contempt which, in consequence of his insignificance and insolence, had always hitherto been showered down upon him, even by his own party, and converted him into a patriot and martyr, the fit object of admiration to the Parisian populace.

Highly elated by their success at Maubeuge, the French rulers instructed Jourdan to take immediate advantage of his victory, and "exterminate the cohorts of the tyrants." An attack on the whole frontier of West Flanders was the consequence of these instructions. The advanced posts of the camp of Menin, particularly those of Werwick and Hallwin, were assailed on the twenty-first, but the enemy were every where repulsed. They renewed, however, their efforts on the following day, gained possession of Werwick, and by this means compelled lieutenant-general Erbach, who commanded at Menin, to retreat to Courtray, having lost three hundred men in killed and wounded. For three successive days attacks were also made upon the troops posted between Tournay and Lisle, at the camp of Cysoing, but the enemy were each day defeated with slaughter, more especially on the twenty-second, when nearly four hundred republicans were killed and taken. In this engagement the Inniskilling's and the sixteenth regiment of light dragoons gained distinguished applause for the spirit which they displayed. On the twenty-fourth the enemy made an attempt on the post of major-general Kray at Orchies, but here also they failed, and were compelled to leave five pieces of artillery behind them. Oct. 21-2-3.

While affairs were thus situated in the vicinity of Lisle and Menin, a strong column of republicans penetrated on the other side of West Flanders to Furnes, which was

abandoned at their approach. They next proceeded againſt Nieuport; but here their progreſs was for a time ſomewhat impeded by inundating the country. Lieutenant general Wurmb had been obliged, on the evacuation of Menin, to quit his poſition near Dixmude and Fort Knocke, and to occupy a new one in the neighbourhood of Thourout, for the purpoſe of covering Bruges, and communicating with the diviſion at Courtray. The enemy ſtill puſhing forwards, he was now compelled to fall back upon Ghiſtel, where he could protect at once both Bruges and Oſtend.

The allies, however, were too deeply intereſted in the preſervation of Weſt Flanders to ſuffer that province long to remain in the power of the republicans. Its ſpeedy recovery was a matter of indiſpenſable neceſſity. The duke of York, as a preparatory ſtep, accordingly marched with his troops from Tournay to the ground which he had formerly occupied between Baiſieux and Cyſoing. In his march he drove in ſeveral of the enemy's poſts, one of which was cut off by the ſpirit and promptitude of major Craufurd. It was now determined that the attack of Menin, which had been delayed for a day by the retrogade movement of lieutenant-general Wurmb, ſhould be made on the twenty-ninth by the corps of generals Walmoden and Buſche; the former advancing directly upon the town of Menin, the latter on the right bank of the Lys, againſt the village and heights of Hallwin.

Oct. 27.

To favour this enterpriſe by diſtracting the attention of the enemy, major-general Abercrombie was detached to reduce Lannoy, which had been entrenched and occupied by fifteen hundred men. This ſervice was performed with great judgment and intire ſucceſs. By a well directed cannonade the French were driven in diſorder from their poſition towards Liſle and Roubaix, and were hotly purſued by lieutenant colonel Churchill, while a party of Auſtrian infantry entered the town. Three hundred of the enemy were killed, a hundred and fifty taken priſoners; and five pieces of cannon, beſides military ſtores, fell into the hands of the allies, whoſe ſlain and hurt ſcarcely exceeded twenty men. The Britiſh had to lament the death of captain Sutherland, whoſe honourable zeal induced him, uncalled, to ſhare the dangers of his fellow-ſoldiers.

Towards the cloſe of this affair accounts were received from general Walmoden, which rendered an attack upon Menin unneceſſary. Alarmed probably by the duke of York's movements, the republicans on the preceding night evacuated the town, abandoned their intention of proceeding againſt Ypres, and retired towards their own frontier.

In the mean time the other diviſion of the enemy, notwithſtanding the inundation, had ſummoned Nieuport, and on the commander having refuſed to ſurrender, had erected batteries, and made ſeveral vigorous aſſaults. The defence was maintained with a gallantry and conduct which were highly praiſeworthy. Succour, at length fortunately arrived both by ſea and land. A quantity of ammunition was thrown into the place by admiral Mac Bride, while major-general Dundas,

Dundas, with the forty-second regiment, and four companies of light infantry, was also dispatched from Ostend to reinforce the garrison. The besiegers kept up an incessant fire during the whole of the day, but discontinued it at night, and the next morning they were found to have decamped, leaving behind them four twenty-four pounders and two mortars, with a great quantity of shot, shells, and intrenching tools. The following day they were driven from Furnes by the Austrians, and thus the whole of maritime Flanders was once more freed from their ravaging incursions.

Oct. 30.

The surprise of Marchiennes was the last event worthy of particular notice which occurred during the remainder of the campaign. At that place, situated on the Scarpe, between Douay and St. Amand, the enemy had collected a force of two thousand men. These it was resolved by the duke of York to disperse. Accordingly at midnight, on the twenty-ninth of October, two divisions, the one from Orchies, under major general Kray, the other from the opposite point of Denain, under major-general Otto, were put in motion towards Marchiennes. The troops under Otto were prevented from penetrating by the resistance they met with; but general Kray had the good fortune to enter the town almost undiscovered, and, after a short engagement, to compel the republicans to lay down their arms. Sixteen hundred and twenty-nine men became prisoners of war, three hundred were slain, and twelve pieces of cannon, with more than twenty tumbrils, fell into the hands of the allies.

The various skirmishes which happened on different points of the frontier, in the months of November and December, were only marked by a waste of life, without any adequate advantage being obtained as the result.

In the course of the campaign Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy had been subdued by the allies, and a breach by this means made in the northern frontier of France; but, notwithstanding this apparent progress, the military situation of the conquerors was, in reality, not of the most favourable kind; and it was manifest that, if they persisted in the plan upon which they had hitherto acted, their future operations would meet with many and serious impediments, while a single reverse, of a decisive nature, would expose them to the hard necessity of abandoning the whole of their conquests, and of flying perhaps too late to the defence of their own territories.

CHAP. XVII.

Military history continued. Operations on the Rhine. Mentz invested. Sally of the garrison. Kostheim taken from the Prussians. Custine removed from the army of the Rhine to that of the North. Resolves to make, previous to his departure, an effort to succour Mentz. Houchard attempts to seize upon Kayserslautern, but is foiled. Custine attacks, but is compelled to retire.

Sortie from Mentz againſt the Pruſſian head-quarters at Marienborn. Trenches opened before Mentz. Dreadful cannonade and bombardment commenced. Fort St. Alban abandoned by the garriſon. The fort at Zalbach taken and retaken three times. It finally remains in the power of the allies. Koſtheim taken from the Republicans. Attacks upon one of the outworks of Mentz, which is at laſt carried. Second parallel commenced. Beauharnois ordered to march with the army of the Rhine to raiſe the ſiege of Mentz. He puts his army in motion, and gains ſome ſucceſſes. Mentz compelled to ſurrender. Beauharnois retires. Plan formed to ſuccour Mentz and Valenciennes. Auſtrians driven from Arlon by the Republicans, who ſhortly after retreat within the French frontier. French reſolve to attack the allies on the Rhine. They are defeated at Pirmaſens and other places. Strange inactivity of the allies. They determine at laſt to attack Alſace. Poſition of the French in the lines of Weiſſembourg. Republicans attacked in their lines, and expelled with great ſlaughter. Landau inveſted. The Republicans retreat to Hagenau, and thence behind the Sorr. Hagenau taken poſſeſſion of by the allies. Republicans defeated in an attack upon the advanced guard of the allies. They retire behind the Souffel. The allies obtain poſſeſſion of Wantzenau. French again defeated. Fort Lewis ſurrenders. End of proceedings on the Rhine. Military operations on the ſide of Italy. Expedition fitted out from Toulon againſt Sardinia. French attack and bombard Cagliari. They are defeated. Attack on the Piedmonteſe at Raous and Authion. The Republicans are entirely defeated. They make a ſecond attack and are equally unſucceſsful. French defeated at Lantoſcu. Operations in Savoy. War againſt Spain. Manifeſto of his Catholic Majeſty. Royal addreſs to the people. Orders given to expel French ſubjects from Spain. Naval and military preparations. Two armies formed to act in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Pyrenees. Poſition of the French and Spaniſh armies in the Weſtern Pyrenees. Spaniards croſs the Bidaſſoa, and defeat the Republicans. They take the camp of Sare, and drive the French to St. Jean Pied de Port. The French abandon the banks of the Bidaſſoa, and retreat towards Bayonne. Driven from the valley of the Aldudes. Spaniards take the camp of Chateau Pignon Servan removed from the command of the republican army, and Deſprez-Craſſier appointed in his place. The Republicans attempt to drive the Spaniards acroſs the Bidaſſoa, but are repulſed. Cloſe of the campaign in the Weſtern Pyrenees. Campaign in the Eaſtern Pyrenees. Don Ricardos enters the province of Rouſſillon. Publiſhes a proclamation to the people. The French defeated at Ceret. Bellegarde and Fort des Bains inveſted. French driven from their camp at Maſdieu. Fort des Bains and Bellegarde capitulate. French make an incurſion into Cerdagne. They are defeated at Millas. French aſſume the offenſive. They defeat a body of Spaniards at Riveſaltes. Bloody battle between the Spaniards and French, which ends in the defeat of the latter. Repeated attacks of the French on the Spaniſh poſition. Don Ricardos attacks and defeats the Republicans. Capture of Port Vendre, Fort St. Elmo, and Collioure by the Spaniards. French attacked by the Spaniards and driven from their poſition with great loſs. Cloſe of the campaign in the Eaſtern Pyrenees.

THE campaign on the Rhine was not leſs varied and ſanguinary than that on the northern frontier. Immediately on the expulſion of the French army from the Palatinate, the moſt vigorous preparations were made for the recovery of Mentz. The garriſon of that place conſiſted of no leſs than twenty-three thouſand men, and the works which had been raiſed for the protection of the city and of Caſſel, were of an extent and ſtrength which had not often been equalled.

Early in April Mentz and Caſſel were completely inveſted by the Pruſſian and Auſtrian forces. The garriſon on its ſide was not inactive. Scarcely a day paſſed in which a combat did not take place, and though the beſieged were generally defeated, the victory over them was never obtained without conſiderable bloodſhed. On the firſt of May, at one in the morning, the republicans made a ſally with a large body of troops, and attacked the Pruſſians at Hockheim. Here they were foiled, but they ſucceeded in obtaining poſſeſſion of Koſtheim, a part of which was reduced to aſhes during the ſtruggle. After having held it three days, they were driven out by the allies; but being ſtrongly reinforced they returned to the conteſt, and a ſevere engagement enſued. It ended in their carrying the village, which they immediately ſecured by a numerous garriſon. A ſubſequent attempt of the Pruſſians to recover this poſt was vigorouſly repulſed.

From the army of the Rhine Cuſtine was now removed by the executive council to that of the north, in the hope that his talents and exertions might inſpire it with that ſpirit and diſcipline which were indiſpenſably neceſſary for enabling it to oppoſe an effectual reſiſtance to the progreſs of the allies. Attached to the ſcene of his former triumphs, he remonſtrated, though in vain, againſt this new arrangement. Convinced at laſt that it was decided upon, he reſolved at leaſt to ſignalize his departure by ſome ſplendid achievement. He accordingly formed a plan for attacking the combined forces, by the ſucceſs of which he flattered himſelf that the communication with Mentz would be again opened.

For this purpoſe Houchard was inſtructed to puſh forward with the army of the Moſelle, and ſeize upon the paſſes through the Voſges from the duchy of Deux Ponts to the Palatinate, while Cuſtine himſelf attacked the combined forces on the ſide of Landau. In purſuance of his orders, Houchard put himſelf in motion, on the fifteenth of May, with a body of twenty thouſand infantry and a conſiderable number of cavalry, and endeavoured to turn prince Hohenlohe's camp near Homburg, for the purpoſe of occupying the important poſt of Kayſerſlautern. Fortunately, however, the Auſtrian general received timely intelligence of the deſign, and breaking up in haſte his camp at Homburg, marched to ſecure Kayſerſlautern, where he arrived only half an hour before the republican army. Diſappointed in his main object, the enemy gave vent to his ſpleen by pillaging thoſe towns which the Pruſſians had been compelled to abandon. Cuſtine was not more fortunate. He commenced his operations on the ſeventeenth, and obtained at firſt ſome ſlight advantages. For awhile he flattered himſelf with the hope of a brilliant victory, but a panic terror

having seized upon a part of his troops, he found himself compelled to retire, and at the close of the day he resumed his former position.

The garrison of Mentz still continued to harass the besiegers and retard by frequent sorties the completion of their works. In the night of the thirtieth of May six thousand men marched out of the fortress in three columns, to surprise the Prussian head-quarters at Marienborn. They proceeded with so much secrecy and silence that they passed the batteries undiscovered, entered the village, and would have taken prisoners prince Lewis of Prussia and general Kalkreuth, had not some among them imprudently fired at the windows and exclaimed, Vive la Nation. Roused from their security, the Prussians flew to arms, and after a sharp engagement repulsed the assailants; not, however, without having previously suffered a considerable loss in killed and wounded. Several pieces of cannon were spiked by the republicans.

The trenches were opened on the nineteenth of June at night. Next day a general passport for all such as chose to retire was sent into the place by the king of Prussia. It was gladly accepted by about fifteen hundred persons, chiefly women and children. A short time, however, after the gate had been opened, and while the bridge was covered with these unfortunate individuals, an order was given by the Prussians to allow no more to pass. The Jacobins of the place on their side refused to permit the return of this defenceless crowd, which was compelled to remain on the bridge, without food or shelter, and within reach of the batteries at Hockheim, which were furiously playing on the city. Two children were deprived of their reason by terror. In this situation the wretched fugitives remained till the next day, when, through the good offices of the French soldiers, the gates were again opened.

A dreadful cannonade and bombardment was commenced on the twenty-seventh by the besiegers, during which they stormed the republican posts near Weissenau. The fire was from this time unremittingly kept up on the city, various parts of which were soon in a state of tremendous conflagration. The church of Notre Dame, the provost's palace, and several of the magazines were almost instantly consumed. The cathedral, a venerable structure, sustained much injury.

Six new batteries were in a few days established on the right flank of the first parallel, and the siege was pressed on all points with redoubled vigour. Fort St. Alban was now reduced to so untenable a state, that it was abandoned by the garrison, and other works were much damaged. The fort of Zalbach was attacked by the Prussians on the night of the fifth of July, and carried. It was next day retaken by the French, who were again driven out, and again obtained possession of it, after a sanguinary action. On the seventh the Prussians returned to the charge; for the third time mastered it by storm, and finally kept their ground. Kostheim, in the vicinity of Cassel, was at the same moment assaulted by the allies, and, at the close of a bloody engagement, remained in their power. An outwork, which prevented the completion of the second parallel before Mentz, was the next object of attack, and was obstinately defended,

defended. Three attempts upon it were foiled; in a fourth, on the tenth of July, the allies ſucceeded in expelling the garriſon. The ſecond parallel was directly begun, and the batteries of the beſiegers brought within two hundred and fifty yards of the city.

Mentz was to the republicans a fortreſs of too much importance to allow of their yielding it till they had exhauſted for its preſervation every means in their power. Beauharnois, who at this period commanded the army of the Rhine, was, therefore, ordered to march to its relief. The beginning of July was ſpent by him in making ſuch preparations as were neceſſary for the ſucceſs of his enterprize. To encourage his troops he addreſſed to them early in the month a flattering proclamation, in which, however, amidſt many praiſes of their valour and anticipations of their future triumphs, his doubt of their obedience and diſcipline were plainly to be diſcovered. In a few days he reſolved to put their merit to the teſt by leading them againſt the allied forces. On the nineteenth of July he made a general attack on the whole extent of the poſition occupied by the combined army. His principal exertions were directed againſt the right, where the Pruſſians were encamped, among the mountains of the Voſges, and he ſucceeded in gaining ſome ground. The combat was renewed on the twenty-ſecond with equal good fortune. The Pruſſians were driven from ſeveral poſts, and forced to retire beyond Edickhoffen. Their retreat, nevertheleſs, was effected in excellent order. Beauharnois was on the point of purſuing his advantage, when he had the mortification to learn that his efforts could no longer be rewarded by the attainment of their object.

The garriſon of Mentz was at length exhauſted by its perpetual exertions. Sickneſs began to ſpread among the troops to an alarming degree, while ſcarcely any medicines remained for the ſervice of the hoſpital. Many magazines of proviſions had alſo been deſtroyed, and famine began to preſs heavily as well upon the ſoldiers as the inhabitants. No hope appeared that the French armies would be able to relieve the place. The republican commander determined, therefore, to capitulate. A negociation to this intent was for ſome days carried on, and was finally concluded on the twenty-ſecond of July. The garriſon was allowed the honours of war, and was ſuffered to return home on condition of not ſerving againſt the allied powers during the ſpace of a year. It marched out on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, to the number of ſeventeen thouſand men, ſix thouſand of its original force having been killed and wounded in the defence of the place. The loſs of the combined army was ſcarcely inferior. Beauharnois being now appriſed of the fall of Mentz, retired to his old encampment in the vicinity of Landau, whence he ſhortly after fell back to the lines of Weiſſembourg.

At the period when the allies began the ſieges of Mentz and Valenciennes, a plan was formed for effecting a diverſion in favour of thoſe places by an attack from Longwy upon the duchy of Luxemburgh, while a diviſion of the army of the Moſelle puſhed rapidly forward to Coblentz. Of this ſcheme only a ſmall part was put into execution. The Auſtrian general Schroeder

was attacked at Arlon on the seventh of June by a very superior force of republicans, and after a hard-fought battle was compelled to retreat, leaving immense magazines of forage and provision in the power of the enemy. This excursion was, however, productive of no further advantage to the French, who, finding themselves too weak to continue their operations with any prospect of success, hastened to remove their booty, and having accomplished this object retired within their own frontiers. Arlon was again occupied by the Austrian troops.

For some time after the surrender of Mentz, both armies remained nearly inactive. During the month of August nothing occurred but a few trifling skirmishes between advanced posts. The republicans were the first to resume offensive operations. At a council of war held on the eighth of September, it was resolved to make a general assault on the positions of the allies, which, it was hoped, would if successful secure the whole of the frontier from Longwy to the Rhine. This hope was entirely disappointed.

On the fourteenth of September a part of the army of the Moselle, under the command of general Moreau, marched at two in the morning to attack the camp of the duke of Brunswick near Pirmasens. The battle was obstinately continued for awhile, till at length the duke, by a judicious manœuvre, turned the flank of the enemy, and completely surrounded three thousand men; who were compelled to throw down their arms, and surrender themselves as prisoners of war. Twenty-seven cannon and two howitzers were taken by the Prussians. The vanquished were warmly pursued: the retreat was nevertheless conducted by Moreau in a manner which did infinite honour to his courage and talents. In the pursuit the duke of Brunswick burned the tents and baggage of a body of the enemy which was encamped near Bitche. General Kalkreuth, who in another quarter was attacked at the same moment with his highness, easily repelled the assailants, a regiment of whom, called by way of distinction Les Sans Culottes, was totally destroyed. The republican army on the Rhine was almost equally unfortunate. It was repulsed in several attempts upon the Austrians, and only succeeded in recovering the camp of Nothweiller, from which it had been driven a few days before.

Another whole month was now passed by the allies in a state of unaccountable and impolitic supineness. It was finally, though late, determined to make an effort for the conquest of Alsace. To accomplish this it was necessary to begin by dislodging the republican army. The position which that army had chosen was of the most advantageous kind, and no pains had been spared to add to its natural strength. It extended from Lauterbourg on the right to beyond Weissembourg on the left, both which towns had been rendered capable of a vigorous defence. All the works of the ancient entrenched camp between those two places had been carefully repaired. The front was covered by the Later and by the forest of Bewald, in which a double abbatis was formed. On the rear of Weissembourg, a high mountain, called the Giesberg, which commands the town, was strongly fortified.

At the extremity of the left the villages of Steinfeld, and Upper and Lower Otterbach, were occupied by considerable divisions, and protected by large redoubts.

For the attack of this extensive line general Wurmser divided his army into seven columns; three of which were destined to turn the left of the entrenchments, while three others proceeded towards the right, and the seventh, which was posted on the opposite shore of the Rhine, crossed the river at Winterdorff, took possession of Seltz, and acted on the rear of the enemy.

The Austrian columns were put in motion before three o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of October, and the engagement was soon commenced in every quarter. After an action of twelve hours the French were driven from all their redoubts in front of the camp, and likewise from the town of Lauterbourg, which surrendered at discretion. Weissembourg resisted somewhat longer, but was at length evacuated by the republicans, who being now completely routed in all parts, retired in confusion towards Hagenau, after burning their magazines at Weislembourg and Alstadt. Their loss was not less than four thousand killed, and six hundred prisoners, with their ammunition waggons, horses, and twenty-six pieces of artillery. That of the allies did not amount to a thousand men. The prince of Conde, with his son, and grandson, fought this day at the head of the emigrant corps with the most distinguished intrepidity. Landau was now completely invested.

The defeated enemy still continued his retreat, and encamped, on the eighteenth, behind the Sorr, abandoning Hagenau, which was taken possession of by the Austrian advanced guard led by general Mezaros. General Wurmser immediately advanced to Hagenau with the remainder of his forces. Perceiving some interval between the divisions of general Mezaros, the French recrossed the Sorr and attacked him with their entire numbers in the hope of cutting him off from the rest of the army. An action of seven hours ensued: it ended in the French repassing the river, and evacuating the town and heights of Brumpt, which were directly occupied by the allies. The French retired in the course of the night, and took a position behind the Souffel, with their right at Wantzenau, and their left near Saverne. From Wantzenau they were driven by general Wurmser on the twenty-sixth, with the loss of fourteen cannon, two howitzers, their camp equipage, and a large quantity of military stores. They returned, however, to the charge next day, but were defeated, and three thousand of them killed, wounded, or taken. The siege of Fort Lewis was commenced on the tenth of November, and the place yielded on the fourteenth, the garrison of four thousand men remaining prisoners of war.

With this last success of the allies we shall close our narrative of events on the Rhine. That short but bloody winter campaign, in which, after a series of the most desperate encounters, the combined forces were expelled from the province of Alsace, will be fully described in the volume for the ensuing year.

On the side of Italy the military events of the campaign were, from the nature of the country, and the smallness of the force employed, of less magnitude than those which occurred in other quarters.

At

At the beginning of the year preparations were made for wreſting from the king of Sardinia the dominion of that iſland whence his title is derived. A formidable ſquadron was fitted out at Toulon, the command of which was given to Truguet, and a large body of land forces was embarked on board it, under general Caſa Bianca. The viceroy of Sardinia was, however, not ignorant of the meditated attack, nor ſlow in making the moſt vigorous efforts for a ſucceſsful defence. All the militia of the iſland was ordered under arms, the forts were repaired, and provided with ſtores, and batteries were raiſed along the coaſt, in every acceſſible part. His exertions were admirably ſeconded by the loyalty and ſpirit which the Sardinians unanimouſly diſplayed in behalf of their ſovereign.

On the twenty-firſt of January the little iſlands of St. Peter and Antioch, from which the garriſons had been previouſly withdrawn, were taken poſſeſſion of by a detachment from the French ſquadron. The whole of the fleet anchored in the harbour of Cagliari on the twenty-fourth, and a detachment of troops was immediately ſent on ſhore, with a ſummons demanding the ſurrender of the town. This detachment was attacked by the Sardinians, the greateſt part of it killed, and the remainder compelled to retreat. A furious cannonade and bombardment was begun by the ſquadron, on the twenty-ſeventh, and continued for three days, but with trifling injury to the town. The Sardinians replied by a ſhower of red hot ſhot, which conſiderably damaged the maſts and rigging of the French ſhips, one of which was ſet on fire, though the flames were at laſt extinguiſhed. Several attempts to land were uniformly repulſed. The French admiral now, for a time, gave over the attack, and retired from within reach of the enemy's cannon.

After a lapſe of more than a fortnight he renewed his endeavours. The bombardment recommenced more violently than ever, but with as little effect. At noon five thouſand troops were diſembarked, with fifteen pieces of cannon and ſeveral mortars. A diviſion of them marched the next morning towards Cagliari, while the remainder employed themſelves in raiſing entrenchments. On their route they were attacked by a column from the Sardinian camp, and driven back, after a ſhort engagement, in which they ſuffered ſeverely. A panic terror now ſeized upon the whole of the French troops, who no longer preſerved any appearance of diſcipline. The general at laſt found himſelf compelled to reimbark, and with great difficulty brought off his cannon. The firing was kept up from the ſquadron till the ſeventeenth, when a ſtorm aroſe which diſperſed the ſhips, and expoſed them to the moſt imminent danger. The Leopard, of eighty guns, was driven on ſhore and loſt, as were alſo ſome ſmaller veſſels. Finding that all his exertions were ineffectual, Truguet collected together his ſhattered navy, abandoned his enterprize, and returned to Toulon. The loyalty of the Sardinians on this occaſion received from their ſovereign ſeveral diſtinguiſhed marks of his approbation and gratitude. Feb. 14.

On the frontier of Piedmont, the early part of the year was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes of trivial importance. The firſt action which merits notice took

took place on the side of Nice. In this quarter the Piedmontese held all those passes through the mountains by which only the French could penetrate. From a part of these, Brunet, the republican general, resolved to expel them, and by this means to open the way to further conquests. Collecting together a body of ten thousand men he accordingly attacked, at Raous and Authion, the advanced posts of the Sardinian army, under the command of baron Colli and baron Dellera. The fight was long and obstinate. It continued without interruption for eight hours. At length the assailants were repelled in all quarters, and driven into the vallies, with the loss of eight hundred killed, fifteen hundred wounded, and many prisoners.

June 12.

Undismayed by this defeat, Brunet, after allowing his troops a long interval of repose, once more attempted to make himself master of these positions. He marched at break of day, in three columns, supported by a brisk fire from his batteries on the heights. In this new effort he was not more successful than he had formerly been. The battle lasted five hours at Authion, and seven at Raous, and terminated in the total defeat of the French, who were not only repulsed, but pursued by the victors to their entrenchments at Belvidere. Five hundred of the republicans remained on the field of battle. Unable to maintain their ground, the republicans in a few days after abandoned their camp of Belvidere, which was directly occupied by a detachment of Piedmontese.

July 29.

The troops of his Sardinian majesty now in their turn became the assailants. On the eighth of September the republicans were attacked near Lantosca, and compelled to retire, with loss, from several strong positions. The remainder of the campaign in this quarter was passed in skirmishes, frequently bloody, but never of a decisive nature.

The rulers of France were highly incensed at these unexpected defeats, and their indignation was soon felt by the vanquished general. Brunet had been unfortunate in his military undertakings, and as misfortune was, according to the new system of the convention, only another name for guilt, he was stripped of his command, delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal, and thence dispatched to the guillotine. Cartaux was appointed in his place.

Little of moment occurred on the side of Savoy. The French army in that duchy having been considerably weakened by sending detachments, to assist in reducing the southern departments to obedience, the Piedmontese troops for awhile made an almost unresisted progress, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Chambery. Their success, however, which had it been vigorously pursued, might have led to the most decisive consequences, was, from their want of spirit, but of short duration. The whole of the south being subjugated, the republicans were enabled before the close of the year, to expel them from Savoy, and to confine them again within the boundaries of Piedmont.

While the work of slaughter and desolation was thus carrying on amidst the Alps, it was pursued with still greater activity in the Pyrenees, which for three fourths of a century had enjoyed a profound repose. Those

Thoſe hoſtilities into which he had been forced by the republicans, the Caſtilian monarch determined to carry on with a ſpirit which ſhould give the aggreſſors ample cauſe to repent of their conduct.

In anſwer to the declaration of war which the convention had iſſued*, his catholic majeſty publiſhed a ſpirited manifeſto†, ſeverely animadverting upon the ferocity and want of good faith which had been diſplayed in numerous inſtances by the rulers of the French republic. This manifeſto was accompanied by an addreſs to the people, explaining the juſtice and neceſſity of the conteſt in which they were about to be engaged. Orders were at the ſame time given for expelling from the kingdom all French ſubjects who had not reſided in it for a certain period, or who refuſed to take ſuch oaths as were preſcribed by the government. Inſtructions for the equipment of a powerful and well appointed naval armament were alſo diſpatched to the ports of Cadiz, Carthagena, and Ferrol.

The principal efforts of the Spaniſh miniſtry were, however, directed towards the eſtabliſhment of a formidable military force. Regiments were levied with all poſſible expedition, and an abundant quantity of ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, collected together on the verge of the frontier. The loyalty of the nation too kept pace with the exigency of the times. Various towns and cities came forward to lay their lives and fortunes at the foot of the throne; and many of the nobles raiſed, armed, and provided at their own charge, conſiderable bodies of men for the ſervice of the ſtate. Even the humbler claſſes of ſociety expreſſed a laudable zeal to prove by the ſharpneſs of their ſwords the ſtrength of their indignation againſt the daring contemners of religion and order.

Two armies were ſpeedily formed, deſtined to act on the eaſtern and weſtern extremity of the Pyrenees, from the provinces of Catalonia and Navarre. The former, intended for the invaſion of Rouſſillon, was commanded by Don Antonio Ricardos, and conſiſted of nearly thirty thouſand men; the latter, ſomewhat inferior in number, was deſigned to act on the defenſive under the orders of Don Venturo Caro.

The line guarded by the French army in the weſtern Pyrenees extended from the fortreſs of St. Jean Pied de Port, to the mouth of the Bidaſſoa. The right of this line, through which paſs the roads to Bayonne, was protected by three camps. The firſt of theſe ſtretched from the Fort of Hendaye, oppoſite Fontarabia, to a mountain called Lewis the Fourteenth's, on whoſe ſummit was a battery of ſix large cannon. A chain of light troops united this with a ſecond camp at Jolimont, and the third was placed at Sare, in front of the Spaniſh village of Zuggaramundy, its flanks being ſupported by chaſſeurs poſted at Ainhouë, and at the entrance of the defile of Vera. On the left of the line a camp ſituated near Chateau Pignon commanded the route from Pampeluna to St. Jean Pied de Port. Small diviſions were alſo ſcattered, in many inſtances with little judgment, among a variety of inſulated poſitions.

At the commencement of the cam-

* See p. 312.

† See State Papers, p. 322*.

paign

paign the main body of the Spaniſh army occupied the mountain of St. Martial, on the banks of the Bidaſſoa. The left was covered by Fontarabia, and the right connected with a ſmaller camp of four thouſand men on the heights of Vera. On different points of the frontier redoubts were raiſed and detachments eſtabliſhed.

The Spaniſh general was not long before he diſcovered the weak and undiſciplined ſtate of the republican forces, and took the proper ſteps to profit by his diſcovery. On the twenty-third of April the Spaniards opened from their batteries a terrible fire of ſhot and ſhells on the whole of the French line, and, amidſt the confuſion which it occaſioned, croſſed the Bidaſſoa, aſſaulted the mountain of Lewis the Fourteenth, carried the battery, and ſpiked the cannon. Scarcely any reſiſtance was made by the French troops. Having effected their purpoſe, the Spaniards recroſſed the river.

This defeat was only the prelude to one of a ſeverer kind. The camp of Sare was vigorouſly attacked on the morning of the firſt of May, by general Caro, and the defenders of it, after a ſhort engagement, were totally routed. They fled with the utmoſt ſpeed towards St. Jean de Luz, abandoning their tents and a part of their cannon. By the loſs of this poſition the troops at Hendaye and Jolimont were expoſed to the danger of being ſurrounded. Orders were therefore given them to retire, which they obeyed with ſuch alacrity, that, although unpurſued by the enemy, their retreat had rather the aſpect of a flight. In the fort of Hendaye they left a large quantity of ammunition, two mortars, and thirteen pieces of artillery. Servan, their general, now found it neceſſary to fall back as far as Bidart, where he formed a camp for the protection of Bayonne. A body of Spaniſh troops immediately croſſed the Bidaſſoa, and entrenched themſelves on the heights of Biriatou.

In another quarter the ſame ill ſucceſs attended the arms of the French. After many ſmart engagements the Spaniards compelled the enemy to quit the valley of the Aldudes, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, a large majority of whom ſoon joined the ſtandard of their deliverers.

For more than a month an attempt upon the camp of Chateau Pignon had been meditated by the Spaniſh general, but a continuance of foggy weather had prevented him from putting his plans in execution. The favourable moment at laſt arrived. At nine in the morning, on the ſixth of June, he advanced to the attack. The republicans reſiſted with much bravery for nearly four hours, but were finally broken, and took flight towards St. Jean Pied de Port in the wildeſt confuſion, leaving behind them their tents, ammunition, and cannon. The conquerors retained the poſt for a few days, and then drew back within their own boundaries.

The French army, in the camp of Bidart, was, in the mean while, daily receiving reinforcements, while Servan was indefatigable in his exertions to reſtore its courage, and improve its diſcipline. In the midſt of his labours, however, he was diſplaced by the convention, and the command given to Deſprez-Craſſier.

Till the latter end of Auguſt no action

action of importance occurred. In one or two skirmishes the republicans gained a trifling advantage. Animated by this gleam of good fortune they resolved to drive the Spaniards from their entrenchments at Biriatou, and compel them to retreat over the Bidassoa. They accordingly marched to the assault on the night of the twenty-ninth of August, but were so warmly received that they were thrown into disorder, and retired precipitately. Their rear guard was vigorously pursued, and suffered considerable loss. This was the last action of note which took place during this year in the western Pyrenees. The remainder of the campaign was spent in trifling and useless encounters between small detachments, or in mere desultory incursions on weak points of the frontier, for the purpose of destruction and plunder.

In the eastern Pyrenees hostilities were commenced towards the middle of April, by Don Ricardos, who penetrated with his army into Roussillon. Immediately on his entering that province he published a short and moderate proclamation*; declaring that the forces under his command had not advanced into the French territory with hostile views, but solely for the purpose of assisting to deliver it from the horrible despotism exercised over it by an illegal assembly of desperate usurpers. Protection and support were promised to the loyal, while on the other hand severe punishment was denounced against the partisans of the convention.

The first operations of Don Ricardos were crowned with victory. On the twenty-first of April a body of Spanish troops, only two thousand eight hundred in number, and having no cannon, attacked three thousand republicans, who were posted in the town of Ceret, and provided with artillery. The engagement lasted three hours, and was terminated by the defeat of the French, who fled on all sides, abandoning their cannon to the assailants, whose coolness and courage on this occasion deserved the warmest applause. St. Laurent de la Cerda, Prats de Mollo, Arles, and Le Boulou, were taken possession of without resistance. Fort des Bains and Bellegarde were immediately invested.

Pursuing their successes the Spanish troops marched from Ceret on the night of the eighteenth of May against the French camp, which was advantageously situated on a commanding eminence at Maidieu. After a combat of three hours, the republicans were completely discomfited, and retired in shameful disorder towards Perpignan, leaving seven hundred men, and seven pieces of cannon in the power of the victors.

In the begining of June the troops in garrison at Fort des Bains were compelled to lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war. Bellegarde also was by this time nearly reduced to the last extremity. It held out nevertheless till the 25th, when, having sustained a bombardment of thirty-four days, and its provisions being entirely exhausted, it was reduced to the painful necessity of surrendering at discretion. The head quarters of Don Ricardos were now removed to Thuir, at a short distance from Perpignan. In the latter end of July and begining of August, the towns of Prades

* See State Papers, p. *325.

and

and Ville Franche submitted to the invaders. The French on their side made an incursion into Spanish Cerdagne, captured the towns of Puicerda and Campredon, and defeated some feeble detachments.

A large body of republicans was encamped at Millas, on the road from Ville Franche to Perpignan. These troops Don Ricardos resolved to expel from their position. Accordingly on the twenty-ninth of August, a division of the Spanish forces, commanded by the general himself, and the marquis de las Amarillas, was put in motion for that purpose. The result of this attack was the total defeat of the French, who lost the whole of their tents, baggage, and ammunition, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Great numbers of them were slain, and a still greater number made captive. The victors pushed forward their advanced posts beyond Perpignan as far as Rivesaltes, and thus intercepted the communication between Languedoc and Roussillon. The town of Corneilla was taken possession of the next day, as was shortly after that of Cabestanes; a French corps in the neighbourhood of which was at the same time routed with considerable slaughter.

Having received formidable reinforcements from various quarters, the republicans determined to assume the offensive. Their first attempt was of fortunate omen. Don Juan Courten was posted in the vicinity of Rivesaltes with a division not more than six thousand strong, and here, on the seventeenth of September, he was furiously attacked by the French army of fifteen thousand strong. He made a long and vigorous resistance, but was ultimately forced to commence his retreat, which was at first conducted with much order. The enemy, however, having broken down a bridge in his way, the troops were thrown into irremediable confusion. Fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and more than a thousand slain. The tents, baggage, ammunition, and cannon, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Elated by this victory the French collected all their strength for a decisive battle, which should not only free Roussillon, but enable them to retaliate the disgrace of invasion upon their enemies. Advancing in five columns, consisting of twenty four thousand men, they furiously assailed, on the twenty-second, the Spanish camp at Truillas. The combat was general along the whole of the line, but their principal effort was directed towards the left, against which they raised a battery of twelve cannon. Repeated attempts were made by the republicans to break through, but without effect. They were received by a heavy fire of grape shot, which covered the ground with slain. The battle commenced at seven in the morning and was not decided till evening. The republicans were at last thrown into disorder, and their confusion was completed by a charge of several columns of infantry and cavalry, under the command of Don Juan Courten and the Count de la Union. Five thousand French were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners by the Spaniards, who became masters of a large quantity of baggage, more than three thousand muskets and eleven pieces of artillery.

Succours were now pouring so rapidly into the French camp, that notwithstanding the late defeat of the republicans, Don Ricardos found himself unable to remain in his present

ſent poſition, and he therefore fell back to the neighbourhood of Boulou. Here he ſtrongly entrenched himſelf. The troops were alſo withdrawn from the camp of Argeles, which was directly entered by the enemy. During the months of October and November inceſſant attacks were made upon the Spaniſh poſts, in which the aſſailants were uniformly repulſed, and ſuffered ſeverely. In a period of only twenty-four days no leſs than fourteen engagements took place.

At the commencement of December, Don Ricardos, who had been conſiderably reinforced, determined once more to act upon the offenſive. An attack was accordingly planned upon the republican line, and was put in execution on the ſeventh with entire ſucceſs. While the right of the enemy was kept in check by the threatening movements of a Spaniſh diviſion, the redoubts and batteries on his left were aſſaulted and carried. The rout ſoon became general; nearly eight hundred French were ſlain, or drowned in paſſing the Tech, and ſix hundred remained priſoners. Forty-ſix pieces of cannon, two howitzers, one mortar, a great number of muſkets, with tents, clothing, ammunition and ſtores, became the prize of the Spaniards. A battalion of Portugueſe behaved with much valour, and eſſentially contributed to the fortunate termination of the day.

Heavy as this loſs was, it was ſoon followed by others ſtill heavier. On the twentieth of December the Spaniſh troops at Banyul-de-Mar advanced againſt the town of Port Vendre and the entrenchments on the heights behind the place, which they carried by ſtorm, after an obſtinate and bloody conflict. The republicans retired to Fort St. Elmo, leaving behind them ſix pieces of cannon. From the fort they kept up an inceſſant fire upon the aſſailants, but two battalions of Walloons and ſome other corps having gained the almoſt inacceſſible eminences which ſurround it, the garriſon was compelled to ſurrender as priſoners of war. The guns of the fort were immediately turned upon the town of Collioure, which the next morning was given up at diſcretion.

While Collioure was opening its gates the Spaniards were equally triumphant in another quarter. At the head of three columns the marquis de las Amarillas attacked the republican entrenchments not far from Boulou, made himſelf maſter of three batteries, and obliged the French to retreat to Banyul des Aſpres. A falſe attack was at the ſame moment made from Ceret on the enemy's right, by the Portugueſe general, Forbes, and another on his left by general Urrigary. The latter commander fell in with a column of two thouſand men, on its way from Perpignan to the camp at Banyul des Aſpres, which he charged and entirely defeated, killing five hundred, and taking priſoners nearly half that number. In the courſe of theſe actions eighty pieces of heavy artillery, an immenſe quantity of clothing and ammunition, and ſix months proviſions for ten thouſand men, fell into the hands of the victorious Spaniards. With this brilliant achievement the campaign cloſed on the frontier of the eaſtern Pyrenees.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Military and civil events in the interior of France. Proceedings at Lyons. State of public opinion at Lyons. Emiſſaries ſent from the Jacobin club. They eſtabliſh a club at Lyons, of which Challier and Lauſſel are the chiefs. Plan for murdering a great number of citizens. It is fruſtrated. The club broken up by the people. Report of Tallien to the Convention againſt Lyons. Three Commiſſioners ſent there. Their conduct. They return to Paris. Tyrannical meaſures of Challier and his colleagues. Decrees obtained from the Convention favourable to the Lyoneſe. The ſections of Lyons aſſemble. Challier arreſts a great number of perſons. The Lyoneſe determine to reſiſt. Severe action between the two parties. The Lyoneſe are victorious. Proceedings in Calvados and the neighbouring departments. Flight of ſome of the Girondiſts into that quarter. Their manifeſto againſt the Jacobins. Meaſures taken by the ruling faction to cruſh reſiſtance in Calvados. The departmental troops foiled in an attempt upon Vernon. Wimpfen's army abandons him, and the departments ſubmit to the Convention. Meaſures taken by the Lyoneſe for their defence. Rigorous decrees of the Convention againſt Lyons. Marſeilles renounces obedience to the Convention. It raiſes troops, and forms a confederacy. The Marſeilleſe defeated. Marſeilles ſurrenders. Toulon gives itſelf up to the combined powers. The Lyoneſe make an overture for peace. It is rejected. The conventional army approaches the place. Skirmiſhes between the Lyoneſe and the beſiegers. The city bombarded. The arſenal ſet on fire by incendiaries. The Lyoneſe reject a propoſition for delivering up their magiſtrates. The beſiegers reinforced by the garriſon of Valenciennes, and by large bodies of men from the ſurrounding departments. The Lyoneſe retire from their diſtant poſts, and the place is completely inveſted. Several important poſitions betrayed to the enemy, but recovered by the Lyoneſe. The Lyoneſe at laſt compelled by famine to think of a ſurrender. M. Précy, with a choſen body of men, endeavours to effect a retreat. Unhappy fate of this body. Lyons taken poſſeſſion of by the Republicans. Operations before Toulon. Two actions at Ollioules. Succours obtained by the allies from various quarters. A fort conſtructed on the Hauteur de Graſſe. Heights of Faron ſurpriſed by the French, but gallantly retaken by the allies. Various ſkirmiſhes occur. Situation of the garriſon daily grows worſe. General O'Hara arrives and aſſumes the government of the place. He is wounded and taken priſoner in an unfortunate ſally. The French prepare for a general attack. They aſſault and carry Fort Mulgrave. Make themſelves maſters of the heights of Faron. The allies prepare to evacuate the town. Dreadful conflagration of the inhabitants. Sir Sidney Smith entruſted with the burning of the arſenal and fleet. The place evacuated by the allies. Operations againſt the French colonies. Weſt Indies. Britiſh troops land in the iſland of Tobago. Fort

Castries taken by storm. Consequent submission of the island. Capture of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Unsuccessful attempt upon Martinico. Deputation from St. Domingo, offering to submit to the British government. British troops sent there, and possession taken of several posts. Operations in the East Indies. Capture of Pondicherry. Submission of all the French factories. Conclusion.

WHILE the whole line of its extensive frontier was thus a prey to the ravages of war, large interior divisions of the new republic were exposed to sufferings as great from the same destructive cause. In the west and the south the friends of royalty and of the Girondists appealed to arms against the relentless tyranny of the reigning faction. Confining ourselves, however, at present, to the faint struggles in Normandy, and to the more noble but equally unsuccessful resistance in the south, we shall reserve for our next volume the complete narrative of the rise, the progress, and unfortunate declension of the royalist power in the western provinces.

Lyons, inferior only to the capital in extent, riches, and population, is the first object which claims our attention. In this city, the abode of industry and commerce, revolutionary principles had made but a tardy progress. The fall of the throne, on the tenth of August, had been seen by a large majority of the Lyonese with a marked though silent discontent; and even of those who felt no affection for royalty the greater number were attached to the Girondist party. The faction of the Jacobins had few adherents, and those which it possessed were of the lowest order, and the most abandoned minds. Those paternal succours which, on the decline of the manufactures from the troubled state of public affairs, had been freely afforded by the rich to the poor, had almost universally retained the latter within the bounds of their duty. No symptoms of riot, or desire of carnage, had appeared in the multitude.

A situation of affairs so hostile to their interests was seen by the Jacobins of the metropolis with spleen and indignation, and they resolved to make a strenuous effort to effect such a change as should render Lyons no less vile and sanguinary than Paris itself. A band of daring anarchists was accordingly dispatched to found a club, and to propagate the doctrines of irreligion, plunder, and blood. The leaders of these emissaries were Lausel and Challier, two apostate priests, the latter a disciple of Marat, with whom he had spent six months at Paris, and by whose name he desired to be called.

A meeting of six hundred profligates was at last formed, under the name of the central club. The municipality was at the same time recomposed of the same characters. On the night of the sixth of February Challier appeared in the club, a poignard in his hand, and required from his associates an oath of secrecy and obedience, which was readily given. This done, he unfolded his plan of action. Under pretence that the rich and the aristocrats were engaged in a plot, he proposed to surprise the artillery, post it in such a manner as to prevent any opposition, seize upon the principal inhabitants,

inhabitants, and condemn them by a popular tribunal, formed like those which sat in mockery of justice during the massacres of September. The first list of victims contained the names of nine hundred citizens, whose mangled bodies were to be flung into the waters of the Rhone. Lest the executioner should be too much fatigued in the performance of his horrible task, several of the clubbists offered themselves to act as his associates.

Happily, however, information of this extensive scheme of murder was obtained by the mayor, who instantly adopted the necessary precautions. The drums beat to arms, the public force was called out, and the citizens were apprised of their danger. Intimidated by these vigorous measures, the conspirators postponed for a while the execution of their project. But though their plan had failed, their spirits were not broken. A young man having dared to call for the punishment of Challier, they laid hands upon him, and dragged him to prison. Irritated by this new outrage, the populace rose, delivered the prisoner, and, flushed with success, drove the clubbists from their hall, which they destroyed; and broke up for the present this tyrannical society.

An immediate appeal was made by the conspirators to their friends in the capital, and the citizens of Lyons were represented in the darkest colours, as aristocrats and counter-revolutionists. From the materials which they furnished to the committee of general safety, a false and acrimonious report was drawn up by Tallien, and presented to the convention. He proposed, in conclusion, to send three commissioners, and a sufficient number of troops, for the restoration of order. The proposition was agreed to, and Bazire, Legendre, and Rovere, were named to be the scourges of the devoted city. For this office agents better qualified could not have been chosen. Their tyranny was unbounded; their manners and morals hideous and disgusting; their followers the most vicious of mankind: the principal object of their favour was a miscreant, who prided himself upon the title of executioner of the princess de Lamballe.

On their arrival at Lyons they re-established the club; surrounded themselves with a guard supplied by it; compelled the citizens to elect a sans-culotte mayor; decreed the formation of a revolutionary army to be paid by the wealthy; and encouraged their satellites to cover the walls with incendiary proclamations, in which the writers "swore to exterminate all who differed with them in opinion, and "to throw their bleeding carcasses "into the Rhone, that they might "carry terror to the affrighted "ocean."

Arbitrary and iniquitous as were the acts of these commissioners, they were not sufficiently so to satisfy the vindictive passions of those by whom they had been appointed. Complaints and remonstrances were made against Bazire and his colleagues for their want of spirit, and they at last found it necessary to appear in Paris to justify their conduct. Challier and his associates remained the masters of Lyons, and their despotism was exercised with the most relentless rigour. The revolutionary army was recruited as fast as possible; a committee of public safety formed; fifteen hundred citizens thrown into prison;

a revolutionary tribunal established to try them; and the guillotine declared to be in a state of permanency. Numbers of those citizens who were suspected of being hostile to the Jacobins, were also put in requisition, and dispatched to the frontiers. Where life was thus sported with, it was not to be hoped that property would be looked on as sacred. A tax of six millions of livres was levied upon the rich inhabitants, for the pay of their persecutors, and this sum was afterwards swelled to the enormous amount of nearly forty millions. Many were taxed beyond the amount of their whole fortunes; from two to four hundred thousand livres was, in numerous instances, demanded; and any demur in the payment of the sum, within twenty-four hours, was punished by a mandate of arrest.

Goaded beyond endurance by these outrages and extortions, the Lyonese appealed to the convention against their merciless oppressors. Their appeal was made in a fortunate moment. Chassey was the deputy who pleaded their cause, and he obtained a decree, annulling the revolutionary tribunal, authorizing the citizens to repel force by force, and restraining in narrower bounds the operations of the revolutionary army. Another decree which was passed by the convention, though with different motives, was equally favourable to the citizens of Lyons. It allowed the sections to meet, and to take such measures as they might think necessary for their own safety.

May 15.

These laws were received by the Lyonese with the utmost satisfaction. The sections immediately assembled, and resolved that their meetings should be continued till peace and safety were re-established in Lyons. Alarmed at these proceedings, the Jacobin municipality called to its support a division of the army of the Alps. It came, and with it the representatives Nioche and Gauthier. Thus strengthened, the municipality ordered the sections to disperse, arrested several presidents and secretaries, and more than a hundred of the principal citizens, who were informed that they must die on the morrow.

On the morrow, however, the Lyonese determined either to perish or to free themselves and their friends from the rod of oppression. In the morning those presidents of sections who had not been arrested, met, formed a general committee, called together the armed force, and seized upon the arsenal. They drew up their troops in the place de Bellecour, while their antagonists mustered theirs in the place des Terreaux. Gauthier harangued the Lyonese, and endeavoured to prevail on them to lay down their arms, but without effect. Hostilities were commenced by the municipal forces, who opened a fire of artillery from the town house on one of the sectional battalions. A fierce engagement began which lasted five hours, and terminated in favour of the municipality, who compelled their opponents to retreat. On the side of the municipality some women distinguished themselves by their ferocious activity in mutilating and murdering the wounded. At night, the victors, believing their enemies to be completely crushed, abandoned themselves to plunder and riot. The vanquished, however, though repulsed,

May 29.

pulsed, were not conquered. They rallied, returned to the combat, and after a short engagement seized the town house, arrested Challier and the whole municipality, and committed them to prison. In this unexpected change of circumstances, Nioche and Gauthier affected to censure the defeated faction, but unable to gain the confidence of the people they soon, with shame on their countenances and rage in their hearts, departed to join the army of the Alps. The slain on this eventful day amounted to more than fifteen hundred.

Such was the situation of affairs in Lyons at the moment when the Jacobins gained a complete victory over their antagonists in the convention. Those of the defeated Girondists who could escape from Paris dispersed themselves in various quarters, with the hope of rousing their partisans to assert their cause. Buzot, Barbaroux, and Gorsas hastened to Caen, as being the centre of that district where they supposed their influence to be the strongest. They were soon afterwards joined by Guadet, Louvet, Petion, Salles, Lanjuinais, and many others of the proscribed deputies.

Felix Wimpfen, who in this quarter commanded the army of the coast of the channel, had gained the affection and confidence of the Normans and Bretons; and was labouring with secret but earnest zeal for the restoration of royalty. The people were disposed to receive the deputies with kindness, because they had been taught by the newspapers to consider them as the friends of the throne. No long time elapsed before the Normans were undeceived with regard to the principles of those who fought their assistance, and their consequent alienation was plainly to be discerned both in their language and conduct. The fugitives thought only of marching an army to Paris, rallying around them their adherents, and reinstating themselves in all the plenitude of power. With these views, Louvet drew up for the commissioners of the united departments a manifesto intended to conciliate the Parisians. It promised peace, fraternity, and succour to the people, but denounced deadly war and exemplary chastisement to some of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the municipality.

Measures were meanwhile taken in Paris for raising a levy of twelve thousand men, decreed on the fifth of May, but which had been ill enforced or improperly applied during the late struggles for supremacy. The ruling party at length collected about eighteen hundred foot which were immediately dispatched to stop the progress of the Girondists in Normandy. These troops took possession of Vernon, whence M. de Puisaye was ordered by general Wimpfen to dislodge them. He advanced to execute this commission, but was badly seconded by his soldiers. An alarm of an attack upon them being spread through the camp in the night, they ran away, with the most scandalous precipitation, and could never after be persuaded to approach the enemy. A whole department was, from this untoward circumstance, abandoned without the firing of a shot.

The deputies were surprised and mortified at this unexpected event. Wimpfen, nevertheless, still retained his courage. He proposed to fortify Caen, to declare that city in a

ſtate of ſiege, and to eſtabliſh a paper currency. But theſe ſchemes were ſoon put an end to by the increaſing power of the convention, a power for which it was indebted in part to terror, but ſtill more to the influence of bribes. His army rapidly dwindled away, and he was compelled in a few days to break up his camp at Liſieux, and provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his friends. Caen opened its gates on the third of Auguſt to the conventional forces, and its example was followed by the remainder of the towns in the confederated departments. The hopes of the fugitive Girondiſts in Normandy and Brittany were thus entirely deſtroyed, and thoſe who had ſo lately flattered themſelves with the magnificent proſpect of marching triumphantly to Paris, and re-aſſuming the reins of empire, were now reduced to the humiliating ſituation of miſerable and ſtarving outcaſts, without a ſhelter and without a friend.

While the Norman departments were thus tamely ſubmitting to the yoke, Lyons was preparing for a determined reſiſtance to the tyranny of the Jacobins. Intelligence of the violence committed againſt the national repreſentation on the ſecond of June had been received in that city, and had excited in the citizens an almoſt general diſguſt. That feeling was heightened by the exertions of Biroteau and Chaſſey, two of the proſcribed deputies, who had eſcaped from Paris, and now by vehement harangues excited the people to arms. Their exhortations were heard with pleaſure by a majority of the citizens. It was reſolved to acknowledge no longer the authority of the convention. Challier with ſome of his fellows was brought before the proper tribunal, and, after an impartial trial, was condemned to ſuffer by the guillotine which he had himſelf introduced into the city. A departmental congreſs of deputies, from the country round Lyons, was eſtabliſhed, by which proclamations were iſſued calling upon the natives of the ſouth to riſe and defend their rights and liberties from the deſpotiſm of the ruling faction. For the defence of Lyons againſt the conventional armies meaſures were adopted without delay. Thirty thouſand Lyoneſe were enrolled; a military cheſt formed, into which numerous contributions were poured; a paper currency created, the payment of which was guaranteed by the principal merchants; proviſions brought in from the vicinity; a large number of cannon caſt; and Chenellette, an engineer of high talents, employed to plan a chain of works, to erect which the whole population of Lyons inceſſantly laboured with an ardour which had ſeldom been equalled, never exceeded. The ſupreme command was given to M. Perrin de Précy, an old and accompliſhed officer, of royaliſt principles.

For a ſhort time after the ſecond of June, while they yet doubted the ſtability of their uſurped power, no vigorous meaſures were taken by the Jacobins againſt the people of Lyons. They contented themſelves with paſſing a decree, by which the impriſoned anarchiſts were placed under the ſafeguard of all good citizens, and the reſponſibility of the magiſtrates. But this ſemblance of moderation was ſoon thrown aſide, as they diſcovered their own ſtrength and the weakneſs of their antagoniſts. Various laws of a ſeverer tenor were ſucceſſively enacted, and at laſt, on the twelfth of

July, a decree was promulgated, which branded as traitors all the civil and public functionaries of the department of the Rhone and Loire, confiscated the property of the conspirators, and directed it to be shared among the indigent, suspended the payment of debts due to the inhabitants of Lyons, commanded all persons not domiciliated to quit that place within three days, and ordered the executive council to dispatch instantly a sufficient force to reduce the revolted city to unconditional submission.

The first military operations undertaken in the south by the ruling party were, however, directed towards another object. Marseilles, long hostile to the Jacobins, now on receiving intelligence of the downfal of the Girondists, renounced obedience to the legislature, shut up the popular club, and made a general seizure of its symbols and effects, which were escorted in triumph to the general committee of the sections. A central committee of the thirty-two sections, which had been abolished, was restored, and proceeded in the trial of some of the adverse party with great speed and severity. The convention outlawed the members of this body, but the decree was set at nought. The Marseillese at the same time exerted their utmost influence to combine the circumjacent cities and towns in a confederacy, to which they gave the name of the revolution of the south, and their endeavours were not unsuccessful. Aix, Montpellier, Nismes, Tarascon, Manosque, Beaucaire, Avignon, with several other places, acceded to their proposals. A small army, ill officered, and worse disciplined, was got together to oppose the Jacobins, and form a junction with the defenders of Lyons.

The struggle of the Marseillese was nevertheless but short and feeble. The troops of the united cities put themselves in motion, and ascended the Rhone, as far as Orange, but here a stop was put to their progress. The conventional armies, under Cartaux, rapidly advanced, and, after some trifling skirmishes, the Marseillese re-crossed the Durance, and retired to Aix. Arles, Tarascon, and Beaucaire, were directly occupied by the victors. From Aix the army of Marseilles was soon compelled to fall back to the vicinity of the latter city. It made its last stand on the heights of Septiemes, which its commanders had strongly entrenched. A hard fought engagement here took place, which terminated decisively in favour of the republicans, who captured twenty-five pieces of cannon and many prisoners. Marseilles opened its gates the next morning, but not till after Aug. 25. a severe contest in the town between the Jacobin party and the revolted citizens.

The guilt, as it was deemed, of Marseilles had been fully shared by Toulon. Both cities had declared themselves in favour of a monarchical government, and had negotiated for the British protection with lord Hood, who then commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. The treaty, as far as regarded Marseilles, had been rendered abortive by the rapid success of Cartaux, and the Toulonese had every thing to dread from the vengeance of the conquerors. The delay of a moment in obtaining assistance would probably be fatal. A dispatch was, therefore, instantly

ſent off by the ſections to lord Hood, informing him that they had hoiſted the white ſtandard, and proclaimed Lewis the ſeventeenth as their ſovereign.* A ſpeedy ſuccour was earneſtly intreated. On the receipt of this intelligence, his lordſhip proceeded to the mouth of the harbour, where he landed fifteen hundred ſoldiers, ſeamen, and

Aug. 28. marines, who were put in poſſeſſion of Fort La Malgue, the command of which was given to captain Elphinſtone. The French fleet was now ordered to remove into the inner harbour, and land its powder. Hoſtilities were threatened in caſe of diſobedience. Seven ſhips alone diſregarded the mandate, and of theſe the crews in the courſe of the day made their eſcape on ſhore. On the enſuing morning the combined Engliſh and Spaniſh ſquadron anchored in the outer road, and Toulon was delivered to the guardianſhip of the allies, who received it in truſt for its lawful ſovereign till the reſtoration of peace.

By the reduction of Marſeilles and the aſſociated cities, the Lyoneſe were left to their own unſupported efforts. Yet abandoned as they were by their allies, their courage ſtill remained unbroken. They reſolved, nevertheleſs, to make one trial to obtain peace, before they finally appealed to arms. Deputies were accordingly ſent to Paris to announce that, provided the ſanguinary decrees paſſed againſt the city were repealed, the new conſtitution would be accepted at Lyons; but if the convention perſiſted in uſing force, the citizens were unanimouſly determined to reſiſt to the uttermoſt extremity. This overture was diſdainfully rejected, and the Lyoneſe, with a noble alacrity, haſtened to commit their lives and fortunes to the deciſion of the ſword.

In the beginning of Auguſt, the troops of the convention appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. The firſt blood was ſpilt by them on the eighth. A ſmall party of the citizens having advanced to the beſiegers with branches of olive in their hands, were received with feigned marks of amity, ſurrounded, and then pitileſsly maſſacred. At the ſame inſtant the poſts of the garriſon on the heights of Croix Rouſſe were aſſaulted, but this attack was repelled with a great ſlaughter of the aſſailants. In almoſt daily actions, the Lyoneſe were generally victorious. They could not, however, prevent the beſiegers from approaching ſufficiently near to erect ſeveral batteries, from which, on the twenty-fourth, a terrible bombardment and cannonade with red hot ſhot was opened upon the city. The quarter of St. Clair, which was the moſt expoſed, ſuffered conſiderable injury, but the beſieged at laſt contrived to ſtop the progreſs of conflagration by removing from the houſes all combuſtible materials, and by employing an immenſe number of perſons to extinguiſh the flames on their firſt appearance. With an inhumanity which almoſt exceeds belief, the republicans directed towards the hoſpital ſuch a continued diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells, that in the courſe of one night it was no leſs than two and forty times in danger of being conſumed. To ſecond the batteries traitorous incendiaries were em-

* See State Papers, p. *311 to 316*.

ployed,

ployed, who performed their part with ſuch infamous fidelity that the arſenal was ſet on fire, and, with one hundred and twenty houſes around it, was totally deſtroyed.

Undiſmayed by horrors of which they had hitherto ſcarcely been taught to form an idea, the Lyoneſe ſtill maintained their courage and conſtancy. They were equally proof againſt the arts of ſeduction. Hoping to excite a revolt amongſt them, Dubois Crancé, who commanded the beſieging army, addreſſed to the citizens a proclamation, in which an amneſty was promiſed on condition of their delivering into his hands the magiſtrates they had choſen. The people aſſembled to deliberate, and the reſult was a letter containing a poſitive refuſal, which was ſigned by more than twenty thouſand perſons.

But, notwithſtanding the patience and valour which was diſplayed by the beſieged, their ſituation became every day more full of danger. The garriſon of Valenciennes joined, on the tenth of September, the beſieging army, to whoſe aſſiſtance reinforcements were alſo hourly pouring in from the ſurrounding departments, where commiſſioners had long been employed in exciting the zeal of the people by promiſing as a reward the rich plunder of the revolted city. Weakened by inceſſant ſkirmiſhes, and preſſed by increaſing numbers, the Lyoneſe now found it neceſſary to call in thoſe diſtant poſts which they had hitherto occupied, and to confine their defence to the vicinity of the place. The various detachments, though haraſſed on all ſides, effected their retreat in admirable order, and with little loſs. Lyons, by the middle of September, was intirely inveſted.

As the force of the beſiegers augmented, their attacks grew more frequent and more bloody, but they were often repulſed, and never ſuffered by the beſieged to gain an inch of ground, till they had bought it with a dreadful waſte of life. The Lyoneſe meanwhile had to contend againſt treaſon from within as well as aſſaults from without. Their ſchemes of defence, and their vulnerable quarters, were pointed out by ſome worthleſs citizens, who received large bribes of republican gold. A plan formed by the Lyoneſe commanders, for burning the bridge of La Pape, and thus cutting off the communication between the diviſions of the beſieging army, was fruſtrated by this means. Had it been carried into execution, a general ſally was intended on one of the enemy's quarters, which, if ſucceſsful, would have delivered, on that ſide, the city from its enemies. A heavier blow was ſoon given to the Lyoneſe by the agency of traitors. On the night of the twenty-eighth of September the poſts of Oulins, St. Foix, and Brotteaux, were betrayed to the enemy, who ſucceeded alſo in making a lodgment on Iſle Perrache, a marſhy ſpot ſituated at the extremity of the place, where the Saone and Rhone unite their waters. From theſe important poſitions, Précy reſolved inſtantly to expel the conventional troops. At the head of a choſen body of Lyoneſe he ruſhed forward to the aſſault, and after a dreadful conflict recovered the whole of the betrayed works. Two thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and numbers drowned in the Saone.

What

What the ſword could not effect was at laſt accompliſhed by famine. For ſome time the little portion of bread that remained had been diſtributed to thoſe on duty, while the women, children, and old men, ſubſiſted on the ſcanty allowance of half a pound of oats per day. This hard arrangement was adopted at the requeſt of the women themſelves, who nobly reſolved to ſuffer every privation for the ſake of their defenders, with whom they fully ſhared in every fatigue and in every danger. Early in October, proviſions of every kind were nearly exhauſted. A ſurrender was, therefore, inevitable, and deputies were accordingly named by the ſections to proceed to the hoſtile camp.

Convinced that no mercy was to be hoped from their cruel enemies, the braveſt of the Lyoneſe, with Précy at their head, determined, ſword in hand, to effect a retreat. Their deſign was to march along the Saone as far as Riotier, croſs it at that place, and then traverſe the department of L'Ain to the frontier of Switzerland. On the night of the eighth of October two thouſand men, the flower of Lyons, aſſembled in the ſuburb of Vaize, with their wives, their children, and what little they could ſave from the ruin of their fortunes. They began in two columns their perilous march, amidſt the light of their burning habitations, and the tears and bleſſings of thoſe friends who remained behind. Hazardous as was their project, it would perhaps have been crowned with ſucceſs, had it not been betrayed to the chiefs of the conventional army.

Scarcely had they ſet forward before a bomb fell into an ammunition waggon, by the exploſion of which numbers were killed. A heavy fire of artillery was at the ſame time opened upon them. As they proceeded they found themſelves enveloped by immenſe bodies of infantry, cavalry, and peaſants, who flocked from all quarters. Every hedge, every houſe, was lined by troops, and all the heights covered with cannon, to oppoſe their progreſs. A valiant, but a fruitleſs reſiſtance was for a while made by this heroic band. They were at laſt broken and diſperſed, and a frightful and indiſcriminate maſſacre enſued. Men, women, infants, all periſhed. The peaſants above all others diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their brutal ferocity towards their flying countrymen. Of two thouſand men who abandoned Lyons not more than fifty eſcaped and found refuge in a foreign land. The gallant Précy was one of the few ſurvivors.

After a defence of ſeventy days, which, as long as fortitude and valour remain dear to mankind, will be remembered with admiration, Lyons ſaw itſelf compelled to ſubmit. Thirty thouſand bombs, and more than a hundred thouſand cannon ſhot, had been poured into the place, which was in many parts reduced to a heap of ruins, while the citizens, worn down by famine and toil, had more the appearance of ſpectres than of human beings. On the morning of the ninth of October the ſhattered and depopulated city was delivered into the hands of the republicans, who bought their conqueſt at the enormous expence of twenty-four thouſand men, ſlain in various aſſaults. The horrible vengeance taken by the

the conquerors, at which nature ſhudders, we ſhall in our next volume have the melancholy taſk of narrating. We muſt now follow the courſe of the war to the ſhores of the Mediterranean, where the convention furiouſly ſtruggled with the combined powers for the recovery of Toulon.

Immediately on his entering Marſeilles, Cartaux diſpatched a portion of his army to ſeize upon the defile of Ollioules, an important paſs, at no great diſtance from Toulon. This ſervice was accompliſhed, and ſeven hundred and fifty infantry, with a party of cavalry, were left for the defence of the poſt. They had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of it, however, before ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, at the head of ſix hundred men, advanced from Toulon, expelled them from the village of Ollioules, and made himſelf maſter of their cannon, horſes, and ammunition, with two ſtand of colours.

On the ſixth of September, lord Mulgrave arrived at Toulon, and took the proviſional command of the troops. Ollioules being conſidered, though with an apparent want of judgment, as extending too far the line of military defence, a reſolution was taken to evacuate it; but before this could be done, the enemy, whoſe numbers were augmented to five thouſand, made a ſudden and impetuous attack, and drove out its garriſon of Spaniards and national guards, who ſuſtained in killed and wounded a loſs of nearly ſeventy men. Under a pretence that the villagers had fired on their advanced guard, the place was given up to plunder by the republican troops.

Every poſſible exertion was made by the allies to collect the requiſite force for the defence of Toulon. Don Juan de Langara with commendable diligence obtained from Rouſſillon an aid of three thouſand ſoldiers; the king of Sardinia detached from his army on the French frontier a body of ſixteen hundred men for this important ſervice; and the king of Naples furniſhed naval and military aſſiſtance to the utmoſt extent of his ability. The principal reliance was placed on powerful reinforcements from Auſtria and England, but, in both theſe inſtances, ſevere diſappointment was experienced.

The enemy was during this time buſily employed in erecting batteries to annoy the town and the ſhipping. It was at length diſcovered by the garriſon that it was neceſſary to occupy the Hauteur de Graſſe, which commands both the inner and outer road. Three hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a hundred and fifty Britiſh troops, were accordingly collected, and at midnight, on the twentieth of September, carried in boats acroſs the harbour. They landed at Fort Balaguier, and directly marched to reconnoitre the heights, which were found to conſiſt of a ridge divided at the top into three diſtinct and wooded knolls. The loweſt of theſe, about five hundred yards from the landing place, was occupied by the detachment. From this poſition the enemy at five in the afternoon made a vigorous though ineffectual effort to diſlodge its defenders. The allies being now thoroughly convinced of the propriety of ſecuring theſe heights, the proper meaſures were adopted, and a fort was

in

in consequence erected, to which the name of Fort Mulgrave was given.

While the allies were thus strengthening their position on one side, the republicans were preparing for an attack upon another point of equal importance. On the first of October, they made a desperate and well directed attempt to seize upon the heights of Faron, which towards the north overlook Toulon. At day-break they drove in the picquet of sixty men from the Pas de la Masque; the redoubt was immediately deserted by the Spanish garrison; and the enemy gained, without opposition, the whole ridge of this almost inaccessible mountain. The fort of Faron, below the redoubt, was thus exposed to imminent danger, but, on signals being made from it, a timely succour was sent by governor Elphinstone.

At seven in the morning the report of the enemy's success reached Toulon. A council was directly called, at which it was resolved that not a moment should be lost in making a vigorous endeavour to recover the ground which had been lost. The task was of no small difficulty, as the French were every moment increasing their numbers, and were in full possession of the summit of the heights, an elevation of nearly eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. To accomplish this service about thirteen hundred troops were collected and formed into two divisions. The first, consisting of about five hundred men, under the command of lord Mulgrave, was to ascend the mountain from Fort St. Antoine; while the second, led by admiral Gravina, made its way through the Vallon de Valbourdin. About eight in the morning both divisions quitted Toulon. So negligent were the enemy, that the allied columns gained the heights, with scarcely any other impediment than what arose from the ruggedness of the path, and the burning heat of the weather. Captain Moncrief instantly pushed across and seized upon the Pas de la Masque, which the French had abandoned.

The top of the mountain is intersected by a succession of transversal heights of steep ascent from the west, rising successively to the eastermost extremity, where the redoubt is placed. In front of this last ridge the republicans were drawn up. It was soon discovered that little impression could be made across the valley on the enemy's center, and it was, therefore, resolved to assail his left, which, from its injudicious position, was open to attack. Admiral Gravina in consequence descended into the valley to turn the vulnerable flank, while lord Mulgrave, on his side, by various feints, drew off the attention of the republicans from the menaced quarter. The plan was crowned with entire success. Gravina slowly, but unperceived, gained the destined point, and a general charge was then made by both divisions. The left of the enemy soon began to waver and crowd together; the British and Piedmontese rushed forward; the French line was thrown into confusion, and a general rout ensued. Numbers were slain in the pursuit, but still more were destroyed by their pressing each other over the precipice in their disorderly flight. Twelve hundred men, all troops of the line, and the flower of the French army,

perished by the sword or were dashed to pieces. The loss of the allies was only ten killed, three missing, and seventy-one wounded, among whom was general Gravina, who was slightly hurt.

The whole of the troops distinguished themselves not less by their patience and perseverance than by their valour. The combat with the foe was the least heavy part of their day's duty. Previous to their marching out of Toulon, they had received but a small portion of bread, and during a laborious march of twelve hours, over precipitous and rugged rocks, exposed to the heat of a burning sun, not even the refreshment of a drop of water could possibly be obtained. Not a murmur, however, was heard from any quarter. Among those who gained particular honour by their conduct on this day, was Thomas Graham, esq. of Balgeroon, who served as a volunteer with lord Mulgrave's division.

At one in the morning of the ninth of October, captain Brereton, with a small party, marched from Fort Mulgrave, and succeeded in surprising two batteries which the enemy had raised on the Hauteur de Renier, spiking the cannon, destroying the ammunition, and putting nearly two hundred of the defenders to the sword. The besiegers, however, immediately constructed new batteries at a small distance from those which had been demolished.

Frequent actions now occurred between the hostile forces, in which the republicans were uniformly worsted. But the advantage was seldom equivalent to the loss which was suffered. Not an inch of ground was gained by the besieged, who confined themselves to mere defensive operations, and thus allowed their antagonists to choose their own time and place of attack, and to enjoy the still greater benefit arising from that conscious superiority, by which those who offer battle are always inspired. In spite, therefore, of its successes, the situation of the garrison became, from various causes, daily more embarrassing and disagreeable. The subjugation of Lyons had enabled the convention to augment their army before Toulon to more than thirty thousand men, while within the town they found powerful allies in the disaffection and treachery of a part of the citizens. The royalists too, who had hoped that some effectual blow would be struck by their friends, began to feel disheartened at the little vigour that was displayed, and already anticipated the ruin of their cause from the present inefficient system. A worse evil also existed in the dissensions of the commanders, who acted towards each other with a marked and fatal want of cordiality and confidence.

Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who had been appointed governor of Toulon, reached that place on the twenty-fifth of October, with the second battalion of the Royals, the eighteenth regiment, and a considerable detachment of artillery and engineers. The general, lord Hood, and sir Gilbert Elliott, who shortly after arrived, were authorized by his majesty to act as commissioners for negociating and concluding all civil matters and arrangements in the south of France. This commission was opened on the twentieth of November, and a declaration was

immediately

immediately publiſhed* aſſuring the Toulonese of his majeſty's protection.

During this time the attacks of the beſiegers were inceſſantly continued. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was an attempt made on the fifteenth of November to obtain poſſeſſion of the Hauteur de Graſſe. In order to effect this important purpoſe they repeatedly and deſperately aſſaulted Fort Mulgrave, but were at laſt compelled to retire, with the loſs of ſix hundred men in killed and wounded.

Diſſatisfied with the conduct of their generals before Toulon, the convention diſplaced them, and gave the command of the army to Dugommier, an officer of conſiderable merit. Under his direction a battery was raiſed on the heights of Arenes, by which the poſt at Malbouſquet was ſo much annoyed, that the governor reſolved to make a ſally for the purpoſe of deſtroying this new and formidable work. Two thouſand three hundred men were formed into four columns early in the morning, and marched Nov. 30. with ſuch ſecrecy that they ſurpriſed the battery, and made themſelves maſters of the heights. The ſucceſs would have been complete, had not their ungovernable impetuoſity led them to follow in diſorder the flying foe to a great diſtance, where they were met by ſuch overpowering numbers as compelled them haſtily to abandon all the advantages they had gained. General O'Hara was wounded in the right arm, and, being unable to proceed from loſs of blood, was made priſoner. The garriſon was diminiſhed nearly three hundred men by this unfortunate ſally.

Nothing extraordinary occurred on either ſide for the ſpace of a fortnight. The republicans were buſily employed in ſtrengthening their poſts, and in raiſing new works both for cannon and mortars. Their army had by this time been increaſed to more than forty thouſand troops; and with this force general Dugommier reſolved to undertake a general and deciſive attack upon the poſition of the allies.

An inceſſant fire had long been maintained from three batteries on the important poſt of fort Mulgrave. Two more batteries were Dec. 16. opened againſt it, on the morning of the ſixteenth. A heavy and galling cannonade and bombardment was kept up from all theſe, during the whole of the day. The works, weak from the materials of which they were compoſed, as well as from the haſte with which they had been conſtructed, and already much ſhaken by the continuance of the enemy's attack, were unable to reſiſt the additional means of offence which were brought againſt them. They ſuffered very ſeverely. The loſs of the garriſon in killed and diſabled was conſiderable, and the taſk which the ſurvivors had to perform was rendered more fatiguing by a rainy and inclement ſeaſon.

The fire of the beſiegers was continued for twenty-four hours, with the utmoſt violence. At the expiration of that time it was ſuppoſed that a ſufficient effect had been produced to make an aſſault practicable. Accordingly, at two Dec. 17. in the morning, the republicans advanced to the charge, with a large force and with great impetuoſity. They were received with determined courage, and, for a long

* See State Papers, p. 316.

a long time, were held at bay. Their superior and constantly increasing numbers enabled them, however, to maintain the conflict, and ultimately to triumph. A part of the post was entrusted to the Spanish troops, whose courage at last deserted them. They took flight, and left the enemy in possession of the right of the lines. By this cowardly behaviour the position of the British became untenable. It was, nevertheless, obstinately defended for a while by captain Connolly, of the eighteenth regiment, and those under his command. Their bravery was unfortunately fruitless. The works were finally carried, and a horrible slaughter took place. No quarter was given by the ferocious assailants to the British troops, nearly three hundred of whom were put to the sword. The remains of the garrison retired along the heights to some neighbouring posts, which were still occupied by the allies. The republicans, satisfied with what they had done, made no attempt to pursue their advantage in this direction. Their conquest had been purchased at the expence, in killed and wounded, of nearly a thousand men.

The garrison of Toulon was in the mean while, in a state of the most anxious and painful uncertainty as to the result of the conflict. But its solicitude was soon called to another quarter. A little before daybreak, shortly after the firing had ceased on the Hauteur de Grasse, a general attack was made by the enemy on the whole extensive range of posts which crowned the mountain of Faron. The eastern side was defended by about seven hundred men, at the head of whom was a gallant Piedmontese officer, the colonel de Jermagnan. Here the French were completely repulsed. The victory was, however, bought by the allies with the loss of their worthy commander, and was rendered ineffectual by the success of the republicans on another point, for the safety of which less apprehension had been felt. On the north side the mountain was nearly eighteen hundred feet in height, steep, rocky, and by nature almost inaccessible, and much labour had been employed to make every avenue entirely impenetrable by hostile force. An extent of about two miles was guarded by five hundred troops. In this quarter, but not through a British post, the enemy penetrated, and the summit of the mountain, overlooking Toulon, was almost immediately crowded by his numerous battalions.

The two most essential links of the chain of defence were thus broken by the besiegers. In this emergency a council of war was hastily assembled, at which the chief naval and military officers were present. A long and interesting deliberation took place. Lord Hood alone, with great spirit, strenuously insisted on the necessity of making a last effort to regain the positions which had been lost, but his opinion was overruled. It was next decided that the town was, under all the circumstances of the case, no longer tenable, and ought therefore to be evacuated as speedily as possible.

The determination of the council was for the present kept secret, but measures were taken to carry it safely into effect. From the heights of Balaguier the troops were withdrawn, almost uninterrupted, and in the evening the redoubt and lunette of Faron were abandoned, the

the garrisons of them retiring towards Toulon. Forts l'Artigues and St. Catharine, with the post of Cape Brun, on the one side of the place, and the post of Sablettes, and Malbousquet on the other, were yet retained by the allies. Malbousquet was hastily deserted in the night by the Spaniards in consequence of the Neapolitans having retreated without orders from its supporting post at Missicy. So completely panic-stricken indeed were the whole of the Neapolitans, that they were allowed to hurry on board their ships as fast as possible; and, on the succeeding day, their commander, not waiting even for the ceremony of bidding farewell, got out of the port, and made the best of his way to Naples.

To insure the quiet of the town, and convey away such of the citizens as had exposed themselves by their loyalty to the vengeance of the republicans, every possible exertion was made. Such as chose to retire immediately on board the merchant vessels in the harbour were informed that they should receive provisions, and every assistance which it was practicable to give. In the night a new station in the outer road was taken by the combined fleets.

The sick and wounded, and the British field artillery were sent off early in the morning of the eighteenth. The town was now in a state of the most frightful confusion. In some of the streets the Jacobins fired on the allies from the windows. A report was spread that the besiegers had forced their way into the town, and the quays were, in consequence, soon crowded with royalists of both sexes and of every age, who, pale, trembling, and in all the agony of despair, implored, in the name of every thing sacred, to be saved from their implacable enemies. Not a moment was lost in taking these unfortunate fugitives on board the vessels which had been provided for that purpose.

In the course of the day the garrison of Cape Brun fell back upon the fort of La Malgue; the troops were taken on board from Sablettes; and, in the evening, Forts St. Catharine and l'Artigues were prematurely quitted by the detachments placed in them. Measures were arranged for the general embarkation of the troops, which was to be performed at night, under the protection of La Malgue. The troops, in the mean time, were ranged on the ramparts of the town. Dec. 18.

With respect to the French ships it was resolved by the council that such as were ready for sea should be sent out under the royalist admiral Trogoffe; and that all the others, together with the stores, should be destroyed.

This plan was adopted without opposition, but it was known to be disagreeable to the Spanish admiral, who had declared in a conversation, which was reported to lord Hood, his conviction that the crippling of the French marine, though an object of importance to England, would be injurious to the interests of Spain. The demolition of the ships in the bason before the town was however undertaken by Langara, who offered three gun-boats to co-operate with the English. Little reliance could be placed on such allies, and a want of confidence in their exertions, if not already well grounded, was amply justified by the whole of their conduct during this important night.

The flotilla destined to destroy

the French fleet consisted of the Vulcan fireship, the Alert sloop, the Swallow tender, three English gunboats, and a single Spanish mortar boat.

Sir Sidney Smith, who had lately joined the British squadron, volunteered his services to conduct this perilous enterprize. At night he proceeded to the arsenal, where he waited the signal for commencing his operations, which was not to be given till the troops had begun their retreat.

The interval was actively employed by him in making preparations at the arsenal. This building is a hollow oblong, partly situated on the shore, and partly built on solid piers of stone which project into the inner road, and then bending round inclose a large wet dock, called the New or Arsenal Bason. On the shore stand the great magazines, the mast houses, rope house, timber-stores, and forges. Granaries, a hospital, barracks for the slaves, and warehouses for ships' furniture, each ship having a warehouse set apart for it, are constructed on the piers. The old bason before the town is contiguous to the new, but of smaller dimensions, and is inclosed in the same manner by a long and massy mole.

Sir Sidney, on his arrival, found the dock gates well secured. The workmen had already assumed the three-colcured cockade, and the galley slaves, to the number of six hundred, the greatest part unchained and the remainder employed in knocking off their fetters, watched his proceedings with a jealous eye, and appeared evidently disposed to resistance. Too humane to deprive these men of their sole chance of escaping from danger, the British commander gave them no interruption. He took, however, the precaution of pointing the guns of the Swallow in such a manner as to enfilade the quay on which they must have landed to attack him, assuring them at the same time that while they remained peaceable no injury should be done them. A cross fire of shot and shells was all this while kept up by the enemy from Malbousquet and the neighbouring hills; but it produced only a beneficial effect, as it held the galley slaves in awe, and confined to their houses the Jacobins of the town. A great multitude of the besiegers gradually drew down towards the dock-yard wall with shouts and republican songs; and as the night closed in approached sufficiently near to pour in an irregular but rapid fire of musketry and cannon. By well-timed discharges of grape they were kept at bay, and prevented from discovering the smallness of the English force, and its inability to resist a close attack. As a security against the Jacobins within, a boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field pieces were pointed against the wicket frequented by the workmen. At eight o'clock the fireship was towed into the bason, and placed by her commander, captain Hare, across the tier of men of war. This additional strength of men and guns completely reduced the galley-slaves to subjection: murmurs and tumultuous debates were now at an end among them, and no sound was heard but of the hammer which was employed in unrivetting their fetters.

About ten at night the expected signal was made. In an instant the torch was applied, and the flames arose in every quarter. Though

the calmneſs of the night was unfavourable, they ſpread in many parts, with great rapidity. The blaze rendering the Engliſh diſtinctly viſible, the firing from without was redoubled; but the guns of the Vulcan, which had been judiciouſly pointed on both ſides, going off as the flames reached them, the beſiegers were deterred from advancing. Shouts, and republican ſongs ſtill continued to be heard from them till they, as well as the Engliſh, were at once thunderſtruck by the tremendous exploſion of the Iris frigate, lying in the inner road, and containing ſeveral thouſand barrels of powder. The violence of the ſhock, and a ſhower of flaming timber, threatened deſtruction to the flotilla. Happily, however, only one gunboat and one of the ſhip's boats were deſtroyed, both being blown to pieces; an officer and three men loſt their lives. This and another frigate, containing the powder of the French fleet, had been committed by lord Hood to the Spaniſh troops, who, either from ſtupidity or treachery, ſet them both on fire inſtead of ſcuttling and ſinking them as had been previouſly agreed. The ſecond ſhip, the Montreal, blew up with an exploſion more terrific than the firſt, but without any injurious effect. This accident indeed was not without its uſe; for while it did little damage to the flotilla it contributed greatly to appal the enemy, and thus to afford ſufficient time for the work of deſtruction.

The Spaniſh officers, who had been commiſſioned to burn the ſhips in the baſon before the town, now returned, and reported that various obſtacles had prevented them from executing the order. Anxious to accompliſh the ruin of the French marine in the Mediterranean, ſir Sidney proceeded, in company with the Spaniſh officers, towards the old baſon, but found, to his infinite mortification, that he was too late. In ſeveral attempts to cut the boom which cloſed the entrance, the Engliſh were repulſed by inceſſant vollies of muſquetry from the batteries, and from one of the veſſels. The deſign was, therefore, reluctantly abandoned.

At this moment the diſtreſsful ſcene of the morning was renewed. The laſt column of the allies having evacuated the town, the Jacobins broke forth upon the reſt of the unhappy citizens. Cries, clamours, lamentations, and ſcreams, were heard in every quarter. The ſad remnants of thoſe who had favoured the royal cauſe, and who had neglected to go off in the firſt embarkation, now came flying to the ſhore, and invoked with tears and prayers the pity of their Britiſh friends. Mothers claſping their babes to their boſoms, helpleſs children, and decrepid old men, might be ſeen ſtretching their hands towards the harbour, ſhuddering at every ſound behind them, and even ruſhing into the waves to avoid the leſs merciful death which was threatened by their purſuers. Thoſe that could ſeize upon boats, crowded into them in overwhelming numbers, puſhed from the beach without oars, and directed their unſteady and dangerous courſe towards their former protectors. Sir Sidney, with a bravery and humanity worthy of him, and of his country, inſtantly ſuſpended his retreat, till not a ſingle individual who claimed his aſſiſtance remained on the ſtrand. The whole number of men, women, and children, ſaved from Toulon, on the morning and evening of this memorable

memorable day, was fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

Sir Sidney next bent his course to the inner road, where lay the Hero and Themistocles, two seventy-fours. The latter was used as a prison ship, and the prisoners, at the commencement of the operations, had shewn a spirit of resistance. Their fears had since been so well awakened by the dreadful scene around them that they now behaved with perfect humility. After every man had been carefully landed, the two ships were set on fire, and were speedily burnt to the water's edge. Every thing within reach being in flames, all the combustibles exhausted, and the strength of the men so worn down that they dropped on their oars, Sir Sidney embarked all the parties which had been stationed to cover his enterprize, and directed his course to the fleet, which he reached in safety, having only encountered a few ill-directed shot from the forts of l'Eguillette and Balaguier. The fleet then weighed anchor, and steered with its melancholy freight for the islands of Hieres.

The general loss sustained by the enemy, on the evacuation, was not so great as the first accounts gave reason to expect. The grand magazines felt but partially the effects of the conflagration; it was only the smaller stores which were entirely destroyed. The chief damage fell on the shipping*, and the loss sustained in this department gave a serious blow to the

* *List of Ships, Frigates, and Corvettes, belonging to the Department of* Toulon *in* August 1793, *when Admiral Lord* HOOD *took Possession of that Port.*

Ships in the Outer Road, and ready for Sea, when Lord HOOD *entered with His Majesty's Fleet*.—Le Commerce de Marseilles of 120 guns; Le Pompée 74; Le Tonnant 80; Le Heureux 74; Le Centaur 74; Le Commerce de Bourdeaux 74; Le Destin 74; Le Lys 74; Le Heros 74; Le Themistocle 74; Le Duguay Trouin 74; Le Patriote 74; L'Apollon 74; L'Orion 74; L'Entreprenant 74; Le Scipion 74; Le Genereux 74.

Frigates.—La Perle of 40 guns; L'Arethuse 40; L'Aurore 32; La Topaze 32; L'Alceste 32.

Corvettes.—La Poulette of 26 guns; Le Tarleton 14; La Caroline 20; L'Auguste 20; La Belleisle 26; La Prosélyte 24; La Sincere 20; La Mulet 20; La Mozelle 20; La Lamproye 20; La Petite Aurore 18.

In the Outer Road of Toulon. In all, 17 Ships of the Line, 5 Frigates, and 11 Corvettes.

Ships in Harbour, refitting, at the Time Lord HOOD *entered* Toulon.—Le Triomphant of 80 guns; Le Suffisant 74; Le Puissant 74; Le Dauphin Royale 120.

Frigates.—La Serieuse of 36 guns.

In the Harbour refitting. In all, 4 Ships of the Line and 1 Frigate.

Ships in the Inner Harbour and Basin, and in want of complete repair.—Le Mercure of 74 guns; La Couronne 80; Le Conquerant 74; Le Dictateur 74; Le Languedoc 80; Le Censeur 74; Le Guerrier 74; Le Souverain 74; L'Alcide 74.

Frigates.—La Courageuse of 36 guns; L'Iphigenée 32; L'Iris 32; Le Montreal 32; La Lutine 32.

the French navy. Three ships of the line, five frigates, and seven corvettes, besides smaller vessels, were brought away by the English; and ten sail of the line, three frigates, and two corvettes, were burnt by sir Sidney Smith. Of eight smaller vessels, subtracted on this occasion from the republican marine, a part were destroyed, and the remainder put in commission by the Spaniards and Piedmontese.

By the abandonment of Toulon all those hopes, which had at one time been cherished, of delivering at least a part of the south of France from the republican yoke, were finally crushed. Had proper and timely measures been adopted, those hopes might, perhaps, have been realized, to their full extent. Not much of vigour, or of wisdom, was, in truth, displayed in any part of the transaction. The place was defended with great gallantry, but with little skill, and was precipitately quitted, without inflicting, as there might have been inflicted, a terrible, and almost irremediable, wound upon the maritime power of France.

Corvettes.—L'Alerte of 16 guns; La Bretonne 18.

Total in the Inner Harbour and Basin wanting repairs, 9 Line of Battle Ships, 5 Frigates, and 2 Corvettes.

Building.—One Ship of 74 guns, and one Frigate of 40 guns.

Ships, &c. in Commission prior to Lord HOOD's *taking Possession of* Toulon, *and which were then cruizing in the* Levant, *or employed on various Services.*—Le Duquesne of 74 guns; La Sybille 44; La Sensible 36; La Melpomene 40; La Minerve (now St. Fiorenzo) 40; La Fortunée 36; L'Imperieuse 40; La Modeste 36; La Mignone 32; La Junon 40; La Vestale 40

Corvettes.—La Fleche of 24 guns; La Fauvette 24; L'Eclair 20; Le Badine 24; Le Hazard 20; La Brune 24.

In all, cruizing and employed in various services prior to Lord Hood's taking possession of Toulon, 1 Ship of the Line, 10 Frigates, and 6 Corvettes.

RECAPITULATION *of the Number of Ships, Frigates, and Corvettes, in the Outer Road, Inner Harbour, Basin, and Arsenal of* Toulon *in* August 1793; *and the Number taken into the Service, disposed of, brought away, burnt, and destroyed, between the 1st of* September *and the* 18th *of* December 1793 *inclusive.*

Total Ships in Toulon.—2 of 120 guns, 4 of 80 guns, 25 of 74 guns, 12 frigates, and 13 corvettes or sloops.——Sent as cartels to Brest, Rochfort, and L'Orient, September 1793, 4 ships of the line;—taken into His Majesty's Service between the 3d of September and the 13th of December 1793, (besides 11 armed zebecs, gun-boats, and galleys) 2 frigates, and 5 corvettes;—taken into the service of the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Sardinians, 1 frigate and 2 corvettes;—burnt and totally destroyed at the evacuation of Toulon, 10 of the line, 3 frigates, and 2 corvettes; N. B. *Six others had been set fire to, but did not burn so as to prevent being repaired*;—burnt by accident at Leghorn, 1 of the line;—brought away from Toulon, and afterwards taken into His Majesty's Service, including 1 of 120 guns, 3 of the line, 3 frigates, and 2 corvettes.——Total disposed of, taken, burnt, and destroyed, 18 ships of the line, 9 frigates, and 11 corvettes ——Ships remaining at Toulon on the 18th of December 1793, including 6 of the line considerably damaged from having been also set on fire, 13 of the line, 3 frigates, and 2 corvettes.

The

The ſtorm which burſt on thoſe unfortunate Toulonese who remained behind was truly horrible. The ſoldiers of the advanced guard were the firſt who entered the town. Theſe men had juſt ſignalized themſelves by maſſacring, through miſtake, two hundred Jacobins who haſtened out to greet them, and whoſe ears they cut off to faſten in their hats. Immediately on their entrance they began to plunder, and ſuch was their ſavage fury, that, for twenty-four hours, even the repreſentatives who attended the beſieging army were compelled to ſhut themſelves up in the town-hall, to ſecure their perſonal ſafety. The loweſt of the mob, and the liberated galley ſlaves, joined with the ſoldiers in ſpreading devaſtation and terror. A ſtop was at laſt put to theſe violences, but this favour was bought by the citizens at the price of four millions of livres, which were extorted from them, as a reward for the army, to which, during the ſiege, the pillage of Toulon had been promiſed, as a ſtimulus to its exertions.

Theſe calamities, however, were but feeble precurſors of thoſe which Toulon was deſtined to ſuffer. On the motion of Barrere, it was decreed that the name of the place ſhould be changed to that of Port de la Montagne, that the houſes ſhould be raſed to the foundations, and nothing preſerved but the naval and military eſtabliſhments. Barras, Freron the younger, Robeſpierre, and ſome other deputies of ſimilar character, were entruſted with the dreadful power of executing the vengeance of the convention upon the miſerable Toulonese; and they performed their ſanguinary office with an inflexible, remorſeleſs, and unremitting cruelty. In a very ſhort time, Toulon, like Lyons, preſented to the view only the melancholy ſpectacle of carnage and ruin.

From this diſcomfiture and retreat of our troops in the ſouth of France, we now gladly turn to the narration of their labours and ſucceſſes in the weſtern and oriental hemiſphere. On the commencement of hoſtilities, the Britiſh government tranſmitted orders to the naval and military commanders in the Weſt Indies, to ſeize upon the enemy's poſſeſſions in that quarter. Theſe orders were obeyed with ſpirit and promptitude.

The firſt object of attack was the iſland of Tobago; for the ſubjugation of which five hundred troops from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's were, on the eleventh of April, embarked in theee ſhips of war and a merchant veſſel: the artillery and neceſſary ſtores were put on board ſeveral faſt ſailing ſchooners hired for the purpoſe. The diſembarkation was effected in Great Courland Bay, on the afternoon of the 14th, without oppoſition, and the detachment immediately advanced towards Fort Caſtries, the governor of which, M. Monteil, was ſummoned to ſurrender, but without effect. On a nearer view the fort appeared to be much ſtronger than the commanders had been taught to expect, this ſtrength was hourly increaſing; and even in the preſent ſtate of the place, the force of the beſiegers was obviouſly inſufficient for its reduction by a regular ſiege. No hope, therefore, of ſucceſs remained but in an aſſault; which it was reſolved to attempt that night.

An hour after midnight the troops marched toward the fort, which it was decided to attack on the north-weſt ſide,

side, the works in that part being less perfect than on the others. Strict orders were given that the bayonet alone should be employed. From the landing place to the fort was two miles: the British, however, proceeded as far as the town of Scarborough undiscovered, but here they were fired upon by some of the inhabitants, by which means the garrison was alarmed, and had time to prepare for defence. The absconding of a negro who acted as guide, caused also at this period a division of the troops, which, from the darkness, it was impossible to rectify. This circumstance, which might have frustrated their enterprise, luckily proved advantageous: each party pushed on, and the enemy's attention being drawn to another quarter by the column which had lost its way, opposed a less vigorous resistance to that which made the principal attack. The works were stormed almost instantaneously, but the enemy were, by the humanity of the British, suffered to surrender themselves as prisoners of war. This success was attended with the loss of no more than three killed and twenty-four wounded.

On the fourteenth of next month, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were given up to a detachment of 310 British troops from Halifax, under the command of brigadier general Ogilvie. No resistance was made: the islands, by the treaty of Versailles, not being allowed to be fortified, and the garrison consisting, when attacked, of less than one hundred men. Eighteen small vessels laden with fish, and two American schooners with provisions and naval stores, were at the same time captured.

An expedition which was undertaken against the island of Martinico, terminated in a manner less favourable. That island had for some time been in a very disturbed and divided state. Daily skirmishes took place between the royalist and republican parties, the latter of which was the strongest, and was likewise in possession of the fortified posts. Under these circumstances the assistance of the English was requested by the royalists, and an officer was accordingly sent by the British commander in chief, the hon. major general Bruce, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent assistance would be required, and what co-operation might be expected. On the last of May the officer returned with a satisfactory answer. He was followed a few days after by a deputation, who stated the royalists to be in possession of several considerable posts, the aid wanted not to exceed 800 men, and the probability that many would declare in their favour on their landing. Eleven hundred men, commanded by the hon. major-general Bruce, were in consequence embarked. The next day a part of them were, on the representations of the French engineers, put on shore at Caze Navire, that the officer who commanded the royalists might be enabled to collect his forces in the neighbourhood of St. Pierre. On the 16th the remainder were landed. The royalist corps was about 800 men. With this united force it was resolved to attack the town of St. Pierre, the submission of which, it was hoped, would insure that of the rest of the island. St. Pierre was solely defended by two batteries, for the assault of which preparations were immediately made. June 11.

The

June 18. The British and royalists moved in two columns to the attack before daybreak; but the latter, falling into confusion, fired upon each other, by which means the commander was wounded, and the troops so intimidated, that they refused to submit to the controul of the officers. The British column not being singly strong enough to storm the batteries, the enterprize was abandoned, and the troops reimbarked on the two following days. With the troops also embarked many of those royalists who had invited and assisted the English. Every endeavour was made, by pressing vessels, to carry off as great a number as possible; but, in spite of all exertions, the republicans boasted that they had taken prisoners, and confined as aristocrats, and suspected, no less than two thousand persons, both whites and men of colour.

The disappointment which had been experienced at Martinico, was, however, in some degree, compensated by the bloodless acquisition of a part of St. Domingo. A proposal to put themselves under the protection of the British government having been received from the inhabitants of La Grand Anse, and acceded to by the commander at Jamaica, the 13th regiment, the two flank companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, were dispatched, under commodore Ford,

Sept. 9. to take possession of Jeremie. The troops were landed on the 20th, and received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy. From Jeremie the commodore sailed to Cape Nichola Mole, where he arrived on the 21st, and, in the evening, sent an officer on shore to learn the dispositions of the people. After the interval of a day spent in suspense, a favourable answer was received, and the troops accordingly took possession of the place. They were hailed as deliverers, an attack being hourly expected from eight or ten thousand blacks and mulattoes, encamped at Jean Rabel; an attack which there was every reason to dread, as the inhabitants were in a state of despondency, and the troops of the line strongly inclined to mutiny. Cape Nichola Mole being considered as the key of the island, every effort was made to put it in a proper state of defence.

The terms on which the surrender of these places was settled, were advantageous and liberal. They were signed on the part of the planters by M. Charmilly. By a separate article, the garrison of Cape Nichola Mole was taken into British pay, and the officers allowed to retain the same rank they had before held. Two days after taking possession of Jeremie, a proclamation was issued by colonel Whitelocke, assuring the colonists of friendship and protection, and calling on the men of colour and slaves to lay down their arms, under pain of being treated as rebels. A grateful address of thanks was at the same time voted to his majesty by the council of public safety. The submission of the parishes of St. Marc and Gonaives closed the proceedings of this year in the western hemisphere.

While the colonies of France in the West Indies were thus falling one by one under the British dominion, those possessed by her in the East were still more rapidly submitting to the same fate. Conscious that vigorous measures would be adopted by the English in that quarter,

ter, it had, at a very early period of hoſtilities, been in contemplation of the French government to diſpatch an ample reinforcement for the ſafety of her oriental poſſeſſions. This project was, however, diſcuſſed, till the time was already paſt in which protection could be afforded. The firſt intelligence of a war between the two nations was communicated to the preſidencies in India by Mr. Baldwin, the Britiſh conſul at Alexandria, who, that no time might be loſt in acting upon it, with a laudable zeal, made himſelf perſonally reſponſible for the conſequences of his information. This news reached Madras on the ſecond, and Calcutta on the eleventh of June, and the utmoſt expedition was employed by both governments in turning it to advantage.

The fortreſs of Pondicherry was now in as perfect a ſtate of defence as when attacked the preceding war, and ſuccours were ſaid to be hourly expected from the Iſle of France. Preparations were immediately commenced for its reduction. The force for this purpoſe was entruſted to colonel Brathwaite, who was peculiarly qualified for the taſk, from having been ſecond in command during the laſt ſiege, and governor for ſeveral months after the ſurrender.

The inveſtment of the town was commenced by colonel Floyd, who ſeized upon the Pagoda of Villenore, and the village of Arian Coupang; two poſts neceſſary to prevent the introduction of proviſions from the country into Pondicherry. Admiral Cornwallis, in the Minerva frigate, with three Indiamen, completed the blockade on the ſea-ſide. By means of the poſt of Arian Coupang, a communication was kept up between the army and navy.

On the firſt of Auguſt, every thing being ready for the commencement of the ſiege, the colonel and admiral jointly ſummoned M. Chermont, the governor, to ſurrender. To this ſummons a refuſal was returned. The ſiege was immediately begun, but from various obſtacles, it was not until the 22d that a breaching battery could be opened againſt the town. It was then ſerved with ſuch effect, that the guns of the enemy were in leſs than two days wholly ſilenced. Flags of truce were now hung out, and a meſſage ſent from the governor demanding twenty-four hours to ſettle a capitulation. To this, after cenſuring the conduct of the governor in rejecting his firſt terms, the Britiſh commander replied, that he would conſent to nothing ſhort of a ſurrender at diſcretion. From this reſolution he was at laſt perſuaded to recede, on the earneſt intreaties of M. Chermont, and a capitulation was accordingly ſigned on the 23d, which, while it made the garriſon priſoners of war, ſecured the lives and properties of the inhabitants. The loſs ſuſtained in the conqueſt of Pondicherry did not, on the whole, amount to more than 250 men, of which not one third were among the ſlain. Had not the mutinous and cowardly conduct of the garriſon compelled the governor to haſten a ſurrender, the acquiſition of this place might have been made at the expence of much more time and bloodſhed. The remainder of the French factories and ſettlements in the eaſt were given up to the Britiſh arms without any attempt at reſiſtance.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. THIS day advices were received at the Sierra-Leone houſe, from that ſettlement, dated Oct. 20, giving a favourable account of the farther progreſs of the colony. An amicable meeting, or palaver, had been held with the chiefs on the ſubject of the diſtribution of the lots of land, of which a regular ſurvey was begun. The rains had ceaſed, and the health of the Nova Scotia blacks was much improved. It appears alſo by the returns, that the mortality among them had not been ſo very great as was apprehended, only 98 American blacks having died, from the time of their landing to the 20th of October: the number of them remaining alive was 1,026. Somewhat more than 60 whites appear in all to have died, the chief of whom were of the lower order living on ſhore. The company's accountant, who returned on account of his health, died on his arrival in England.

Information has been received, by the Harpy, of the colony's progreſs up to the 20th of November.

The company's brig Catharine, of 140 tons, which was diſpatched home with ſome of the adventurers to Bulam, and brought the diſpatches of the 20th of October, had been loſt off Biddeford in a ſtorm, and one boy periſhed.

From the report of the phyſician, it appears, that the diſeaſe which troubled the ſettlers moſt was a remittent fever, and that by adminiſtering bark, at as ſhort intervals as the ſtomach will bear, immediately after the firſt paroxyſm, it changes it into an intermittent fever, which may be then cured with as much certainty as the common ague in England. The doctor attributes moſt of the mortality to thoſe cauſes which are common to all new colonies, and ſays, that the climate, as far as he can judge from his ſhort experience, is very good. Of the 1,190 free blacks embarked at Halifax in January 1792, the following is a return of the deaths up to the 2d of September, 1792, which in the men and women have been principally old and infirm, and many of thoſe who died on ſhore were landed in a diſeaſed ſtate. On their paſſage 35 men, 18 women, 7 boys, and 5 girls: total 65. Since their arrival, 28 men, 28 women, 21 boys, and 22 girls: total, 99. General total, 164.

Dublin. Alarming accounts are tranſmitted from the county of Louth, reſpecting the proceedings of the Defenders. Laſt week they aſſembled at Dunleer, where their number is reported to have been from 1,500 to 2,000, ſome of them armed with guns, others only with pitch forks; but it does not appear that they had any ſettled object; and on the approach of a detach-

ment of soldiers, sent from Dundalk on the occasion, they all dispersed.

4th. Captain Barlow, of the Childers sloop of war, came express from Fowey, where he landed from a cruize off Brest harbour, and communicated the following particulars to government: On Wednesday last, the Childers standing within three quarters of a mile of three batteries, in Brest harbour, but without any colours hoisted, the battery on the starboard side fired a shot, which passed over her, on which she hoisted British colours, and the fort hoisted the national colours, with a red pendant over the ensign, which was answered by the other two forts. The Childers was then driven by the tide of flood within half a mile of the forts; and Capt. Barlow was obliged, it being calm, to have her oars out, to keep her from driving too far in: immediately a cross heavy fire began by signal from the batteries. Fortunately a breeze of wind sprang up, and the Childers made sail. She being a small object, only one shot hit her, which providentially struck one of her guns, and split it in three pieces, without injuring a man. The pieces were collected and slung; and the shot weighed 48 pounds. The Childers arrived safe at Fowey. Lieutenant Mends, who landed at the same time with Captain Barlow, waited on Admiral Cosby with this important intelligence.

This day came on at the Sessions House on Clerkenwell Green, the trial of —— Carter, a bill-sticker, for publishing a scandalous and seditious libel, entitled, "An Address "from the London Corresponding "Society, to the other societies in "Great Britain, united for the purpose of obtaining a Reform in "Parliament." John Miller proved, that the defendant had posted up the address at the corner of Crown Street, St. Giles's, on the 5th of December last.

After the jury had found him guilty, the court sentenced him to six months imprisonment, and at the expiration thereof, to find security for his good behaviour for one year, himself in 100l. and two sureties in 50l. each.

Philadelphia. General Washington is re-elected president of the United States, without one dissenting voice. The vice-president was chosen by a very small majority.

5th. —— Lloyd, lately a footman to Mr. Driver of Kent Road, made his escape from Guy's Hospital, whither he had been sent in consequence of a wound received in the commission of a highway robbery, about a week since, near New Cross turnpike. It is supposed that cloaths were brought to him for the purpose, by a woman who was his frequent visiter; his own apparel having all been taken away to prevent his escape.

7th. *Kells* (in Ireland.) This day about 500 *Defenders* assembled near Ballyborough, and could not be dispersed till a party of soldiers arrived, and actually fired. The insurgents returned the fire, and then fled, leaving eighteen dead or dying, and five dangerously wounded. Several of those who fled were afterwards taken, and lodged in the gaols of Cavan and Trim.

Edinburgh. This day the high court of justiciary pronounced sentence of outlawry against Mr. James Tytler, a chemist, he not appearing to answer to an indictment for composing

compoſing or writing a ſeditious libel, addreſſed *to the People and their Friends.*

8th. *Edinburgh.* This day came on before the high court of juſticiary, the trial of John Morton, James Anderſon, and Malcolm Craig, all of this city, who were indicted for going into the Caſtle of Edinburgh, on the 18th of November laſt, in company with four other perſons who are turned evidences, and there endeavouring to ſeduce the ſoldiers from their allegiance, and drinking ſeditious toaſts. The trial laſted till near nine o'clock in the evening, when the jury were incloſed; and on Wedneſday morning, they brought in their verdict, guilty.

The ſame day came on at the Seſſions Houſe on Clerkenwell Green, the trial of Daniel Crichton, for ſpeaking ſeditious and treaſonable words, ſuch as, "d——n "the king; we will have no king." The court ſentenced him to three months impriſonment, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year, himſelf in 50l. and two ſureties in 25l. each. It appeared upon the trial, that the priſoner is a Scotchman, by trade a tallow-chandler, and that he had arrived in London only the night before he was heard to ſpeak the words above mentioned, while viewing the Tower of London, in company with another man.

10th. *Dublin.* This day the lord lieutenant went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. For which ſee the State Papers.

At a common council held this day at Guildhall, it was reſolved that the ſum of forty ſhillings for every able ſeamen, and twenty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeamen, over and above the bounty granted by his majeſty, be granted by, and during the pleaſure of the court, and not exceeding one month from this day, to every ſuch ſeaman who ſhall enter into the ſervice of his Majeſty's navy, at the Guildhall of the city of London: and that the city remembrancer do immediately wait on the right honourable the earl of Chatham, firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, with a copy of the ſaid reſolution, ſigned by the town clerk; and ſignify the requeſt of the court, that his lordſhip will lay the ſame before his majeſty, as an humble teſtimony of their zeal and affection for his moſt ſacred perſon and government, and of their unſhaken attachment to the glorious conſtitution of theſe kingdoms.

Some oppoſition was made to this motion when firſt propoſed, but on a diviſion being demanded, the ſhow of hands appeared,

For the motion - - 97
Againſt it - - - 4

The reaſon why the city of London did not take the lead as uſual in offering bounties to ſeamen, was that the common council did not in fact exiſt as a body, till Tueſday the 8th inſtant; and Thurſday the 10th was the earlieſt day on which they could be convened.

12th. *Foleſhill, Warwickſhire.* On the 17th of laſt month, as ſome workmen belonging to Mr. Joſeph Whiting, of this place, were digging a trench, they found, only two feet below the ſurface, an earthern pot, containing upwards of 1,800 copper coins, principally of the Emperors Conſtantine, Conſtans, Conſtantius, and Magnentius, and this day, in continuing the ſame

trench, another earthen veſſel was found, containing a great quantity of larger coins, in good preſervation.

Kingſton, St. Vincents. The 14th. Providence, captain Bligh, and the Aſſiſtance, captain Portlock, are arrived here from Otaheite, with 300 bread-fruit-trees for theſe iſlands, and 300 more for Jamaica; a number of other valuable plants are alſo brought by captain Bligh, and many very delicious fruits. Theſe ſhips ſailed from England on the 2d of Auguſt 1791, arrived at Otaheite on the 10th of April 1792, ſailed from thence on the 19th of July following, reached Saint Helena on the 17th of December, and arrived here yeſterday. Captain Bligh, on his return from Otaheite, called at Timor, the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and St. Vincents, and came through the till then unexplored ſtraits between New Guinea and New Holland, which he has named Providence Straits, and deſcribes as being dangerous to navigate, on account of their being full of ſhoals, rocks, and ſmall iſlands, not clear and open as they have been repreſented. The Providence and Aſſiſtance were twenty-one days in paſſing them, though the ſame diſtance in open ſea might have been run in two days; and they were often in imminent danger. Several of the iſlands in theſe ſtraits are inhabited, and they had ſome intercourſe with the inhabitants, who at firſt ſeemed friendly, but afterwards attacked them, and killed one man, and wounded two others by their arrows. Captain Bligh both went and returned by the Cape of Good Hope. He has on board two men, natives of Otaheite, who are going to England, and part of the crew of the Matilda, a whaler, from London, which had been wrecked, and her crew got to Otaheite in their boats. His ſhip is to proceed to Jamaica in a very few days, and thence to England. It was in Providence Straits that the Pandora frigate was loſt; and there M. de la Peyrouſe alſo is ſuppoſed to have periſhed.

Out of the two ſhips, only one man died of diſeaſe during the voyage; and the crews of both have the moſt healthy appearance.

Captain Bligh could not gain any intelligence of Chriſtian, the mutineer, and his accomplices, farther than that, after the execution of their horrid project, they returned to Otaheite, where the natives ſuſpecting ſomething wrong on not ſeeing the commander, and the gentlemen with him, formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the ſhip; but this being diſcovered to Chriſtian by a favourite female, he put to ſea in the night, and was nearly out of ſight next morning. He took with him from Otaheite 7 women and 12 men. While captain Bligh was at Otaheite, the thermometer uſually ranged from 70 to 84 degrees.

The earl of Chatham, firſt lord of the admiralty, reported, at a full board of admiralty, that the offer of the city of London, to grant bounties to ſeamen, had been laid before his majeſty; and that his majeſty had expreſſed great ſatisfaction at that teſtimony of duty and affection from his loyal ſubjects.

Chelmsford. At the quarter 15th. ſeſſions held here, Thomas Oſborne, alias Mott, a diſbanded ſoldier, was this day tried and found guilty of uttering diverſe traiterous expreſſions againſt the king and his

his government. He was sentenced to six months imprisonment in one of the solitary cells of the county gaol.

15th. *Charles Town, South Carolina.* A law was passed on the 21st of last month, by the legislature of this state, prohibiting the importation of negroes for two years, from the first instant, on which day the last prohibitory act expired.

16th. This day at noon Mr. Silva, a jew, and his servant Mary Williams, were found murdered in the kitchen of Mr. Silva's house at Chelsea: For particulars, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

17th. *Tewing.* This day died in great agony, in consequence of the injury she received by her cloaths catching fire as she was placing some paintings over the chimney piece, on the 3d instant, Miss Anna Maria Schrieber, aged 19, youngest daughter of —— Schrieber, esq.

18th. This day being appointed to be kept at court as the birth-day of her majesty, there was as usual a grand gala at St. James's. The ball room in the evening, as well as the drawing room in the earlier part of the day, was particularly brilliant and full; it being the general wish of all parties to evince, in a moment like the present, their respect and attachment to the royal family. No court has been more splendid since her majesty's coronation: and several ladies wore ear-rings enamelled with the motto, *Roy-loi-foi.*

21st. *Paris.* This morning was executed, the sentence of death pronounced on Louis the XVI. by the national convention. For the particulars of this tragical event, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

22d. At one o'clock to-day a treasury board was held at Carlton house, when the reduction of the establishment of his royal highness the prince of Wales took place. The domestics discharged are to be paid their arrears up to last quarter, and from that time they are to have pensions of half their salary during their dismissal.

23d. A general court of directors was held at the India house, when it was unanimously resolved to return thanks to Lord Cornwallis, and the officers commanding under him, for their services during the war in India.

By the report of the chairman, it appeared that the affairs of the company are in a better state than before the war commenced; and that the whole expence did not exceed a million and a half beyond the receipts of the revenue.

24th. On account of the news of the execution of the king of France, the Hay Market theatre was not opened this evening.

The king in council was this day pleased to direct that M. Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most christian king, should depart this realm on or before the first day of next month.

25th. Orders were issued from the Lord Chamberlain's office for the court to go into mourning on Sunday next, the 27th instant, for his late most christian majesty. The mourning is to change on the 3d of February, and to end on the 7th of the same month.

26th. Lately died at Millescent, in Ireland, Mrs. Griffith, relict of Richard Griffith, esquire, and joint author with him of the letters between Henry and Frances. Besides her part in these letters, Mrs. Griffith published many

very successful novels and dramatic pieces.

28th. The terms of Lord George Gordon's imprisonment expiring this day, he was brought into the court of king's bench, to be admitted to bail; but that offered by his lordship not being deemed sufficient, he was remanded to prison. His lordship appeared dress as a Jew.

The three commissioners appointed to hold the great seal, having delivered it to the king, his majesty immediately gave it to Lord Loughborough, with the appointment of lord high chancellor of Great Britain.

30th. This day judgment of the court was prayed, by the attorney general, upon Patrick William Duffin, and Thomas Lloyd, convicted of a conspiracy to effect their own escape, and that of other prisoners confined for debt in the Fleet prison; and for that purpose affixing upon the chapel door a libellous hand bill beginning thus, "This house to be let." Lloyd, who had behaved at and since his trial with that criminal effrontery which indicates hardened guilt, was sentenced to be imprisoned for three years in Newgate, stand once in the pillory at the Royal Exchange during that period, and find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself to be bound in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each. But Patrick Duffin, who had shewn much contrition, and demeaned himself with decency and propriety, was ordered to be confined for the term of two years only, in the new Compter, and find security for his good behaviour for two years, himself being bound in 200l. and his two sureties in 100l. each.

31st. This morning, a little before 4 o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of Lady Dover, in Hill Street Berkley Square, which entirely consumed it, and damaged the two adjoining houses. The lives of Lady Dover and her niece, the Baroness Hompesch were with great difficulty preserved by the undaunted exertions of two men, servants to Mr. Caswell and Captain Balfour, who at the imminent risk of their own lives took them out of the windows of the upper rooms. The flames broke out in her ladyship's dressing room, and spread with such rapidity that the stairs were on fire before the ladies could be got down. Lady Dover escaped wholly uninjured, except by the fright, but the baroness, who slept in a back room, to which the flames had extended before she was taken out at the window, was scorched, though not dangerously. A woman servant, who jumped out of a two pair of stairs window, broke her thigh, and is since dead, but no other life has been lost.

FEBRUARY.

2d. This day an order of council was issued, directing all aliens who shall arrive, or who have arrived in this kingdom since the 1st of January 1792 (save such as are particularly excepted in the alien bill) to dwell within fifty miles of the standard in Cornhill, and at the distance of ten miles from any sea coast, and from any of his majesty's dock yards.

5th. Orders have been this day sent to all the sea ports, directing an embargo to be laid on all French vessels which may be found

found there. This measure is in consequence of intelligence having been received, that an embargo had been laid at Calais, and the other ports of France, on all French, English, Prussian, Dutch, and Russian vessels, except the packets and bye-boats employed between Dover and Calais, which would be suffered to pass as usual until farther orders.

8th. Lloyd the attorney, who received judgment on the 29th of last month, for affixing a libellous hand-bill on the chapel door of the Fleet prison, stood one hour in the pillory before the Royal Exchange conformably to his sentence.

12th. A convention for the final adjustment of the Nootka Sound claims, was this day signed at Whitehall by Sir Ralph Woodward on the part of his majesty, and Don Manuel de Las Horas on that of the king of Spain. Spain stipulates to restore the vessels, and pay besides the sum of 200,000 dollars.

A proclamation appeared in the Gazette of this day, authorizing the high court of admiralty to issue letters of marque and reprisals against France.

At a common council held this day, expressly for the purpose, it was unanimously agreed to present an address to the king, assuring his majesty of loyalty, affection, and support from the citizens of London.

Sentence was this day pronounced in the court of King's Bench upon the Rev. Richard Burgh, James Davis, J. Cummings, Thomas Townly M'Can, and John Bourne, convicted of a conspiracy to effect the escape of themselves and others, by blowing up the walls of the King's Bench prison. They are to be imprisoned for three years in different prisons, and afterwards to give security for their good behaviour for three years more, Burgh in 200l. and two sureties in 100l. each; the others in 100l. each, and two sureties in 50l. each.

Dublin. An affray happened this morning between a party of the Dublin rangers (a volunteer corps) and some of the Dublin police officers, which for three hours occasioned much anxiety throughout the city. The affair, however, terminated without any ill consequence, and the volunteers dispersed very quietly.

The Defenders still continue their incursions, notwithstanding the checks they have received. Their numbers and resources, however, it is thought, have been magnified in many respects: that of their possessing cannon has proved to have no foundation; three or four pieces of ordnance, it is true, have been dug up near the sea shore; but they were neither the property of, nor intended for, the Defenders, but the guns of smuggling cutters, which the crews of these vessels are in the practice of thus concealing from the revenue officers till they are on the point of sailing.

13th. This day was executed, with seven other criminals, pursuant to his sentence for forgery, Henry Griffin, alias Duke of Ormond, alias Lord Maffey, alias G. Hubbard. He had, on the morning of the 12th, made an ineffectual attempt on his own life, by stabbing himself in the side, and another it is said by taking poison.

15th. *Glasgow.* This morning at four o'clock the Tron church and the session house at the west end of it, which has lately been used at

night as a guard room by the guard of citizens, were discovered to be on fire, and before seven they were both entirely destroyed. The records of the prefbytery and session of Glasgow from the Year 1582, are almost all consumed. Ten volumes of these records, which had been missing for a century past, were recovered within the last year.

16th. In the course of a trial this day in the court of king's bench, Lord Kenyon defined the duty of attornies towards their clients to be "to give the best advice in their power, and to conduct the causes entrusted to them as if they were their own." His lordship then added, that "if an attorney, instead of honestly and fairly advising his clients, advised them to prosecute groundless or frivolous actions for the sake of the costs, all such attornies should be compelled to pay the expences themselves."

19th. Dugald Campbell was this day brought before the right hon. Thomas Harley and sir Benjamin Hammet, charged by William Beverley, esq. of Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, John Campbell, esq. of Soho Square, and Charles Blicke, esq. of South Lambeth, with giving false characters to men servants who had never been in his service, under the assumed name of Mr. Smollet, a Scotch merchant, and Sir Cormac Mackenzie, a Scotch baronet. The facts being clearly proved against the prisoner, he was convicted in the penalty of 20l. for each of the three offences (each of the prosecutors having hired a servant in consequence of a false character given by him) and not being able to pay the penalty, was committed to the new compter.

Thomas Dowling, indicted for wilful and corrupt perjury in the evidence given by him at the Old Bailey, on the trial of Captain Kimber, charged with the murder of a negro girl, was this day tried before Lord Kenyon and a special jury. The falsity of the evidence given by the prisoner when examined on the trial of Captain Kimber being fully proved, the jury brought in their verdict guilty. Thomas Dowling was surgeon on board the ship Recovery, of which Captain Kimber was commander. And it appeared in evidence that in consequence of the Captain having allowed him only one instead of two privileged slaves, he considered himself greatly aggrieved, that he declared this in the hearing of several persons, and vowed vengeance against the captain for it, saying, "he would work his ruin some way "or other."

20th. This day was tried before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, Stephen Devereux, accused also of having given false witness on the same trial at the Old Bailey of Captain Kimber, but he was acquitted.

21st. Agreeably to advertisement a meeting was held this day at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, for the purpose of resolving on some plan for rewarding sailors and soldiers maimed in the present war, and raising a fund for the provision of the widows and orphans of such as may fall in the service of their country. William Devaynes, esq. M. P. was chosen chairman, and a committee of 25 gentlemen were appointed to conduct the business.

23d. Thomas Spence, who keeps a book stall at the upper end of Chancery Lane, was tried to day

at the Seſſions Houſe on Clerkenwell Green, for publiſhing the ſecond part of Thomas Paine's Rights of Man, but there being a flaw in the indictment he was acquitted.

William Holland, a print-ſeller in Oxford Road, was alſo tried to day at the Seſſions Houſe, and found guilty of publiſhing a ſeditious pamphlet, entitled "An Addreſs to the Addreſſers on the late Proclamation." He was ſentenced to be impriſoned one year, to pay a fine of 100l. and find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year after the expiration of his impriſonment, himſelf in 200l. and two ſureties in 100l. each.

25th. Three regiments of guards with their baggage, &c. embarked at Greenwich, on board nine tranſports for foreign ſervice. They were conveyed on board the tranſports in flat bottom boats, rowed by Greenwich penſioners, and had the honour of embarking in ſight of the king and all the royal family, who breakfaſted at the governor's houſe. The duke of York and the general officers ſet off immediately after the embarkation for Sheerneſs, where they will embark on board the Syren frigate for Holland. The ducheſs of York did not go to Greenwich with the royal family.

26th. An action for damages was tried to day before Lord Kenyon in the court of King's Bench, brought by Mr. Campbell, an officer in the army, againſt Mr. Hook, another officer, for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife. The defendant is the lady's own uncle, her mother's brother, and the criminal intercourſe was alledged to have been at her mother's houſe. The plaintiff is an officer in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company. He obtained a verdict of three thouſand pounds damages.

MARCH.

1ſt. A proclamation was iſſued, ordering a general faſt in England on the 19th, and in Scotland on the 18th of April.

A proclamation was alſo iſſued at the ſame time, offering pardon to all deſerters.

Dublin. The honourable Simon Butler, and Mr. Oliver Bond, appeared this day, in conſequence of a ſummons, before the houſe of lords, to anſwer for a paper publiſhed by the united Iriſhmen, and animadverting on the conduct of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords. They avowed the publication, but aſſerted that it contained nothing illegal or unconſtitutional. They were then ordered to withdraw, and the houſe voted the paper a ſcandalous libel on their privileges; after which the earl of Weſtmeath moved that the parties ſhould be fined 500 pounds, and impriſoned ſix months. This motion being agreed to, Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond were again ordered to the bar, when the chancellor pronounced the ſentence of the houſe, and they were immediately conducted to Newgate.

2d. A marble ſtatue of the late Mr. Joſhua Ward was placed in the great room of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It was preſented by Ralph Ward, eſq. of Wimpole Street, and was executed by Signor Carlini. Mr. Ward introduced the method of obtaining vitriolic acid from ſulphur, at a cheap rate and in large quantities, for

for the use of bleachers and other manufacturers, and by that means greatly promoted the success of the linen and cotton manufactories in this country.

At a meeting of the lords lieutenants of several counties in England and Wales, at the St. Alban's tavern, on this day, for the purpose of drawing lots to determine the precedency of the militia of the said counties, during the continuance of the war, the following numbers were drawn by the respective lords lieutenants attending, or by the persons appointed for that purpose, viz.

Bedford	42	Warwick	31
Berks	30	Hereford	25
Bucks	38	Hertford	44
Cambridge	11	Huntingdon	12
Chester	16	Kent	1
Cornwall	34	Lancaster	37
Cumberland	20	Leicester	2
		Lincoln	3
Derby	26	Middlesex	22
Devon	41	Monmouth and	
Dorset	43	Brecknock	14
Durham	10	Norfolk	4
Essex	21	Northampton	45
Gloucester	8	Northumberland	23
Nottingham	15	Westmoreland	29
Oxford	9	Wilts	35
Salop	28	Worcester	36
Somerset	40	Yorksh. W. Rid.	39
Southampton	6	——N. Riding	33
		——E. Riding	32
Stafford	27	Carmarthen	17
Suffolk	19	Denbigh	7
Surrey	18	Glamorgan	5
Sussex	24	Montgomery	13

AMHERST.

Rochester. A baker advertising to sell bread below the general price, was convicted before the mayor of this town of selling eleven loaves to eleven soldiers of the North Hants militia, deficient in weight 27 ounces. The purchasers were by the statute entitled to a moiety of the penalty, but upon its being offered to them they generously desired that the whole might be given to the poor of the parish, saying, "we did not prosecute for money but justice."

Dublin. A quantity of cannon balls seized to day by the chief commissioners of police, attended by a party of soldiers, at the foundery of Mr. Heavisde at Miltown, proves to be the property of government, and to have been cast by order of the ordnance board. It was, however, brought to the castle in open carts, and lodged in the arsenal there.

4th. The under sheriff of Northamptonshire was robbed at 8 o'clock yesterday evening, near Holloway turnpike, by two highwaymen, of a trunk containing among other papers the commission for opening the assizes at Northampton; in consequence of which a new commission was made out to day, and sent by express to Northampton.

5th. *Dublin.* Sixteen gentlemen of the lawyers corps of volunteers, not in uniforms, brought the cannon of their corps from Clandalkin to the castle, where it was received by a detachment of the royal artillery at the ordnance gate. Military honours were paid to the gentlemen.

6th. At a common hall held at Guildhall, for electing a member to represent the city of London in the room of Brook Watson esq. appointed commissary general of the forces serving abroad; alderman Anderson was declared duly elected. The other candidate was alderman Newnham.

Dover.

6th. *Dover.* As the earl of Barrimore was this afternoon conducting, with a party of the Berkshire militia, sixteen French prisoners from Rye towards Deal, the whole party halted for refreshment at the turnpike on Folkstone hill, after which, as his lordship was resuming his seat in his gig, his musket went off accidentally and shot him through the head. A surgeon was immediately sent for from Folkstone, but his lordship died a few minutes after his arrival.

7th. *Dublin.* Eight pieces of cannon, the property of the earl of Howth, were brought by his lordship's order from his castle of Howth, and lodged with his majesty's stores in the castle yard. His lordship had sent in a short time before one hundred stand of arms, which had long decorated the hall of the castle of Howth.

Reading. At our late assizes was determined a cause in which property to the amount of 120,000l. was disputed between Mrs. Prankard, and Mr. Welldale, a butcher, co-heirs of the late Sir Francis Knollis, bart. plaintiffs, and the earl of Uxbridge, Mr. Harvey Aston, Mr. Clutton, Mr. Hinchley, and Mr. Robinson, defendants. After a hearing of four hours a verdict was given for the plaintiffs.

11th. A detachment of the guards commanded by colonel St. Leger, marched about eight o'clock from the parade in St. James's Park to the Tower wharf, where they embarked, accompanied by Brook Watson, esq. commissary general, for Holland. This detachment completes the number of guards ordered for service in that country.

An attachment has been laid by order of the attorney-general, on a sum of money to the amount of 100,000l. sterling, lying in the bank in the name of Messrs. Bourdieu and Chollet, French agents.

19th. In the procession of persons rescued from drowning, which accompanied the humane society to the London Tavern to day, to commemorate the anniversary of their institution, were a father and son, the former of whom addressed the vice-president in a strain of heartfelt gratitude, which extremely affected every person present. The annual sermon for the benefit of the society had been preached on the preceding Sunday by the rev. Dr. Glass.

20th. *Dublin.* An extraordinary species of robbery has just been discovered here. Two large cases containing near four thousand ounces of plate, were lately imported by the archbishop of Tuam. These cases, which were iron bound and secured by padlocks, having been entered at the custom-house, were deposited in its warehouses until yesterday, when they were conveyed by porters, attended by one of his grace's domestics, to his grace's house in Merrion Street, where, upon opening them, they were found to contain nothing but a few knives and forks. The plate expected in them was worth about 1,500 l.

Liverpool. About 2 o'clock the Pelican privateer belonging to Nicholas Ashton, esq. of Liverpool, was overset in the river, in a sudden gust of wind, and went instantly to the bottom. She was manned with ninety-four choice seamen, and had on board upwards of forty persons, besides her crew; and out of the whole number only thirty-two have been saved. The cause of this melancholy catastrophe was her guns being

being looſe, in conſequence of which when the guſt of wind heeled her, the weather guns broke through the lee ports, and ſhe filled inſtantly with water. Her maſts appear half out of the water at low water mark.

21ſt. *Lancaſter.* At the aſſizes held here, a cauſe of much importance to inn-keepers was determined. A perſon went into a public-houſe at Mancheſter, with a parcel of goods, which he deſired to leave till the next market day. The miſtreſs of the houſe replied that ſhe was not ſure he could, as they were very full. The man then called for ſome ale, and ſeating himſelf on a ſofa put the goods behind him. In a ſhort time after the parcel was gone from behind him, though he had not riſen from his ſeat; and this action was brought by the owner to recover the value of the goods from the maſter of the houſe. This the maſter reſiſted, alledging, that the goods were never out of the owner's poſſeſſion: notwithſtanding which a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiff, upon the ground that he was a gueſt in the houſe, and that while he remained ſuch his property muſt be ſecured to him.

22d. *Kingſton.* The notorious Flindall, and a perſon of the name of Williams, were tried and found guilty to day at our aſſizes before Baron Hotham, for a burglary in the houſe of Mr. Davis at Peckham, during the fair in Auguſt laſt, but as the property ſtolen was rated but at 4*s.* 6*d.* they could only be ſentenced to 7 years tranſportation.

23d. *Northampton.* The prize of 30,000l. drawn yeſterday, is the ſole property of Mr. Martin Lucas, wine merchant of this town.

The miniſter contracted with Meſſrs. Thelluſſons and their friends, for a loan of ſix millions three per cent conſols at 72 per cent: in conſequence of which the commiſſioners of public accounts are to continue buying the annual million allowed for liquidating the public debt, inſtead of lending government a million and a half, as was at firſt propoſed. 24th.

The treaty of commerce between England and Ruſſia is renewed for ſix years. A convention for that purpoſe was ſigned this day at Whitehall by lord Grenville and the Ruſſian miniſter count Woronzow. 25th.

In a letter received by lord Grenville from lord St. Helen's, dated Madrid, the latter end of laſt month, the very melancholy intelligence is detailed of a diſaſter which had befallen lieut. Hergeſt of the navy, and Mr. Gooch the aſtronomer; both of whom, it was ſtated, had been cruelly ſacrificed by the inhabitants of one of the Sandwich Iſlands. Lieutenant Hergeſt left England nearly two years ſince, in the command of the Dedalus, a naval ſtore ſhip, deſtined firſt to the Engliſh ſettlement at New South Wales, and thence to the South Seas, with a ſupply of proviſions for capt. Vancouver, of the Diſcovery ſloop, who is engaged in further exploring that part of the globe. This intelligence reached Spain by a Spaniſh veſſel, which fell in with the Dedalus, after the event had occurred. The gentlemen in queſtion were on ſhore in a tent, which had been pitched for aſtronomical purpoſes, when the natives ſurpriſed

priſed them. Mr. Gooch was the ſon of very reſpectable parents at Brokeniſh, in Norfolk. He was educated at the academy of Mr. Tilney, at Harleſton, where he early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his unremitting aſſiduity to mathematical ſtudies. He had only taken his firſt degree in that univerſity, when the aſtronomer royal applied to doctor Vince to recommend a proper perſon to attend capt. Vancouver on his voyage, for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries, when the doctor readily fixed on young Gooch, as beſt qualified for ſo important a ſituation. A ſalary of 400l. per ann. was annexed to the appointment.

26th. *Dublin.* This day doctor James Reynolds, a phyſician at Belfaſt, who had refuſed being examined on oath by the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords reſpecting the political ſtate of the province in which he reſided, was brought to the bar of the houſe, and on the motion of lord Dillon, which was carried nem. con. was conducted to the gaol of Kilmainham.

28th. Martin (the mail robber) condemned at Exeter aſſizes, was executed on Haldown, near the ſpot where the robbery was committed. He had been well educated, and had viſited moſt European countries. At the end of the year 1791 he was at Paris, and continued there till the end of Auguſt 1792. He ſaid, he was very active in the bloody affair of the 10th of Auguſt, at the palace of the Thuilleries, when the Swiſs guards were ſlaughtered, and Louis the ſixteenth and his family fled to the national aſſembly for ſhelter. He ſaid he did not enter into this bloody conteſt as a volunteer, but happening to be in that part of the city of Paris, he was hurried on by the mob to take part in that ſanguinary buſineſs. Not ſpeaking good French, he ſaid, he was ſuſpected to be a Swiſs, and on that account finding his life often in danger, he left Paris, and embarking for England, at Havre-de-Grace, arrived at Weymouth in September laſt, and then came to Exeter. He ſaid, that being in great diſtreſs in October, he committed the mail robbery.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to a great number of public and private bills. The commiſſioners were the lord chancellor, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the marquis of Stafford.

29th. Advice was received this morning at the general poſt-office from Dover, that the Carteret packet, captain Hammond, which had ſailed from thence for Calais with the French mail of Tueſday laſt, and ſeveral paſſengers, was juſt returned to that port in conſequence of a verbal meſſage, ſent out to her on her appearance in Calais Road, from the mayor and municipality of Calais, by a ſmall boat, deſiring her to return immediately to England with the mail and paſſengers, as neither muſt be landed there.

APRIL.

1ſt. *Sheffield.* So heavy a fall of ſnow has never been known here, at this ſeaſon, as we have lately had. The roads in Derbyſhire are impaſſable. The Manchester coach was obliged to ſtop all night

night at Middleton: it had proceeded a little way from that town, but the coachman finding the weather and the road so bad, had the prudence to return thither: a butcher with a cart, and a person returning home to Hallam from Bakewell fair, by pursuing their journey on the same road that night lost their lives. Several cattle have also perished in the neighbourhood.

2d. *Leicester.* Yesterday, and this day, we have had the heaviest fall of snow ever remembered in so short a space of time. In general it lies two feet deep; and in several parts of Charnwood Forest is not less than three feet. Many hundred sheep are buried in the snow, and it is feared will perish unless a thaw soon comes on.

4th. *Essex.* Mr. Pointer's method of consolidating a sea-wall, so as to resist effectually the return of that element, is found to answer his utmost expectations. He has just recovered from the sea seventy acres of land at the ascertained expence of three hundred and forty-four pounds two shillings. The method by which his wall has been consolidated is rolling it every day, for eight or nine months, with a roller, twenty-nine hundred weight of draw, which is moved by six horses.

6th. A shocking event took place to-day in Hyde Park. A man, well dressed, and of genteel appearance, was observed to walk for some time to and fro on the carriage way, and then draw a pistol hastily from his pocket, and discharge its contents into his head. The muzzle had been placed against the back part, just over the neck, and three balls penetrated from thence upwards. As he fell, some persons ran towards him, and a lady stopped her carriage, in which he was taken alive, but speechless, to St. George's Hospital, where he expired in the evening. The unhappy victim had resided lately in Pall Mall, and in some sort of commercial concern there had lost his property. He was about 30 years of age.

7th. Government has determined to send a bishop to Canada, with an appointment of 2,000l. per annum. The reverend Jacob Mountain, domestic chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln, is appointed to this bishoprick; and it is said takes over his brother, the Rev. Josh. Mountain, as his domestic chaplain.

9th. This day came on the election of governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England for the year ensuing, when Godfrey Thornton, esq. was chosen governor, and Daniel Giles, esq. deputy-governor.

Dublin. The members of the Roman Catholic committee waited on lord Clonmell, at his house in Harcourt-street, to express their readiness of testifying their allegiance to our gracious sovereign and happy constitution, by taking the oath of allegiance prescribed by the last Roman Catholic bill, and to intreat his lordship would be pleased to appoint an early day for receiving the same in the court of King's-bench. His lordship received them in the politest manner, and declared, that as he had always believed the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be loyal subjects, so he had, in every public station he had filled through life, been their zealous advocate. He declared he was particularly happy, on the present occasion, in receiving their declarations of loyalty and attachment to his majesty

majesty and the constitution, as so auspicious toward themselves, and would most cheerfully meet their wishes by appointing an early hour to-morrow morning, in order that it may precede every other business. All the Roman Catholic delegates in town will take the oaths at the same time.

10th. This day came on the election of twenty-four bank directors, when the following gentlemen were chosen:

S. Beachcroft,	Joseph Nutt,
T. Boddington,	Edward Payne,
S. Bolanquet,	John Pearse,
Peter Cazalet,	George Peters,
Hicknell Coney,	John Puget,
Edward Darell,	Thomas Raikes,
Thomas Dea,	James Reed,
Beeston Long,	Edward Simeon,
William Manning,	P. I. Thellusson,
Job Matthew,	Sam. Thornton,
William Mellish,	Mark Weyland,
Richard Neave,	J. Whitmore, esqrs.

And this day a general court was held at the India House, for the election of six directors of the company, when Simon Fraser, Charles Mills, Thomas Parry, Abraham Robarts, David Scott, and George Tatem, esqrs. were chosen without opposition.

11th. This day a court of directors was held at the India House, when, after the new directors had been sworn in, William Devaynes and Thomas Cheap, esqrs. were unanimously appointed chairman and deputy chairman. The court adjourned at three o'clock to Wednesday next.

A List of the East India Directors for the Year 1793.

William Benfley,	W. Devaynes, esqrs.
Jacob Bofanquet,	Hon. W. Elphinstone
Jn. Smith Burges,	Walter Ewer,
Thomas Cheap,	Thomas Fitzhugh,
Lionel Darrell,	Simon Fraser,
John Hunter, esqrs.	David Scott,
Sir Step. Lushington, bart.	Nat. Smith, George Tatem,
Charles Mills,	Robert Thornton,
Thomas Parry,	John Townson,
Thomas Pattle,	John Travers,
Abram Roberts,	Ste. Williams, esqrs.
John Roberts,	

Hereford. A very extraordinary convulsed motion, and 13th. sinking of a large spot of ground at Capley Wood, in the parish of Fownhope, near Hereford, has lately taken place. It was first remarked on Thursday the 4th inst. by a man and a boy employed in hedging, who were alarmed by a noise which seemed to proceed from the wood, and immediately afterwards perceived some large stones in motion at a smaller distance from them; a part of the wood and wood-ground was at the same time in apparent agitation, and slipped from its bed towards the low ground by the side of the river Wye. They were still more alarmed by the sudden motion of the ground whereon they stood, which opened in different places, and threw up small ridges of earth at short distances; and they had only time to make their escape, before the hedge, at which they were at work, was nearly buried, the trees in or near it were thrust down, and the road at the bottom of the wood was completely choaked up with earth, trees, and stones, to the height of 12 feet. The ground within the circuit of this motion has been ascertained to exceed four acres in extent; and several very large apertures have been left, which have since continued to widen daily. What is very remarkable, a yew-tree was removed to the distance of forty yards, and now remains upright,

right, without having ſuffered any apparent injury.

For a more circumſtantial account of this phenomenon, ſee, in the Appendix to the Chronicle, a letter from Mr. Wathen to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine for April.

14th. *Portſmouth.* The French priſoners, in number 180, confined in Forton priſon, attempted to eſcape by looſening two boards in the lower room where they are confined at night, and from thence making a paſſage twenty-ſeven feet long towards the paliſade. The centinel perceiving a noiſe under the ſpot on which he ſtood, which ſeemed like ſomething ſcraping, gave the alarm, and upon ſearching the room the deſign of the priſoners was diſcovered and prevented.

16th. *Dublin.* This day the delegates of the Roman Catholics of Ireland met at the Taylors Hall, Dublin, and appointed a committee to prepare an addreſs to his majeſty, and his excellency the earl of Weſtmoreland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, expreſſive of their gratitude for the Roman Catholic bill paſſing into a law.

17th. *Dublin.* In the court of King's-bench here, the following Roman Catholic gentlemen were this day ſeverally ſworn on the county of Dublin grand jury, and qualified as to landed property, viz. Francis Cruiſe, John Keogh, Andrew Savage, Edward Byrne, Michael Keogh, Barry Lawleſs, John Ball, Nicholas Le Fevre, and Chriſtopher Taylor, eſqrs.

19th. *Leiceſter.* Mr. Phillips, printer of the Leiceſter Herald, has been convicted at the aſſizes here on an indictment for ſelling the Second Part of Paine's Rights of Man. His ſentence is 18 months cloſe impriſonment.

22d. The ratification of the convention for the final adjuſtment of the Nootka Sound claims, which was ſigned on the 12th of February, were this day exchanged at Whitehall.

23d. This being St. George's day, the ſociety of antiquaries of London met at the apartments of the ſociety in Somerſet Place, to elect the preſident, council, and officers of the ſociety for the year enſuing, when the following gentlemen of the old council were rechoſen of the new council:

The earl of Leiceſter, Thomas Aſtle, eſq. rev. John Brand, Owen Saluſbury Brereton, eſq. ſir Henry Charles Englefield, bart. Richard Gough, eſq. rev. Dr. Hamilton, right rev. lord biſhop of Saliſbury, John Topham, eſq. Joſeph Windham, eſq. rev. Thomas William Wrighte.

The following gentlemen were likewiſe choſen of the new council:

John Willett Ayde, eſq. earl of Buckinghamſhire, right rev. lord biſhop of Glouceſter, right hon. lord Grenville, Phillip Metcalfe, eſq. Dr. Henry Revell Reynolds, Richard Stonehewer, eſq. Charles Townley, eſq. Charles Townſhend, eſq. Thomas Walker, eſq.

24th. This morning, by ſix o'clock, eight troops of cavalry, deſtined for foreign ſervice, proceeded by the New Road through Iſlington, Old Street, &c. toward Blackwall. The place of rendezvous was Mr. Perry's dock. A platform was erected to facilitate the embarkation of the horſes, which were thus conveyed on board the tranſports without being ſlung. The prince of

of Wales, the duke of Glouceſter, prince William of Glouceſter, and ſeveral general officers, were preſent. The concourſe of people that attended was immenſe; the ſoldiers were all in high ſpirits, and the embarkation was completed by eleven o'clock.

29th. A lieutenant of the Edgar of 74 guns arrived at the Admiralty from admiral Gell's diviſion of the Mediterranean fleet, with diſpatches to acquaint their lordſhips of the capture of the Dumourier French privateer, with her prize the San Jago Spaniſh regiſter ſhip from Porto Bello, whoſe cargo is ſaid to conſiſt of the following articles:

694 caſes of ſilver, each containing 3000 dollars.
33 caſes of gold, beſides plate and jewels, value 500,000l.
72 cwt. of redwood.
16 caſes of ſilver in bars.
2662 quintals of bark of different weights.
2440 quintals of cocoa.
4887 caſes of pepper.
520 do. of lead.
120 do. of wool.
162 do. of ſugar.
2247 lbs. of medical roots.
387 do. extract of bark.
75 do. of gum of cocoa.
150 do. balſam of Peru.
250 prepared hides.
119 raſping ſkins.
800 dozen fine leather ſkins.
12 do. of alambon.
3 barrels of honey.
11 caſes of the various productions of Peru.

This cargo had been two years in collecting from different parts of the coaſt, and is, without exception, the richeſt that ever was truſted on board of any ſingle ſhip. It is impoſſible to form a juſt eſtimate of its value.

The Dumourier and her prize were within a few hours of Breſt harbour, when they were diſcovered by admiral Gell. The capture was made off cape Finiſterre, and both prizes are brought in by the Edgar.

30th. The ſubſidiary treaty between this kingdom and Heſſe Caſſel was ratified on the 8th inſtant.

MAY.

1ſt. *Dublin.* A ſhort time ſince Mr. Waddy, of Jameſville, in the county of Wexford, diſcharged a footman on account of his having beaten a woman ſervant in the family. The fellow on going away vowed vengeance againſt his maſter, and in a few nights after the houſe was attacked by a gang of ruffians, of whom he was the leader; who after tying the ſervants proceeded to Mr. Waddy's chamber, and diſcharged a piſtol at his head, which killed him inſtantly. They afterwards robbed the houſe and got off with their booty; but by the exertions of Hunter Gowen, eſq. three of them were afterwards taken and lodged in the gaol of Rathdrum. Several articles of Mr. Waddy's property were found upon them.

6th. *Manchester.* A kind of riot took place to-day, which for ſome time occaſioned much alarm, in conſequence of a diſpute on the parade between an officer of the Yorkſhire militia and a by-ſtander, in which the former drew his ſword. A prodigious crowd aſſembled immediately, but the military being ordered to their quarters, and nine

of the ring-leaders of the mob, who seemed riotously disposed, being seized and lodged in the gaol, tranquillity was perfectly restored.

The lady of captain Bellamy went to the New Gaol in the Borough, to visit a person confined there for debt; and, while in conversation in a room up two pair of stairs, she cried out, "Whoever the man is that I now hear talking below (in the yard), he is the same who robbed and so cruelly wounded my husband." Upon this she was introduced to that part of the prison where persons charged with felony, assaults, &c. are confined, it being entirely separated from the quarter assigned to the debtors; and, from a great number of persons, she readily pointed out the particular man whose voice she had expressed herself to recognise. In consequence of this, the man was taken before the magistrates at the rotation-office in the Borough, when the following circumstances appeared: About this time two years, as captain Bellamy and his lady were returning from Epsom in a phaëton, during the race week, they were attacked, near Ewell, by three men, who demanded their money and watches. The captain refused to submit to being robbed, and prepared to defend himself; but being at length overpowered by the villains, they took from him cash and other property to a large amount, and afterwards cut the back sinews of both his legs, so that he remains a cripple to this day. The person of the prisoner being sworn to as one of the men guilty of the above robbery and atrocious act of cruelty, he was remanded for trial at the next assizes for Surrey. His name is Chamberlain; and his original commitment to the New Gaol was for an assault upon a woman with whom he cohabited.

Falmouth. A riotous body of between two and three thou- 7th. sand tinners arrived here, in a belief that there was a great quantity of corn and flower in the neighbourhood, and with the avowed design of regulating the price of those articles. The mayor explained to them that the stores they alluded to belonged to government, and were destined for the support of the navy and army, consequently that he could not venture to order them out for their use; but promised to apply to his majesty's ministers on the occasion, and desired to know what they would give per bushel. They fixed their price at 16 shillings the sack of three bushels Winchester measure, and then went quietly away; declaring their intention, however, of proceding to other places on the same business.

Dublin. A privy council was held to-day to consider on the distressful state of public credit in this kingdom, when it was resolved to support two capital houses in this city by issuing treasury bills in deposits; and the members of the council pledged themselves to bring forward and support an indemnification for the lord lieutenant, should it be necessary to issue such bills before the meeting of parliament.

This day Mr. Ridgway, book- 8th. seller, was brought into the court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for the publication of three libels, of which he had been convicted; namely, The Jockey Club, Paine's Address to the Addressers, and the Rights of Man; when the court sentenced

sentenced him to be imprisoned two years in Newgate for the first; at the expiration of which to be imprisoned another year, and to pay a fine of 100l. for the second; and for the third, the farther imprisonment of one year, with another fine of 100l.—Mr. Symonds was then sentenced to pay a fine of 100l. for having published The Jockey Club, and to be imprisoned one year in Newgate, from the expiration of his former sentence of two years for the publication of the Rights of Man; and for the Address to the Addressers, he was sentenced to the farther imprisonment of one year, and another fine of 100l. After which, he was to find security for five years for his good behaviour, himself in 500l. and two others in 250l. each. Mr. Ridgway was likewise to find the same security.

10th. *Dublin.* This day the trial at bar in the court of Exchequer here, J. Flood, esq, *versus* the provost and fellows of Trinity-college, was determined in favour of Mr. Flood. By this decision a property of 4,000l. per annum reverts to that gentleman, which, by the will of the late Henry Flood, esq. had been bequeathed to cultivate the study of the Irish language.

12th. This morning the honourable Mrs. Rawdon was nearly burnt to death by her clothes catching fire at her house in Dover Street. A spark flying at some distance from the chimney, caught a muslin dress which she had just put on previous to going to chapel. On perceiving the flames she rolled herself on a sofa in hopes of extinguishing them, but they soon communicated to the furniture, and she must have perished had not the servants rushed in and saved her. This is at least the fiftieth accident of the kind which has happened within a few years.

Mr. Balguy prayed judgment this day in the court of King's Bench, upon Daniel Holt, printer of the Newark Herald, who was convicted at the last Nottingham assizes, for publishing a libel reflecting upon the character of Mr. Brough, a barrister at law.

It appeared that in 1792 a cause for bribery was tried at Nottingham assizes, in which Mr. Erskine, Mr. Brough, and other gentlemen were counsel. In giving an account of the speech of Mr. Erskine in the Newark Herald, he was represented to have spoken very disrespectfully of Mr. Brough, as a professional man, upon which Mr. Erskine sent a written contradiction of that statement to the defendant, who refused to insert it in his paper.

In the course of the defendant's trial many eminent counsel bore honourable testimony to the professional character of Mr. Brough: they said also that they were in court at the trial for bribery, and did not hear Mr. Erskine make use of the words imputed to him by the defendant, either in form or in effect; and they must have heard them if they had been used.

From the address to the court from the counsel for the prosecution, it appeared that the prosecutor would have accepted of an apology, which the defendant would not make, but on the contrary published a letter in his paper to justify his conduct.

The defendant was sentenced to pay a fine of 50l. and be imprisoned six months in the King's Bench prison.

13th. This day Robert Mackreth, esq. M. P. was brought to re-

ceive the sentence of the court of King's Bench, for having sent a challenge to sir John Scott, the attorney-general; when the court sentenced Mr. Mackreth to six weeks imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 100 l.

14th. This morning, from half past four till near six o'clock, 21 waggons, loaded with the treasure from on board the Spanish register-ship taken by the Dumourier privateer, and re-taken by a frigate of admiral Gell's fleet, arrived at the Tower, under an escort of a detachment of horse, and accompanied by some naval officers, and British tars. They were received by the governor, officers, and garrison under arms, and conducted to the parade with drums beating, colours flying, and the whole band of music playing.

From the discoveries recently made in this ship, the captors have formed a resolution not to sell her when completely discharged, but to break her up themselves, suspecting that in this way they may find more valuables artfully concealed. To evade the king of Spain's high duty on gold, many bars of that metal have been found, thinly coated with pewter, and denominated, in the invoice, by order of the Spanish merchants, *fine pewter*. The king of Spain will no doubt eventually take advantage of this piece of information.

15th. Mr. Locke's statue, the *Discobolos*, was sold by auction. It had once before been offered to sale; when 800 l. was bidden for it, and it was bought in by himself, at 890 l. This day, such are the variations of taste, 360 l. was its price. Mr. Duncombe is the buyer.

The anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy was held 16th. at St. Paul's. The text of the sermon, preached by the rev. Mr. Griffith, was the 2d verse of the 6th chapter of Galatians, "Bear ye "one another's burthen." The collection at the cathedral, on Tuesday the 14th, was, - £. 92 5 —
This day in ditto - 182 — —
D° at Stationers Hall 578 6 6

Total. - £. 852 11 6

Ten additional houses to Bromley College are just completed for the reception of clergymen's widows; 10,000 l. was bequeathed for that purpose by the widow of the late sir Richard Battenson, of Bradburn, in Kent; and 20 l. per annum, appropriated to each inhabitant.

The king has granted a free pardon to Mary Briant, otherwise Broad, the woman who escaped from Botany Bay along with several male convicts.

Plymouth. The Surprise cutter privateer of London, of 12 guns, and the Resolution lugger privateer of Guernsey, have just come to anchor in Hamoaze with their prize, a French East Indiaman, mounting twelve guns, which they took on the 12th inst. within sight of the French coast. She is valued at 150,000 l. 21st.

This day came on before lord Kenyon, and a special jury, in the court of King's Bench, the trial of Mr. Frost, for seditious words spoken at the Percy coffee-house. The attorney general addressed the court on the part of the prosecution; he then called Messrs. Tate, Savilliac, Yateman, and Bullock, as evidence for the crown.— 27th.

Mr.

Mr. Erſkine addreſſed the jury in a ſpeech of great eloquence, on the part of the defendant. The jury retired for about an hour and a half, and brought in their verdict—Guilty.

The indictment againſt Mr. Froſt ſtated, that he, on the 6th of November laſt, at the Percy coffee-houſe, Rathbone place, made uſe of theſe ſeditious words: "I am for equality; I ſee no reaſon why one man ſhould be greater than another; I would have no king; and the conſtitution of this country is a bad one."

30th. The Atlantic tranſport ſhip is juſt arrived from New South Wales, with Arthur Philips, eſq. the governor of that colony, who has brought home with him two of the natives of New Holland, a man and a boy. The Atlantic has alſo on board four kangaroos, lively and healthy, and ſome other animals peculiar to that country.

From the deſcription given of the natives near Port Jackſon, they appear to be a race totally incapable of civilization, every attempt to that end having proved ineffectual; and yet they diſcover an aſtoniſhing art and cunning in their mode of fiſhing, and entrapping the kangaroo and birds, the only animal food to be found there.

Specimens of their fiſhing tackle, ſpears, and ſhields, are likewiſe brought home in the Atlantic. They are ingeniouſly contrived, and the natives are ſaid to uſe them moſt expertly; but no inducement (and all means have been perſeveringly tried) can draw them from a ſtate of nature.

Clothing they conſider as an encumbrance, and every European production they treat with the utmoſt indifference.

They are cruel, particularly to their women, who they often beat in a moſt barbarous manner, even on the ſlighteſt occaſions.

Governor Philips has brought home with him very minute and particular accounts of the actual ſituation of the colony. By theſe we are informed, that the ſettlers were making very conſiderable progreſs in the cultivation of their land, and in rearing live ſtock. Every ſettler had at leaſt one breeding-ſow, with ſheep, goats, and other cattle. The paſturage is uncommonly fine and in great plenty; and ſuch progreſs had been made in clearing and cultivating the government lands, that nearly 2,000 acres were in corn when the governor left the ſettlement, with every appearance of a luxuriant crop.

The celebrated Barrington is likely to become a man of ſome conſequence at laſt. His natural talents entitle him to a more reſpectable diſtinction than that which he enjoyed, and it ſeems he has taſted enough of the bad effects of vicious courſes to abandon them entirely.

Major Groſe, commandant of the New South Wales corps, and lieutenant-governor of the ſettlement, commands at New South Wales in the abſence of governor Philips. Captain Nepean is ſecond in command.

Governor Philips tells many curious ſtories of his majeſty's ſubjects in Botany Bay. Barrington is high-conſtable of the ſettlement, and adminiſters juſtice with a moſt impartial hand.—One of the convicts has

built a comfortable houſe, and has cultivated his ſhare of ground to great advantage. His time has expired, but he refuſes to return to England, and actually gives his ſhare of the government proviſion to his neighbours, as he is able to live with his family on his own farm.

31ſt. This evening, about eight o'clock, the duke de Sicignano, who arrived in this country about ſix weeks ſince in the capacity of envoy from the court of Naples, put a period to his life, at the hotel in Jermyn-ſtreet, St. James's, by blowing his brains out with a horſe piſtol. He was a man of the firſt reſpectability in his own country, and was much beloved by all who know him in this. His ducheſs, whoſe amiable qualities are the admiration of her own court, was ſhortly expected in England.

The cauſe aſſigned for this melancholy act of ſuicide is love. The duke had indulged a violent paſſion for a lady belonging to the Neapolitan court, and was ſent from thence to the Britiſh court, to divert his mind from the object of his regard. He was a man of an amiable character, well eſteemed, but never appeared in the leaſt cheerful ſince his arrival in England.

JUNE.

1ſt. An expreſs was ſent off this morning for Naples with an account of the melancholy demiſe of the duke de Sicigniano.

3d. The remains of the duke de Sicigniano were this evening privately interred in Pancraſs Church-yard.

4th. This being his majeſty's birth-day, was celebrated as uſual by a grand gala at St. James's.

5th. The cauſe of the king *v.* Eaton, a bookſeller, for publiſhing Paine's Rights of Man, came on this day in the court of King's Bench. After the evidence for the proſecution was cloſed, and the defendant's counſel had been heard on his ſide, the recorder told the jury that if they were ſatisfied that Paine wrote this book as a philoſophical man, coolly applying himſelf to the ſound diſcuſſion of thoſe who were competent to judge of the ſubject — to men of learning, to philoſophers, who could underſtand the terms in which he wrote, and that he meant to do no miſchief, it was what all authors in this country were at liberty to do: but that if there was a deſign betrayed of weakening the hands of government, of ſetting every thing afloat, and producing confuſion, then the author had offended againſt the law; for the difference between the freedom and the abuſe of the preſs was this, that every thing may be done by the preſs which is done for the honour, advantage, or benefit of mankind; but nothing can be done that tends poſitively and decidedly to the injury of mankind. The jury retired at eight o'clock, taking the book in queſtion with them, and in little more than two hours brought in their verdict—"Guilty "of publiſhing, but without a cri-"minal intent." This, the counſel for the defendant contended, was tantamount to an acquittal, and therefore deſired he might be diſcharged; but the recorder refuſed, unleſs the proſecutor would admit this

this verdict to be an acquittal: and the defendant would have been committed until the point of law could be argued next ſeſſion, if Mr. White, ſolicitor for the treaſury, had not conſented to admit him to the ſame bail upon which he had hitherto been at large.

6th. The judges met this day in lord Kenyon's chambers, Weſtminſter-hall, when the circuits for the Summer aſſizes were choſen as follows:

Oxford, lord Kenyon and the honourable Mr. juſtice Groſe.

Norfolk, lord chief juſtice Eyre and the hon. Mr. juſtice Aſhurſt.

Northern, lord chief baron Macdonald and Mr. baron Thompſon.

Home, Mr. juſtice Gould and Mr. juſtice Buller.

Midland, Mr. baron Hotham and Mr. juſtice Wilſon.

Weſtern, Mr. baron Perryn and Mr. juſtice Heath.

8th. Advice is received that, on the 4th inſtant, the Liberty cutter privateer of London, of 4 guns, brought into Plymouth the Eliza of Boſton, an American merchantman, 300 tons burden, bound from the Iſle of France to Dunkirk, with French property on board valued at 150,000 l. The Liberty took her about ten days ſince in the Bay of Biſcay.

12th. The king held a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter, and honoured the three following noblemen with that illuſtrious order;

The marquis of Saliſbury, vice the duke of Cumberland, deceaſed.

The earl of Weſtmoreland, vice the earl of Bute, deceaſed.

The earl of Carliſle, vice the earl of Guildford, deceaſed.

The ſettlement at New South Wale, we are happy to hear from many reſpectable quarters, is in a very flouriſhing ſtate.

This morning as col. Dundas and R. Dundas, eſq. (ſon of the ſecretrary) were on the road to Dover, from whence they were going to proceed with diſpatches for lord Henry Spencer at the Hague, they were ſtopped in their chaiſe, a little on this ſide Dartford, by eight footpads. The gentlemen were both aſleep when the chaiſe was ſtopped; and immediately on their being awaked, Mr. R. Dundas fired a piſtol, and ſhot one of the villains, who fell againſt the wheel of the chaiſe. One of his companions then opened the door of the chaiſe, and fired his piſtol, the ball of which unfortunately entered col. Dundas right breaſt, a little below the nipple; after which the gentlemen were obliged to ſubmit to be plundered by this gang of deſperadoes, who all got off, and carried with them their wounded companion.

14th. General Dumourier arrived at Mr. Carco's, hatter, in Piccadilly, and immediately ſent to inform lord Grenville.

This day was argued in the court of King's Bench the caſe of Mr. Arnold, who having been convicted before a juſtice of peace of buying corn, not meaſured by the Wincheſter buſhel, was fined by that magiſtrate, according to the ſtatute, in the value of the corn, and forty ſhillings beſides. In the fine of forty ſhillings he conceived himſelf aggrieved, as he was not the ſeller but the buyer of the corn, and applied to the court for redreſs. Lord Kenyon was of opinion that

he was equally liable to the penalty being the buyer, as if he had been the seller.

18th. By a resolution of the East India company, marquis Cornwallis is to receive for twenty years, counting from the day of his embarkation for Europe, an annuity of 5,000l. with the reversion to his son lord Brome, in case of the marquis's dying within the period.

This day Mr. Dowling, convicted of perjury in his evidence against captain Kimber, was brought into court to receive sentence. Mr. justice Ashhurst observed to the prisoner the heinousness of his offence, which involved murder as well as perjury; because, if the jury had believed his evidence, captain Kimber might have been convicted and executed. There was not, he said, any perjury that could excite so much horror, or call for such exemplary punishment as that which was committed with intent to deprive a fellow creature of his life, and to cover his memory with infamy.

The prisoner was sentenced to be imprisoned for one month, and then to be transported for seven years.

19th. An order was this day sent from the secretary of state's office to general Dumourier, to depart this kingdom in 48 hours.

Mr. John Frost, convicted of uttering seditious words, was this day brought into the court of King's Bench to receive sentence.

The address of Mr. justice Ashhurst to the prisoner, previous to his pronouncing sentence, was as follows:

"John Frost, you have been convicted upon an indictment preferred against you, for publicly speaking several scandalous and seditious words, tending to lessen in men's minds that love and veneration which every honest and good man ought to have for our wise and happy constitution, and likewise to withdraw the affection of his majesty's subjects from his royal person and government, and from all kingly government. The words stated in the indictment to have been spoken by you are these: 'I am for equality; I see no reason why one man should not be upon a footing with another—it is every man's birthright.' And the indictment further states, that you being asked how you dared to hold such language in a public room, and what you meant? You replied, 'No king!' And the indictment further states, that being asked if you meant no king in this country? you said, 'Yes—the constitution of this country is a bad one in having a king;' meaning thereby, that the constitution of this realm was bad. These are the words alledged to have been spoken by you.

"The constitution which you thus attempted to traduce and vilify, was planned by wiser heads and better hearts than yours. It has stood the test of ages, and is out of the reach of the malice of persons of such description as yourself. But although that is the case, it does not from thence follow, that you are to be suffered to vent your malice, however impotent it may be. These words are a proof of great malignity of heart, that stands in need of correction. Your inclination is ripe for mischief against this country. One might have expected,

"that

"that having lately returned from "France, you should have felt the "superior advantages of our con- "stitution over the universal anar- "chy and confusion with which "that unhappy country is over- "run; but there may be too much "reason to suspect that you did not "go into that country with a view "of bringing back any wholesome "lesson with you for the subjects "of this country. It has been "said in your behalf, that you were "in liquor at the time you uttered "these words, but that was not "proved to the satisfaction of the "jury, who were charged to find "upon the whole case, and they "have found it so; and it is but "a bad defence to plead one crime "in extenuation of another. There "is another circumstance which is "an aggravation of your crime. "From the situation you are in, "being an attorney, you must have "taken the oath of allegiance to "his majesty; this shews how very "little regard you pay to the oath "so taken, and that is a great ag- "gravation of your guilt. The "court have taken all the cir- "cumstances into consideration, and "upon mature deliberation, the sen- "tence of this court is, 'That you "be imprisoned in his majesty's "gaol of Newgate for six calendar "months, and that within that "time you do stand in and upon "the pillory at Charing-cross, for "one hour, between the hours of "twelve and two; and that you "do find security for your good "behaviour for the period of five "years, yourself in 500l. and two "sureties for 100l. each; and that "you be further imprisoned until "such security be found."

Lord Kenyon then informed the prisoner, that his name must be struck off the list of attorneys of that court; and Mr. Frost was afterwards conducted to Newgate.

The immense property taken on board the San Jago Spanish register ship, is likely to become the subject of litigation. The minister of the king of Spain claims 640,000l. as the property of the state; the agents of several merchants of Cadiz, Barcelona, and other places, claim 800,000l. as the property of their principals; while admiral Gell claims the whole as lawful prize. But, in case the whole should not be deemed prize, the admiral has put in a second claim for the whole money taken on board the French privateer (which had been removed from on board the register ship to lighten her, on her being captured by the Frenchman) amounting to 700,000l. and one fifth part of the registered cargo on board the San Jago as salvage; also the whole of the contraband cargo, which is of prodigious value, and was intended to be smuggled into Spain. 20th.

Whitby. A nursery maid walking with a child 4 years old, the son of Mr. Pierson, a merchant at Whitby, ventured too near the edge of the precipice over the new half-moon battery; the ground giving way, she fell with the child in her arms from the height of near 100 feet perpendicular, and was dashed to pieces; the child had its right arm broken, but was not otherwise hurt.

After a speech from the throne, both houses of parliament were this day prorogued to the 13th of August. 21st.

The following letter was received by Mr. Stephens, of the Admiralty, from captain Pellew, announcing 22d.

nouncing the capture of the Cleopatra French frigate, by La Nymphe on the 19th inſtant:

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you, that at day-light yeſterday morning I was ſo fortunate as to fall in with the national French frigate La Cleopatra, mounting 40 guns, and manned with 320 men, commanded by monſieur Jean Mullon, three days from St. Maloes, and had taken nothing.

We brought her to cloſe action at half paſt ſix, and in fifty-five minutes took poſſeſſion of her; the two ſhips having fallen on board each other, we boarded her from the quarter-deck, and ſtruck her colours; and finding it impoſſible to clear the ſhips, then hanging head and ſtern, we came to anchor, which divided us, after we had received on board 150 priſoners. The enemy fought us like brave men, neither ſhip firing a ſhot until we had hailed. Her captain was killed, three lieutenants wounded; the number of men not yet aſcertained, but from the beſt accounts about ſixty; her mizen-maſt overboard, and her tiller ſhot off.

I am extremely concerned ſhe was not purchaſed at a leſs expence of valuable officers and men on our part, whoſe loſs I cannot ſufficiently regret, and to whoſe gallantry I cannot poſſibly do juſtice. We had twenty-three men killed, and twenty-ſeven wounded, of which a liſt is incloſed.

I am very particularly indebted to my firſt lieutenant, Mr. Amherſt Morris, and no leſs ſo to lieutenants George Luke and Richard Pellowe, and I was ably ſeconded on the quarter-deck by lieutenant John Whitaker, of the marines, and Mr. Thomſon, the maſter; and I hope I do not preſume in recommending thoſe officers to their lordſhips protection and favour; and I ſhould do injuſtice to my brother, captain Iſrael Pellew, who was accidentally on board, if I could poſſibly omit ſaying how much I owe him for his very diſtinguiſhed firmneſs, and the encouraging example he held forth to a young ſhip's company, by taking upon him the directions of ſome guns on the main deck.

A liſt of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhip La Nymphe, Edward Pellew, eſq. captain, in an engagement with La Cleopatra, a French frigate, off the Start, on the 19th of June 1793.

KILLED.

Mr. Tobias James, boatſwain.

Mr. Richard Pearſe, maſter's mate.

Mr. George Boyd, midſhipman.

Mr. John Davie, ditto.

Mr. Samuel Edſall, ditto,

Together with fourteen ſeamen and four private marines.

WOUNDED.

Lieut. George Luke, ſecond lieutenant.

Mr. John A. Norway, Midſhipman.

Mr. John Paine, ditto.

Mr. John Whitaker, lieutenant of marines.

Together with ſeventeen ſeamen, and ſix private marines.

Dover. General Dumourier ſailed from hence for Oſtend, 22d. in the Expreſs packet, with an armed cutter as a convoy.

An affray took riſe in Oxford-buildings, near Oxford-road, where a large party of labouring perſons of both ſexes, chiefly Iriſh, had been collected at the houſe of one of them, upon the occaſion 23d.

of

of a child's death. The watchmen were beaten, and the captain of the patroles was so severely wounded, that he is since dead. A party of the foot guards, who arrived about three in the morning, were assailed with brickbats, &c.; but they seized fifty-six of the rioters, of whom sixteen have been since committed to Newgate, and a number of others to Tothill-fields Bridewell.

Buckingham. Henry Yorke, esq. LL. B. (author of a pamphlet lately published, entitled "Reason urged against Precedent") underwent an examination before the magistrates of this county, on a charge of conspiracy against the government; the examination lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon till five o'clock the next morning, when after inspecting all his papers, he was acquitted.

24th. Peter Perchard and Charles Hamerton, esqs. were this day chosen sheriffs of the city of London for the ensuing year; and John Wilkes, esq. was re-elected chamberlain.

26th. At a general court held this day at the India House, the annuity of 5,000l. granted to the marquis Cornwallis and his eldest son for 20 years, provided they should live so long, was, on the motion of Mr. Henchman, converted into an annuity of the same sum to the marquis and his assignees for 20 years certain.

This day the attorney-general came to the Old Bailey, and informed the court that he attended in consequence of the extraordinary verdict found by the jury upon the trial of Mr. Eaton, who was indicted last session for publishing the second part of Paine's Rights of Man, when the jury found the defendant guilty of publishing, but without any criminal intention. Notice had been given him, that upon the foundation of this verdict the bail of Mr. Eaton intended to make an application to be discharged from their recognizance. The attorney-general said, it was a case of considerable importance, and he was then ready to argue it, or receive such directions from the judges as they might think fit to give. It would be a question for the judges to decide what the legal import of the verdict was. The case was distinguished by its novelty, and it was of great concern to the jurisprudence of the country, that the law should be settled upon this point.

The judges Buller and Wilson were of opinion, that the verdict called for the most serious deliberation. There was some difficulty in ascertaining what the intention of the jury was when they pronounced this verdict. It would be necessary to consider whether it amounted to any verdict at all; and if it did, whether it was an acquittal in part, or as to the whole of the charge upon the record?

Mr. Justice Wilson said, the jury possibly might mean that the sentiments contained in Paine's pamphlet were not criminal. After some conversation between the judges Buller, Wilson, and the recorder, it was agreed that the case should be laid before all the judges, in order that they might enter the proper verdict, and settle the law upon this point. No counsel attended for the defendant.

28th. This day was tried before lord chief justice Eyre and a special jury, in the court of Common Pleas at Guildhall, an action brought by Mr.

Mr. Palliſer againſt the proprietors of a mail-coach, to recover ſatisfaction in damages, for injury done to the plaintiff's wife, through negligence of the driver and the guard, leaving Mrs. Palliſer in the coach while they went to drink at a public-houſe between Sheffield and Leeds, there being no other paſſengers, or any perſon to take care of the horſes, which took fright, by which accident Mrs. Palliſer had her leg broke. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 500l.

29th. *Cambridge.* Yeſterday and this day the delegates ſat on Mr. Frend's cauſe, and after due deliberation, affirmed the ſentence of expulſion. Sir Willian Wynne, who acted as the mouth of the council, went through the whole proceſs, as managed by the promoter and co. and not only adjudged them to be right in the groſs, but clearly decided them to be perfectly correct and legal in the particular ſteps of the accuſation.

This evening Mrs. M'Carthy, an Iriſh lady, who lodged at Mr. Nelſon's, in Cecil-ſtreet, in the Strand, being left only for a few minutes by her own ſervant and a nurſe, while in the delirium of a fever, threw herſelf from a two pair of ſtairs chamber-window into the ſtreet, and was killed on the ſpot.

30th. An action was lately brought in the court of King's Bench, by —— Hawkens againſt —— Strutt, to recover 60l. and ſome ſhillings for goods ſold and delivered. The delivery or the value of the goods were not diſputed: the only queſtion was, whether the plaintiff had a right to maintain his action, and recover the amount of this demand of the defendant, under the following circumſtance:—After the goods were delivered, the plaintiff, who reſides in the country, requeſted of the defendant, who lives in London, that he would ſend the money in a letter by the poſt, as he had done ſeveral times before; the defendant therefore incloſed the amount of the plaintiff's bill in Stratford bank notes, and ſome ſilver, in a letter directed to the plaintiff; this letter he delivered to a bell-man, who uſually received letters; but the plaintiff never received it.

The counſel for the defendant contended, that his client could not be called upon to pay this money over again, and that if the plaintiff did not receive the money, he had no right to complain, as the remittance was made in the very way he himſelf requeſted.

On the part of the plaintiff it was replied, that giving it to a bell-man was irregular; that the defendant ought to have known it to be ſo, for that advertiſements had been publiſhed in the Gazette, ſtating that all letters containing money were to be delivered at the poſt-office in Lombard-ſtreet, and therefore if the letter miſcarried, it was the fault of the defendant for not having taken the neceſſary precaution thus publicly advertiſed.

Lord Kenyon ſaid, that inſtead of delivering this letter to the bell-man, it ought to have been delivered at the general poſt-office in Lombard-ſtreet, or at ſuch places as they authorized to receive letters containing money.

Verdict for the plaintiff—damages 60l. &c.

JULY.

JULY.

2d. *Nottingham.* This day died Mr. F. Walſh, who had been unfortunately wounded on the king's birth-day by a piſtol diſcharged in ſport by his own ſon. It was ſo near him when diſcharged that the wadding penetrated his body, and being lodged beyond the reach of chirurgical aid, he languiſhed in extreme agony till his death.

Dublin. In order to promote the ſtoring of coals in this metropolis, our parliament have offered to give to any four perſons, who ſhall take yards capable of holding 12,000 tons each, the whole rent of thoſe yards, not exceeding 200 l. annually for each.

Oxford. His grace the duke of Portland was this day received here in form as chancellor of our univerſity. For the particulars of the ceremonies obſerved on this occaſion, ſee the APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

4th. An account of the melancholy fate of Mr. Munro, ſon of ſir Hector Munro, on Saugur Iſland, on the 22d of December laſt, is communicated in the following extract of a letter, publiſhed in the Calcutta Gazette of the 1ſt of January, from a gentleman on board the ſhip Shaw Ardaſier, and dated off Saugur Iſland, the 23d of December 1792.

" Yeſterday morning I went on ſhore on Saugur Iſland to ſhoot deer, accompanied by lieutenant Pyeſinch, Mr. Downey, and my late unfortunate friend Mr. Munro. We ſaw innumerable tracks of tygers and deer; but we purſued our ſport till three in the afternoon. We then ſat down on the edge of the jungle to eat ſome cold meat, and had but juſt begun, when Mr. Pyeſinch and a black ſervant told us, there was a fine deer within ſix yards of us. Mr. Downey and I immediately jumped up to take our guns: mine was the neareſt, and I had but juſt laid hold of it, when I heard a roar, and ſaw an immenſe royal tyger ſpring on the unfortunate Munro, who was ſitting down. In a moment his head was in the beaſt's mouth, and he ruſhed into the jungle with him, with as much eaſe as I could lift a kitten; tearing him through the thickeſt buſhes and trees, every thing yielding to his monſtrous ſtrength. The agonies of horror and fear (for there were two tygers, a male and female) ruſhed on me at once. The only effort I could make, was to fire at him, though the poor youth was ſtill in his mouth. I relied partly on Providence, partly on my own aim, and fired a muſquet. I ſaw the tyger ſtagger, and cried out ſo immediately. Mr. Downey then fired two ſhots, and I one more. We retired from the jungle, and a few minutes after Mr. Munro came up to us, all over blood, and fell. We took him on our backs to the boat, and got every medical aſſiſtance for him from the Valentine Indiaman, which lay at anchor near the iſland, but in vain. He lived twenty-four hours in the extreme of torture: his head and ſkull were all torn and broke to pieces, and he was wounded by the claws all over his neck and ſhoulders; but it was better to take him away, though irrecoverable, than leave him to be devoured limb by limb. We have juſt read the funeral ſervice over the body,

body, and committed it to the deep. He was an amiable and promiſing youth.

"I muſt obſerve, there was a large fire blazing cloſe to us, compoſed of ten or a dozen whole trees. I made it myſelf on purpoſe to keep the tygers off, as I had always heard it would. There were eight or ten of the natives about us; many ſhots had been fired at the place, and much noiſe and laughing at the time; but this ferocious animal diſregarded all. He was about four and a half feet high and nine long. His head appeared as large as an ox's, his eyes darting fire, and his roar, when he firſt ſeized his prey, will never be out of my recollection. We had ſcarcely puſhed our boat from that curſed ſhore, when the tygreſs made her appearance, raging-mad almoſt, and remained on the ſand as long as the diſtance would allow us to ſee her."

5th. Advice is received by the Swallow, capt. Brooks, arrived at Falmouth in 26 days from Gibraltar, that his majeſty's ſhip Edgar has captured an entirely new French frigate, built on the new conſtruction, and mounting 42 guns; and alſo retaken a Spaniſh galeon, which ſeveral days before had been captured by the French frigate. This galeon, which is ſaid to be the richeſt ever taken, was the firſt and only prize the frigate had ever made.

6th. A few days ſince a young man of the name of Hicken was accidentally killed by a blunderbuſs, diſcharged by George Sachell, ſtable-boy to the rev. Mr. Parr of Hatton, in Warwickſhire. The coroner's inqueſt brought in a verdict—*chance medley.*

Dublin. The hon. Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond have been 11th. remanded to Newgate, after an argument in the exchequer chamber upon their habeus corpus. The chief baron obſerved, that as the houſe of lords was then ſitting, any error in the commitment ſhould be ſubmitted to their lordſhips.

Mr. Eaton, the bookſeller (againſt whom an extraordinary verdict was found on his trial, for publiſhing Paine's Rights of Man) was tried in the court of King's Bench for publiſhing a libel entitled, "A Letter addreſſed to the Addreſſers." After retiring for about an hour and a half the jury found the defendant—*guilty of publiſhing.* Upon ſome remonſtrances from the judge (lord Kenyon) on this ſentence, who obſerved that they were ſworn to try this iſſue—*whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty*, the jury again withdrew for near an hour, and then found their verdict—*guilty of publiſhing the pamphlet in queſtion.*

The captain of an Engliſh 12th. ſhip from Bombay, lately taken and carried into St. Maloes, has made the following depoſition before the committee of ſuperintendence of that place:

"On the 30th of December 1791, being in the lat. of 9 deg. S. and 259 deg. W. long. of London, coming from Jacqueſon going to Bombay, and wiſhing to go by the eaſtern paſſage, I was informed of a ſhipwreck on the coaſt of New Georgia, in the eaſtern ſea. This ſhip could only be a French one, as no other ſhip or frigate paſſed theſe ſtraits but two Engliſh frigates, which have ſince arrived in England. There is the greateſt probability

bility that it is the Bouſſole or the Aſtrolabe. I have drawn the plan and the exact chart of this continent, with the remarks on the latitude and longitude. Cape Exception, or Cape Deceit, forms the entrance of the bay in which the before-mentioned veſſel was ſhipwrecked."

This account was immediately ſent to the marine miniſter at Paris.

Dublin. A mob aſſembled lately at Erris, in the county of Mayo, a few of them armed with muſkets, the reſt with bayonets, pikes, &c. A party of the military coming to diſperſe them, an engagement took place, when 36 of the mob were killed, and many taken. Hugh O'Donnel, eſq. lieutenant-colonel of the South Mayo militia, was wounded in the ancle by a ſhot from the mob. Seven ſoldiers were alſo wounded.

13th. The rope and yarn manufactory of Mr. Wilkinſon, at Stepney Cauſeway, was entirely deſtroyed by fire, together with an adjoining orchard of fruit trees. As the flames broke out in two places, and no perſons had been at work in the manufactory during the whole day, it is ſuppoſed to have been maliciouſly ſet on fire.

14th. The whole of the painter's workſhop, and part of that belonging to the carver and gilder in the king's dock-yard at Deptford were burnt down this morning. The deal yard which is contiguous was ſaved by pulling down about fifteen feet length of working ſheds.

15th. *Wexford.* A numerous mob aſſembled this morning with a deſign to reſcue two delinquents lodged in the gaol here, on the 8th inſtant, for being concerned in a riot on that day at Templeſcoby, near Enniſcorthy. In their way they met on the road lieutenant Buckley, whom they compelled to march hither with them. Three magiſtrates, with major Vallotton and a party of the 56th regiment, went out to oppoſe the inſurgents, whom they found drawn up at the upper end of John-ſtreet. Major Vallotton endeavoured to perſuade them to diſperſe, and for that purpoſe advanced a few paces before his party: but he was immediately knocked down by the mob, and lieutenant Buckley, breaking from them at the ſame moment, they fired upon him. A ſhort but deſperate conflict enſued, but the mob ſoon fled in different directions, leaving nine men dead and many wounded, ſome of whom died ſoon after. Two perſons who came as ſpectators to obſerve the event were killed, and three or four were wounded. Major Vallotton is alſo dead of his wounds.

17th. Lieutenant Broughton, of his majeſty's brig Chatham, arrived at the admiralty with letters from captain Vancouver, who was ſent out to take poſſeſſion of Nootka Sound in conſequence of the late treaty. Theſe letters announce the refuſal of the Spaniſh governor to relinquiſh poſſeſſion: and that on the miſrepreſentation of the ſaid treaty, by the captain of an American ſhip recently arrived at Nootka, the governor would only cede to captain Vancouver one ſingle hut, with four old cannon placed about it. Theſe the captain did not think it right to accept; and ſent lieutenant Broughton to England, by the

the way of Cadiz, for instructions from our government.

Plymouth. This morning, between seven and eight o'clock, the tide flowed into the harbour here in a very extraordinary and rapid manner; it rose two feet perpendicular in nine minutes, and as rapidly receded again; and this it did three times in the space of less than an hour. It ran so very swift into the Pool, that it was impossible for a fast-rowing boat to make head against it: one vessel lost her bowsprit, by being run foul of by another that became perfectly unmanageable, owing to the rapidity of the current. Nothing of the kind has been observed here since the great earthquake at Lisbon, when the tide flowed and ebbed nearly in the same extraordinary manner.

18th. On the 14th instant, M. Marat was assassinated at Paris by a young woman, named Charlotte Cordè.

Some gypsies, either by accident or design, yesterday set fire to the furze on Black-heath, which in consequence of the late dry weather burnt with such fury that the whole heath was enveloped in smoke; but some engines arriving, it was extinguished without doing any material damage.

Cambridge. Mr. John Cook, a baker in the Petty-curry, was tried and convicted at the quarter sessions here, for uttering seditious words against the king and government. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for three months in the town gaol, to pay a fine of 40 shillings, and find security for six years, himself in 100*l.* and two sureties in 50*l.* each.

Rutland. A black female fawn was shot in Normanton-park, in this county. The chyle or blood which issued from the wound and from the throat when cut, was white, and had in all respects the appearance of milk. On opening the body a quantity of the same milky matter was found to have drained in from the wound, and the veins about the heart were filled with it. The fawn was in good condition, and its flesh looked and smelt well. 19th.

Newcastle. Alexander White was tried at the quarter sessions for writing and uttering a seditious libel. It appeared that he had reluctantly lent the manuscript to a friend who wished to read it, and that the paper had been snatched out of that friend's hand. The jury therefore gave their verdict—*not guilty of publishing.* The recorder objected to this sentence, and the jury gave a second verdict—*not guilty.*

A cause of considerable importance to persons possessed of estates in any of his majesty's forests, was determined at Winchester assizes. It was brought by Mr. Barfoot, of Midlington-place, in that county, against Mr. Bryant, of Haslemere, and other king's officers, for a trespass on the premises of Mr. Barfoot, in the forest of Bere, by destroying the fences, and laying the inclosures open, under an idea that the farm had been clandestinely taken out of the forest. The trial lasted nine hours, when the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff. This decision confirms the grand statute of limitation against the crown: peaceable possession of an estate for 60 years is a good title against the king, 22d.

king, independant of all title deeds, or claims whatsoever.

Lately died at Maryport, in Cumberland, Mr. John Milliken, at the great age of 112 years, having been born in the parish of Bridekirk in July 1681.

A singular phænomenon is said to have taken place in the river de la Plata, in South America, in April last. The waters of the river were forced, by a most impetuous storm of wind, to the distance of ten leagues, so that the neighbouring plains were entirely inundated, and the bed of the river left dry. Ships which had been sunk in the river for upwards of thirty years, were uncovered; and, among others, an English vessel, which was cast away in the year 1762. Several persons repaired to the bed of the river, on which they could walk without wetting their feet, and returned loaded with silver and other riches, which had long been buried under the water. This phænomenon, which may be ranked among the grand revolutions of Nature, continued three days; at the end of which the wind ceased, and the water returned with great violence to its natural bed.

27th. *Dublin.* On the motion of lord Dillon this day in the house of lords, Dr. James Reynolds, confined in Kilmainham gaol, under an order of the house, in March last, was ordered to be discharged.

AUGUST.

1st. A vessel has lately been constructed, under the direction of count Theodore Bathiani, upon the river Donau, which by means of a machine contained within it goes against tide without any sail or other external aid.

3d. The great cause of the St. Jago Spanish register ship came on in the high court of admiralty. The judge adjourned the farther hearing to the 4th of September next, as it was impossible to say whether the ship, &c. were an *absolute* or a *salvage* capture until it was known what treaties were subsisting on the subject between England and Spain. He advised an amicable sale of the perishable articles, and that the produce should be vested in the bank. Sir William Scott supported the claim of the re-captors, and doctor Laurence defended the cause of the original proprietors.

Manchester. Benjamin Booth was found guilty at the quarter sessions of uttering seditious words, and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment.

Warwick. Richard Pert and William Belcher, booksellers at Birmingham, were found guilty of selling the Address to the Addressers; and the latter for selling also the second part of the Rights of Man, and the Jockey Club. In pity to their circumstances, and in consequence of their contrition, they were sentenced to only three months imprisonment, and to give security for their good behaviour for two years; themselves in 100 l. each, and two sureties in 50 l. each.

5th. Robert Walpole Chamberlaine, convicted at the last Croydon assizes for robbing and inhumanly treating Mr. and Mrs. Bellamy on the Epsom road, in June 1791, was executed on Kennington common. He was only 23 years of age, and at the decease of his

mother, only a few years before, he inherited a fortune of ten thousand pounds, which he dissipated in three years.

6th. *Bridgewater.* Messrs. Robinsons, booksellers in Paternoster-row, were tried at the assizes by a special jury, for selling the second part of Paine's Rights of Man. The defendants were found guilty.

Nottingham. Mr. Daniel Holt, printer of the Newark Herald, was tried at the assizes here, and found guilty of selling Paine's *Address to the Addressers*, and of printing and re-publishing *An Address to the Manufacturers, &c. of unrepresented Towns, on a Parliamentary Reform.*

7th. *Edinburgh.* The election of one of the sixteen peers came on at Holyrood-house, when the earl of Lauderdale reprobated the late resolutions in the house of peers, allowing British peers created since the union to vote at elections. He insisted that it was a notorious infringement of their privileges, and it was the duty of the lord registers deputies to refuse their votes. His lordship then gave in a protest against the measure which he desired to have entered on the journals.

The earl of Morton replied to the earl of Lauderdale, and said he should undoubtedly exercise his right.

Before the roll was called the earl of Lauderdale demanded of Mr. Home whether he intended to take the votes of British peers? being answered in the affirmative he said he would make the conduct of the deputies of the lord register the subject of enquiry in another place.

The election then came on, and lord Somerville was elected by a large majority.

A tremendous thunder storm did very considerable damage at Margate, Harwich, Brighton, Thornton in Leicestershire, Newport, Portsmouth, and Wickham. At Thornton the hail-stones, or rather pieces of ice, measured from 4½ to 6½ inches in circumference; and at Margate the wind blew at the same time a perfect hurricane.

11th. *Burton on the water, Gloucestershire.* A woman who has lately quitted the profession of a methodist for that of a quaker, preached to a concourse of people, supposed to be 1000 in number, who became so clamorous and disorderly as to give just cause of alarm to the neighbourhood.

15th. The Sierra Leone company's ship Amy arrived at Spithead with a cargo of African produce, consisting chiefly of camwood, ivory, gum, pepper, hides, and bees-wax. She also brings some passengers. The dispatches, which are dated the 14th of June, mention, that the rains had set in several weeks before, but that the colony continued to be in very good health. The colonists were all put in possession of small lots of land, and a new town, on a more regular and extended scale, was begun to be built. Between 200 and 300 Nova Scotians were usually at work for the company, and a large party of natives continued to work at the plantation begun by the company on the opposite side of the river, where the soil proves extremely fruitful, and the experiments in sugar, cotton, &c. appeared to be very promising. The native chiefs and people continued to be extremely friendly,

friendly, and some of them, on the occasion of some vessels appearing which were mistaken for French privateers, came down to offer their assistance in protecting the colony. The company's schools are regularly attended by 360 children, among whom there are some children of the natives.

21st. Advice was received at the India-house of the loss of the honourable company's ship Winterton, George Dundas, commander, off the island of Madagascar, on the 20th of August 1792. The account was brought to St. Helena the 15th of June, by an American brig from the Isle of France, and transmitted to England by captain Hartwell, of his majesty's ship Thetis.

The ship struck at two o'clock in the morning, August 20, 1792. At four o'clock, having hove the guns and part of the cargo overboard, they cut away her masts. At day-light, being but seven miles from the main land, the yawl was sent on shore for assistance. In the night of the 20th, the long boat, cutter, and jolly-boat, were stove to pieces by the immense sea, which repeatedly broke over the ship. On the 21st, the sea continuing, and perceiving the yawl returning from the shore, captain Dundas hoisted signals, ordering her not to come alongside, which she obeyed, and again returned to the shore. On the 22d, at six o'clock in the morning, captain Dundas perceiving the ship to be separating, fixed the ladies on the top of the poop, with provisions, &c.; the rest of the passengers and people took their stations in the mizen-chains, &c. when he ordered the poop to be cut away; this saved their lives. At nine o'clock the ship divided into four pieces, when captain Dundas, Mr. Chalmers, &c. were drowned. Mr. Dale, Mr. de Souza, and the fourth mate, with four seamen, went into the yawl to Defel, from thence to Mozambique, where they procured a vessel to fetch the ladies, &c. from Madagascar to the Isle of France.

Passengers lost in the Winterton. —Captain Dundas, Mr. Chalmers, first mate; Miss M'Gowan, Miss Cullen, Miss Robinson, and 40 men.

Passengers saved.—Mrs. Cullen, Miss Mary Cullen, Miss Lyne, Miss Bailey, Miss Bristow, Mrs. Bellas, Mr. Dunn, purser; Mr. Spens, second mate; Mr. Dale, third mate; Miss M. Bristow; the fifth and sixth mates, and the midshipmen; lieut. Brownrig, Mr. Hamilton, writer, Bengal; Mr. Hamilton, ditto, Madras; Mr. Gowan, cadet; Mr. Gordon, ditto; Mr. Lyn, ditto; hon. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Collier, F. M. Mr. Thompson, Mr. Silk, Dr. Lilly.

F. J. HARTWELL.

By a list received at the East India-house from Mr. John Dale, third mate of the Winterton, in a letter from Mozambique, dated 20th February 1793, the following have been saved from the wreck: Ship's company 87, king's troops 99, company's recruits 3, soldiers wives 7, passengers 32.—Total 228.

Edinburgh. Mr. Thomas Muir, junior, of Huntershill 26th. was tried and found guilty of sedition in the high court of justiciary. For the particulars of the trial see the Appendix.

The king has been pleased, by letters patent under the 31st. great seal, to constitute a board for the encouragement of agriculture and internal improvement, and to

appoint the following noblemen and Gentlemen to be members thereof, viz.

Sir John Sinclair, bart. president. John, archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being. Alexander, lord Loughborough, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and the lord high chancellor of Great Britain for the time being. William, archbishop of York, and the archbishop of York for the time being. Charles, earl Camden, lord president of the council, and the lord president of the council for the time being. Granville Leveson, marquis of Stafford, lord keeper of the privy seal, and the lord keeper of the privy seal for the time being. The right hon. William Pitt, esq. first commissioner of the treasury, and the first commissioner of the treasury for the time being, in the vacancy of the office of lord high treasurer, and the lord high treasurer for the time being. John, earl of Chatham, first commissioner of the admiralty, and the first commissioner of the admiralty for the time being, in the vacancy of the office of lord high admiral, and the lord high admiral for the time being. Beilby, bishop of London, and Shute, bishop of Durham, and the bishops of London and Durham for the time being. William Wyndham, baron Grenville, and the right hon. Henry Dundas, esq. principal secretaries of state, and the two principal secretaries of state for the time being. Charles, duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance, and the master general of the ordnance for the time being. The right hon. Henry Addington, esq. speaker of the house of commons, and the speaker of the house of commons for the time being. Sir Joseph Banks, bart. president of the royal society, and the president of the royal society for the time being. John Robinson, esq. surveyor general of his majesty's woods and forests, and the surveyor general for the time being. John Fordyce, esq. surveyor of the crown lands, and the surveyor for the time being. Augustus Henry, duke of Grafton. Francis, duke of Bedford. Henry, duke of Buccleugh. Thomas, marquis of Bath. George, earl of Winchelsea. James, earl of Hopetoun. William, earl Fitzwilliam. George Wyndham, earl of Egremont. James, earl of Lonsdale. Francis, earl of Moira. John Joshua, earl of Carysfort. Richard, bishop of Landaff. Martin Bladen, lord Hawke. Edward, lord Clive. John Baker, lord Sheffield. The right hon. William Wyndham, esq. Hon. Charles Marsham. Sir Charles Morgan, bart. William Pultney, esq. Thomas William Coke, esq. Thomas Powys, esq. Henry Duncombe esq. Edward Loveden Loveden, esq. John Southey Somerville, esq. Robert Barclay, esq. Robert Smith, esq. George Sumner, esq. John Conyers, esq. Christopher Willoughby, esq. And William Geary, esq.—Sir John Call, Bart. to be treasurer; and Arthur Young, esq. to be secretary to the said board.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. A neat marble monument has lately been erected in Cripplegate-church to the memory of the sublime poet, John Milton. It consists of a fine bust of the poet by Bacon, with the following inscription on a plain tablet beneath, "John Milton, author of Paradise "Lost, born December 1608, died "March

March 1674. His father, John "Milton, died March 1646. They "were both interred in this "church."

2d. The board of agriculture has directed a survey to be taken of the several counties in Great Britain, in order to ascertain the state of husbandry throughout the country.

3d. A native of Otaheite, lately brought over by capt. Bligh in the Providence, died at his lodgings in Deptford. He was subject to pulmonary affections, had been frequently ill during the voyage, and twice recovered from imminent death, by the unremitting attentions of his friends, who were ever ready to contribute whatever had a tendency to promote his health and comfort, particularly his patron captain Bligh.—This unfortunate young man was seized shortly after his arrival with intestine complaints, and became much better, when a violent recurrence of his symptoms on Friday morning tended to accelerate his dissolution: his native suavity of manners had endeared him to all who knew him, and his death is sincerely lamented by every individual engaged in the expedition.

5th. The Shark sloop of war arrived at Portsmouth with advice of a very desperate action having taken place on the coast of America, near Sandy Hook, on the 1st of August, between the Boston frigate, of 32 guns and 220 men, and the Ambuscade, a French frigate of 38 guns and 300 men. The circumstances of the action are highly honourable to the memory of captain Courtenay, who unfortunately fell in it.

The Boston was sent out upon the Newfoundland station and it was only by the many reports which arrived of captures made by the Ambuscade, that she was induced to depart from it, for the purpose of contending with the French frigate. She reached Sandy Hook, on the 1st of August, and being mistaken by the Ambuscade for one of the four French frigates, cruising in that neighbourhood, had a boat's crew from the enemy sent to her assistance, the seizure of which explained her purpose, and brought the Ambuscade out of harbour.

The action then commenced, and was gallantly sustained on both sides for upward of two hours, during which captain Courtenay, the first lieutenant, and the lieutenant of marines, were killed. The number of men killed and wounded has been variously stated.

The two frigates parted with mutual consent. The Ambuscade as well as the Boston was much shattered, and lost, it is supposed, a proportionate number of men.

Fairfield Head, Staffordshire. 6th. William Billings died, aged 114. He was born under a hedge, not one hundred yards from the place where he died, in the year 1679. He had never experienced a fit of illness; and was the last remaining soldier who had served under the great duke of Marlborough.

Norfolk. On the 5th instant 9th. a circular spot of ground, about twenty yards in circumference, in the Parish of Felmingham, suddenly sunk to the depth of five feet; and on Saturday following another chasm, nine feet in depth, and of about the same extent and form as the afore-mentioned, was discovered in a field in the possession of Mr. Ham, in the same pa-

rish. It is supposed they both sunk at the same time, although the latter was not observed till the day above stated. The earth is much cracked round the spots, but the parts settled are perfectly whole.

Sheffield. The first stone of a general infirmary was laid by R. Swallow, esq. deputed by Mrs. Fell, who has given 1,000l. to the charity.

Dr. Thomas, the late bishop of Rochester, has bequeathed 1,000l. three per cents. to Christ-church, Oxford, and 1,000l. to Queen's-college, the interest to be distributed in exhibitions to under-graduate members of these societies.

17th. *Perth.* The trial of the rev. T. F. Palmer, an Unitarian minister of Dundee, for writing and publishing a seditious address from a society, stiling themselves *The Friends of Liberty*, came on before the circuit court of justiciary. The jury found the pannel, *guilty*; and he was accordingly sentenced to banishment for 7 years from Great Britain. The judges were lord Eskgrove and lord Abercrombie.

21st. About ten o'clock in the forenoon a young man, named Campbell, about 18 years of age, clerk to Messrs. Vere, Lucadou, and co. bankers in Lombard-street, presented a bill to a Mr. Mallet, No. 13, Hatton-garden, for payment. The clerk, on going into the passage, was desired to walk backward into the counting-house for payment, which he did; and on his presenting the bill for payment, a green cloth was put over his head by a tall man and another, and he was thrown down on the floor, and his pocket-book (containing bills to a considerable amount) was forcibly taken from him, after which he was dragged into a kitchen, where they bound him hand and foot, and fastened him to the iron grating of a copper, in which situation he continued till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when a person, passing the house, was struck by piercing cries: he at first was not aware from whence they came, but at length discovered that they proceeded from within that house, which apparently, from the windows being shut, was uninhabited. The lamentations of one in distress still continued, and determined the man to get into the house; for this purpose he knocked at the door, but as no one answered, he got assistance, and with several others forced his way into the house through the parlour window. Directed by the sound, those who enter the house descended into a back kitchen, where they found the young man stretched on the floor, and his arms, body, and legs fastened by strong iron chains to a plank, which was again fastened to the iron grating of a copper; there was placed within his reach a large mug of water, a bottle of brandy, some porter, and a quantity of ham and bread; a rug and a green baize also lay by his side.

At the time he was first seized, he was told, that if he cried out he would be murdered, and it was not until some time after the robbers had left him that he dared venture to call out; he then made all the noise he could, but it was several hours before he was heard—from his continued exertion, his confined state, and the terrors of his mind, he was, when released, very much exhausted.

A similar robbery was perpetrated some years back in Water-lane, Black-

Black-friars, for which two men were executed.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when judgment of death was paſſed upon ten convicts; one was ſentenced to be tranſported for 14 years, 19 for ſeven years, 12 to be impriſoned in Newgate, 11 in Clerkenwell Bridewell, two to be publicly and two privately whipped, and 79 were diſcharged by proclamation.

The ſentences intended to be paſſed upon 20 of the priſoners convicted this ſeſſion of felonies were reſpited, on condition of their entering and continuing to ſerve his majeſty.

Eleven capital convicts of former ſeſſions were pardoned on condition of their being tranſported to New South Wales for the term of their natural lives; and three on condition of being impriſoned in Clerkenwell Bridewell.

25th. *Midhurſt.* About one o'clock this morning a fire broke out at Cowdray, the ſeat of lord viſcount Montague, by which that ancient and noble edifice, with its furniture, and very fine collection of paintings, was entirely deſtroyed; the flames raging with ſuch violence, that it was not poſſible to ſave any thing. Among the paintings were ſeveral fine hiſtorical pieces by Hans Holben, repreſenting proceſſions in London, in the reign of Henry the VIII. in which ſir Anthony Brown, an anceſtor of the family, made a conſpicuous figure in a party-coloured garment, being the one worn by him when he ſtood proxy for his maſter in the marriage of Ann of Cleves. Theſe paintings had been preſerved during Cromwell's wars, by being covered over with white waſh.

28th. Mr. Alderman Le Meſurier was choſen lord mayor for the year enſuing, being next in rotation to Mr. Alderman Watſon, abroad in the ſervice of his country.

Saliſbury. Immediately after four o'clock this afternoon a conſiderable agitation or concuſſion of the earth was very ſenſibly felt by the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood, many of whom were much alarmed, and ſome even quitted their houſes. The ſhock apparently came from the weſt, where we underſtand that its effects were moſt violent. A chimney was thrown down at Swallowcliffe; and the caſement of a window was thrown out at the Lord's Arms at Fovent. At Hinton alſo its effects were conſiderable, as the bells in moſt of the houſes were agitated. The afternoon was remarkably ſerene, ſcarcely any air was ſtirring, and the wind nearly eaſt.

30th. The college of phyſicians, in Warwick-lane, elected ſir George Baker, preſident, and doctors Aſhe, Smyth, Moore, and Hunter, cenſors for the enſuing year.

John Pigott, commonly called Louſe Pigott, and William Hudſon, dined at the London Coffee-houſe, Ludgate-hill. Shortly after their dinner, they became vociferous in giving toaſts to each other, and in ſo loud a manner, as to be taken notice of by every gentleman in the coffee-room.

Pigott gave "The French Republic" aloud; which was immediately reſented by a gentleman preſent, who gave "The King," which was drank with three by every perſon preſent. Mr. Leech, the

master of the coffee-house, had previously taken notice of their improper conduct, and soon after sent for three constables from the Poultry Compter, who took the above persons into custody. They were next day examined before Mr. Alderman Anderson, at Guildhall, who remanded them to appear again on the following day before him. Mr. Leech, the master of the coffee-house; Mr. Newman, of Newgate-street; and a Mr. Vaughan, of Bristol, were examined, and it was proved in evidence, that they had given the following toasts, and spoken in a very disaffected manner:

"The system of Equality."

"May the Republic of France be triumphant over all Europe!"

The lord mayor was talked of in the most opprobrious terms for his public conduct, and in a manner which, as it was totally untrue, we shall not repeat.

The king was spoken of in a manner equally improper and seditious; and so was the prince of Hesse Cassel, whom they called a swine-dealer.

The ministry were denominated robbers and highwaymen.

The constable who accompanied them in the coach to the Compter deposed, that on their way thither they called from the coach windows to the people—"The French Republic, and Liberty while you live!"

On the same day, Lawrence Jones was apprehended by Jealous and Kennedy in Bridge-street, Westminster, on suspicion of being concerned in the robbery of Mr. Campbell, collecting clerk to Messrs. Vere and co. bankers.

The apprehension of Jones was a mere accident:—The above officers were attending in Palace-yard, while the sheriffs of London for the year ensuing were sworn in, where they saw Jones, and took him into custody. Previous to their taking him to gaol they took him into the King's Arms tavern, when, on searching him, they found a great quantity of notes and bills to a considerable amount, together with a direction to a house in Peckham Rye-lane, to which place they went, and found a great quantity of papers, among which was a letter to Mr. Pitt, the whole of which were brought up to Bow-street.—The prisoner has served as lieutenant in the queen's rangers in America, but sold out some time back; subsequent to this, he has been confined in Newgate for debt.

OCTOBER.

2d. Came on to be heard, at the Admiralty-court, Doctor's Commons, the farther pleadings respecting the St. Jago prize cause; when they were ordered to be postponed till the next term.

4th. *Bristol.* The trustees of the bridge here, having completed the new gates erected instead of those which had been burnt, the toll was to commence on the night of the 30th of September; but on the preceding night the mob assembled, tore down the gates and burnt them. The mayor proceeded to the bridge with the constables, and a party of the Herefordshire militia; the riot act was read there about one o'clock on the morning of the 30th, after which the soldiers fired, and one man was killed, a few wounded,

wounded, and ten taken priſoners, who have ſince been diſcharged.

The ſame evening, about eight o'clock, the mob aſſembled again on the bridge to the number of four or five thouſand, and began deſtroying the toll-houſes, and burning every thing they found in them. The Herefordſhire militia were again called out, and three companies formed oppoſite the council-houſe, theſe were led down to the bridge by Mr. Noble, alderman of the city, accompanied by their own officers. There they were ordered by the magiſtrates to fire, which they did in three directions; by which the back, the bridge, and High-ſtreet were ſwept, and the killed and wounded are ſuppoſed to be about fifty; twenty-four of them were carried to the infirmary.

The next day (Tueſday, 1ſt of October) the mob continued very turbulent, and at night broke all the windows of the guild-hall and council-houſe; and many papers were found in which vengeance was denounced againſt ſuch of the magiſtrates and the military as had been moſt active in trying to ſuppreſs the riots. The bodies of ſeveral of the rioters who had been ſhot on Tueſday morning, when the military fired, were carried about the ſtreets on hand-barrows for ſome hours in the courſe of the day.

The inhabitants at laſt agreed to raiſe by other means the ſum wanting to complete the bridge; and on the 3d of October notice was given that the toll would not be required. This new regulation, and the arrival of one party of horſe and two of foot reſtored tranquillity. The magiſtrates ſuffered the breaking of the windows of the guild-hall and council-houſe to paſs unnoticed.

Upon enquiry it appears that 11 perſons were killed, and 45 wounded, in the affray on the 30th ult.

Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudſon were brought by a *habeas corpus* before the hon. Mr. juſtice Gould and Mr. baron Perryn, at Serjeants-inn, at the requeſt of Mr. Martin, their attorney. The warrant of commitment being deliberately read by Mr. Harriſon, at the requeſt of the judge, Mr. Pigott hoped that Mr. Martin might ſtate to his lordſhip the grounds of their objection to the commitment. Mr. Martin was heard for the priſoners, in a ſpeech which took up near half an hour. His principal aim was directed to the illegality of the commitment; and he truſted, that, as the preciſe words were not ſpecified in the warrant, the gentlemen would be diſcharged. The ſolicitor-general made a ſhort reply; when judge Gould ſtated at ſome length the act of parliament which guided him in this buſineſs. He did not ſee that there was any illegal ſtep in the commitment, and quoted ſeveral authorities to confirm it. Baron Perryn ſtated that he knew nothing of the circumſtance till that moment, but entirely agreed in opinion with his brother Gould. Mr. Pigott and Dr. Hudſon both addreſſed the judge, who gave them the greateſt attention. Dr. Hudſon alſo ſtated, that he had no reaſon to complain of alderman Anderſon's conduct; on the contrary, he believed he had done no more than his duty. Mr. Martin, the attorney, begged to be heard again. He ſaid he differed from his client in his ſentiments with 5th.

with regard to the alderman's conduct; and was proceeding with some invective, when he was stopped by the judge. Mr. Pigott: "my lord, the Bill of Rights states that excessive bail shall not be demanded." Judge Gould: "You are premature. You do not know what bail I may demand. I shall be satisfied with less. Where are your bail?" Mr. Martin: "My lord, from the objections I have made, I did not think of bringing any; my clients would much sooner suffer the greatest severity the law can inflict, than put in such heavy bail, so contrary to *Magna Charta*." Mr. White, of the Treasury, said he should be contented with bail of 250l. for each of them; and very liberally observed, that they should not be detained a moment by him after they informed him of the respectability of the bail.—Judge Gould: "You must give 24 hours notice to the solicitor of the Treasury, that he may enquire as to the respectability of the bail; but, as you have no bail to put in, I must do my duty, and remand you to prison."

Mr. Mechain, who is at present in Spain, measuring an arc of the meridian, has informed M. De la Lande, that, on the 10th of January last, he discovered a new comet in the constellation of the dragon, which is visible to the naked eye. At seven o'clock, P.M. the comet had 260. 4. right ascension, and 65. 20. declination. The day after, it was 34 degrees advanced on his course toward cassiopeia and the bull. This is our eighty-first comet, and the ninth discovered by Mr. Mechain.

7th. About eight o'clock in the evening, miss Caroline Herschal discovered a comet in the constellation of the serpent; but the heavens were clouded over so suddenly, that its place could not be taken. On Tuesday evening, at seven o'clock, Dr. Herschel ascertained its situation, and found that it preceded the first (δ) Ophiuchi, 6 minutes 34 seconds in time, and was 1 degree 25 minutes more north than that star.

16th. By a recent regulation, all visitors to the state-side of Newgate, are obliged to write their name, place of abode, and to whom they come, in a book, previous to their admission.

20th. Advice was received from Paris of the death of the queen of France.

This unfortunate princess suffered under the axe of the guillotine on Wednesday the 16th inst. after having been condemned on the preceding day, by the remnant of the conventionists.

The murther took place at half past eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The whole armed force in Paris was on foot, from the Palace of Justice (as it is called) to the Place de la Revolution. The streets were lined by two very close rows of armed ruffians. As soon as the queen left the Conciergerie, to ascend the scaffold, the hired mob which was assembled in the courts and the streets, cried out *brava*, in the midst of plaudits. She had on a white loose dress, and her hands were tied behind her back. She looked firmly round her on all sides. She was accompanied by the *ci-devant* curate of St. Landry, a constitutional priest; and on the scaffold preserved her natural dignity of mind.

The sufferings of the queen had been much increased while she was in the Conciergerie, by the humidity of the cell in which she

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was confined. Her feet were so swollen in consequence, that she could not move without assistance.

So extreme was her misery, while in that prison, that it excited pity even in the light-horsemen to whose custody she was committed. One of them, deeply impressed with a sense of her woes, waited on the council of the commune, requesting that relief might be granted to that wretched queen, intimating at the same time, that the council would confer a great favour upon him by exempting him from being any farther a witness to such scenes of horror. This application was received with manifest tokens of disapprobation. Two commissioners were however ordered to repair to the cell of the widow Capet, to ask what was her ailment. The queen, with dignified fortitude, replied, that she ailed nothing! The commissioners instantly turned from her, when another light-horseman stopped them in their passage, and with much humanity said to the commissioners, "Pray, only see how she suffers! shew her some little sympathy!" This intercession was instantly rejected with a blunt "*Allez donc! allez donc!*" (Begone, begone!) The queen obtained no relief; and her advocate has since been arrested as a person suspected of anticivism and counter-revolutionary principles.

24th. Thomas Briellat, a pump-maker in Hackney-road, was apprehended by the high constable of the Tower division, immediately after the breaking up of a meeting of one of the reform societies at his house, and examined before the justices Floud, Colquhoun, Davies, and Staples, upon a charge of uttering many seditious and inflammatory expressions, which being fully proved he was committed to Newgate for trial.

Orders were issued from the lord chamberlain's office for the court going into morning, on Sunday the 27th instant, for the late queen of France.

Birmingham. In consequence of the assessment of a rate to raise money for indemnifying the sufferers in the riots of 1791, a riot arose here yesterday. The military were obliged to be called in to the aid of the civil power, and the riot act was read. Some of the rioters were apprehended and committed to prison; and the mob attempting to rescue them, were fired at from the windows. Two persons dangerously wounded, and two more slightly, were carried to the hospital, and all those who were apprehended have been discharged, except two who are ordered to find bail. This day tranquillity is perfectly restored, and the constables are proceeding quietly in collecting the rate.

Advice was received at the Admiralty from capt. James Saumarez, of his majesty's ship Crescent, of his having taken, on the 20th instant, off Barfleur, the French frigate La Reunion of 36 guns and 320 men. The La Reunion had 120 men killed and wounded; the Crescent had not one man either killed or wounded. 25th.

The last stone was laid and the scaffolding removed from the tower erected in Heathfield-park, by the present lord Heathfield, in honour of his predecessor the late lord. 26th.

It was begun on the 2d of March 1792, is built of stone, and from the bottom is of an octagonal shape to the height of about 15 feet; whence it

it riſes, in a circular form, to the top of the battlement, which is 55 feet from the ground. It is 22 feet in diameter, and contains a circular ſtaircaſe, and three apartments, which are to be fitted up in a gothic ſtyle, and ornamented with views of Gibraltar, and the operations of the ſiege.

The building is ſimple; but ſo admirably conſtructed as to unite lightneſs with ſolidity; and every precaution has been uſed to preſerve it from decay; the proportions are juſt, and the effect of the whole agreeable to the eye.

Over the door, on the outſide of the tower, is a tablet, with this inſcription, "*Calpes defenſori*," the letters of which are to be formed of the metal of the guns from the Spaniſh floating batteries, and let into the ſtone.

27th. Colonel Roſs, lately arrived from India, has brought with him a new-invented gun-carriage, the peculiar excellence of which is, that it raiſes the piece above the parapet of a fort or battery over which it is fired, and is immediately after brought under cover by the recoil. This carriage is ſuppoſed to be one of the greateſt improvements in the ſciences of artillery and fortification ever yet made.

His majeſty has given orders for apartments to be repaired, and a room to be built, in Engine-court, St. James's, for the purpoſe of accommodating the officers of the guards on duty. It has been the cuſtom, for a ſeries of years, for the colonel of the guard for the day to give a dinner, at ſome one of the coffee-houſes in St. James's ſtreet, to the officers on guard with him; at the ſame time permitting them to invite one or two gueſts. The conſequence has been, that the dinner has generally coſt the colonel of the day from 15 to 25 l. This treat, which has been ſanctioned by cuſtom to the prejudice of many officers who have arrived to that degree of rank, has proved injurious to the fortunes of many gentlemen. His majeſty, to remove this burthen, has been pleaſed to give orders that a daily table, of nine covers in the firſt courſe, and nine in the ſecond, with a deſert, wines, &c. ſhould be provided, for which his majeſty is to allow 7,000 l. a year out of his privy purſe.

28th. Letters received from St. Chriſtopher's bring advice of a violent ſtorm having happened there about the middle of Auguſt. The ſteeple and belfry of the church, in Middle Iſland, are blown down, 38 fine Barbadoes cabbage-trees on the eſtate of Daniel Mathew, eſq. are totally deſtroyed, and the ſhipping, and the iſland in general, are ſaid to have ſuffered nearly as much as in the dreadful hurricane of 1772.

29th. *Leiceſter.* A little domeſtic inſtitution has lately been eſtabliſhed here by John Johnſon, eſq. banker in Bond-ſtreet, which is equally worthy of imitation as of praiſe. That gentleman has erected, on his paternal eſtate, an elegant but modeſt ſtructure in the gothic ſtyle, to be occupied always by his own relations who may ſtand in need of ſuch an aſylum. It is, therefore, not unaptly denominated a *Conſanguinitarium*. The ſeveral occupants are allowed coals, &c. and 5 s. a week during life; and the eſtate is charged with theſe proviſions. The internal management of it is ſo arranged, that, while they are bound to adminiſter to the joint

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comforts of their little peaceful ſociety, they are alſo carefully prevented from interrupting them.

30th. *Sutton in Eſſex.* Miſs Gibſon, late of Hampſtead, was interred here; by her will ſhe bequeaths ten thouſand pounds to her maid ſervant, with the reverſion, and a legacy of one thouſand pounds to the ſaid ſervant's ſon. To the ſaid ſervant's huſband, who was both her coachman and footman, ſhe bequeaths one thouſand pounds, with all her furniture, &c. on condition, however, that he drives her remains with her two favourite coach-horſes to the place of interment; and then bringing them back with the greateſt care and tenderneſs to her late reſidence at Hampſtead, and there allowing them one day of reſt, ſees them ſhot the next day, and buried in a hole dug for the purpoſe: without performing all this his legacy was to be forfeited. The other directions of the will having been punctually performed, the horſes were ſhot on Friday morning at Hampſtead, and the coachman became legally entitled to his legacy.

31ſt. Accounts were received from Swiſſerland, that lord viſcount Montague and Mr. Burdett were unfortunately drowned at one of the falls of the Rhine. His lordſhip's fine houſe, pictures, and furniture, at Midhurſt, in Suſſex, were deſtroyed a few weeks ago by fire.

31ſt. *Falmouth.* The Cheſterfield packet, Captain Jones, on her outward bound paſſage to Halifax, fell in with a ſhip in a gale of wind actually ſinking. Captain Jones having had all his boats waſhed overboard in the ſame gale, had it not in his power to give aſſiſtance in any other way than by running along ſide her, which he did, at the hazard of the lives of his crew, and the loſs of his ſhip; by which means he ſaved the whole of the crew, except one man who was drowned; but ſprung his bowſprit, and did other conſiderable damage to his own ſhip in the attempt. Immediately after the Cheſterfield had got clear of the ſhip, they ſaw her go to the bottom.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. Lawrence Jones was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey for feloniouſly aſſaulting John Blagrave Campbell, in a houſe in Hatton-Garden, putting him in fear, and forceably taking from him a pocket book containing bills, notes, and drafts to a conſiderable amount, the property of Meſſrs. Vere, Lucadou and co. (For the particulars of this aſſault, and of the manner in which Campbell was diſcovered bound in a back kitchen of the houſe to which he went for payment of a bill, ſee our Chronicle for September.)

2d. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey ended. Seven priſoners received ſentence of death; one of tranſportation for fourteen years; twenty-ſeven for ſeven years; five to be impriſoned in Newgate; ten in Clerkenwell Bridewell; four to be publickly whipped; five fined one ſhilling each; two had judgment reſpited, and forty-one were diſcharged by proclamation.

5th. On Saturday laſt a perſon, appearing as a young man, but ſince found to be a woman of the name of Lyons, went to Mr. Martin, a reſpectable ſtock-broker, and pretending to come from two perſons

perſons who had failed at the ſtock exchange in Auguſt laſt, deſired him to ſell out 16,000 l. 3 per cent. ſcrip for them. Mr. Martin heſitated to do the buſineſs, as the ſuppoſed young man was a ſtranger; and aſked if he knew any perſon in the room; he mentioned Mr. Lyons, a broker, who was juſt come in; on which Mr. M. aſked Mr. Lyons, who ſaid he knew him very well. Mr. M. ſold out 10,000l. of it that day, and received the money, but through ſome miſtake did not meet the young man afterwards.

On Monday morning he called on Mr. Martin, who lives in the neighbourhood of Hackney, for the money; but being informed that the whole was not diſpoſed of, it was agreed, as Monday and Tueſday were holidays, he would pay him the whole together on Wedneſday.

Mr. Martin happening to be at Garraway's on Tueſday, ſold the remainder there; but the perſon who bought it, obſerving that though Meſſrs. Thelluſon's name was indorſed on the back of the receipts, the inſide was left blank, thought it very irregular, and adviſed its being checqued at the bank before he paid the money. When Mr. Martin went thither, the whole was found to be a forgery. [Lyons and his ſiſter (who perſonated the young man) have been ſince apprehended, and committed to different priſons for trial.]

Advices are received from America, that a kind of plague, 7th. called the Yellow Fever, rages at Philadelphia. Theſe advices have been confirmed by official notice, ſigned by governor Clinton. By a private letter there is information that Philadelphia is nearly depopulated. Upward of 5000 of the inhabitants have fled thence to avoid the plague, which raged with ſuch violence ſubſequent to the 27th of laſt September, that upward of 500 perſons died in the courſe of three days. The diſtemper ſeizes the patient with a violent ſhivering fit; the next day the body becomes yellow, and the ſkin is covered with purple ſpots proceeding from putridity; and the third day the unfortunate victim expires. Latterly the inſtant the firſt ſymptoms of the fever appear, the unfortunate patient is turned into the ſtreets, as there is no medicine or relief that can prevent death. Many unfortunate people thus afflicted have actually crawled to the verge of the churchyard, knowing that death was inevitable, and there they have expired. All buſineſs had nearly ceaſed when the laſt accounts left Philadelphia. The theatre was ſhut, and the company which embarked from this country for that city, fortunately did not land, as the plague had broke out before their arrival. They are at preſent at New York.

A letter from Philadelphia, dated September 16, ſays, 'Three of the phyſicians in this city are dead; the reſt have fled, except Dr. Ruſh, who ſtill adminiſters phyſical advice with the moſt humane attention. Philadelphia, ſo lately reſounding with the "buſy hum of men," is now deſolate and dreary. You may paſs in the middle of the day through the ſtreets and meet no perſons, except the poor negroes bearing the corpſes in great numbers to the burying-ground.'

A letter from New York, dated September 19, ſays, 'The poſt-office in Philadelphia will ſhut up tomorrow, as the laſt public office open: and as the banks talk of doing the ſame, it will be impoſſible

to pay further attention to any buſineſs there at preſent. This city, New York, is healthy, and nobody enters without a paſs.'

9th. The London Gazette of this evening contains his majeſty's order in council, that all ſhips, veſſels, goods, and merchandize now arrived, or that ſhall hereafter arrive, in any port of this kingdom, or the iſles of Guernſey, Jerſey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, from any of the ports of the ſtates of Pennſylvania, Delaware, or New Jerſey, in the united ſtates of America, to make their quarantine for fourteen days. It alſo points out the places where ſuch ſhips ſhall perform their quarantine, and thoſe where the goods ſhall be aired.

12th. Mr. Purefoy, who killed col. Roper in a duel four years ago, and then paſſed over to the Continent, was laſt week put under arreſt by general Dundas, at Nieuport, in conſequence of his having challenged him when in the diſcharge of his duty. He was ſent to Oſtend under a ſtrong guard, and from Oſtend to England, where he arrived on Saturday laſt.

A ſolemn dirge was ſung at the Spaniſh ambaſſador's chapel, Manchester-ſquare, for the late queen of France. The whole chapel was covered with black, the windows darkened, and a great number of ſilver lamps on the walls and on the front of the galleries. Before the altar lay the repreſentation of a coffin, on which was a ſuperb pall, covered with eſcutcheons; and on it lay the crown and ſcepter of France; at the ſides of the coffin a dozen large wax tapers. The chapel was filled at an early hour with a great number of the nobility, perſons of faſhion, and many others, who all dropped a tear upon the melancholy occaſion; and the whole did honour to the liberality and taſte of the marquis del Campo, who was in the organ-gallery all the time. The biſhop of Limoges, late almoner of France, and tutor to the late king when dauphin, celebrated the maſs, and walked in proceſſion round the coffin three times, ſprinkling and cenſing it. A numerous choir of vocal performers chanted the ſervice, and afterwards joined in bands of harmonies. After which Mr. Webb played the organ; and the emigrant French clergy ſcattered over the body of the chapel, joined in the mournful office with wonderful and moving effect. There was no ſermon or oration on this occaſion.

On the ſame day a ſimilar ſervice was performed in the catholic chapel at Wincheſter, where a diſcourſe, ſuited to the occaſion, was pronounced by the rev. Mr. Milner. Beſides the French eccleſiaſtics, who officiated in a ſtyle ſuperior to any thing that is ſeen in the chapels in London, the marquis and marchioneſs of Buckingham, the officers of the regiment of that name, and the principal clergy of the neighbourhood aſſiſted.

Paris. M. Bailly the celebrated Mayor of this city, 12th. condemned on the 10th inſtant, was executed by the guillotine on the field of federation, formerly the champ de Mars; as was madame Roland, wife of the ex-miniſter. The exminiſter himſelf has terminated his life by ſuicide in a wood near Camps.

Paris. Manuel and Cuſſi, deputies, and generals Houch- 16th.

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ard and Brunet, were guillotined in the field of Federation.

Gobet, archbiſhop of Paris, his vicar, and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics have abjured their epiſcopal functions and the religion of Chriſt.

Plymouth. A beautiful new king's ſhip, the Cæſar of 64 guns, was launched at this dock-yard.

17th. His majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to grant a penſion of 200l. a year to the widow of the late gallant captain Courtenay, who was lately killed in an action with the Ambuſcade French frigate; and alſo an annuity of 50l. to his two children.

19th. *Deal.* James Lyons, who eſcaped ſome time ſince from the cuſtody of Carpmeal, when under confinement on a charge of forgery, was diſcovered and ſeized, in conſequence of a warrant obtained for the purpoſe, by a waiter at the new inn here. The care he had betrayed the preceding evening to avoid obſervation, and an appearance of diſguiſe in his dreſs (particularly his wearing a very odd kind of wig, which did not fit him) created ſuſpicions in the mind of the waiter: theſe however he kept to himſelf. The next morning while Lyons was ſtill in bed, the waiter ſaw an advertiſement deſcribing Lyons's perſon, and offering 200l. for apprehending him. He immediately obtained a warrant for ſecuring him, which was executed juſt as Lyons was riſing from bed: and Mr. Carpmeal, who was then at Dover in ſearch of Lyons, being ſent for, he was immediately recognized and taken by Carpmeal and the waiter before the mayor, who ordered him into cuſtody till a warrant from the magiſtrates in Bow Street ſhould be obtained. It appeared that Lyons came to Deal on Monday by the Diligence, and ſlept that night at the Royal Exchange; but thinking that too public removed to the New Inn. A brace of piſtols and powder and ball were found in his pockets when he was taken into cuſtody. The waiter and Carpmeal immediately ſet off for London to obtain a proper warrant from the Bow Street magiſtrates.

20th. The court of King's Bench has determined that bakers are not liable to puniſhment as breakers of the ſabbath by baking on a ſunday.

26th. Meſſrs. Robinſon of Paternoſter-row, were brought up to the court of King's Bench, to receive judgment for ſelling Paine's Rights of Man, which they had ſent to a correſpondent in the country, and of which they were convicted at the laſt aſſizes at Bridgwater; when, after an affidavit on the part of the defendants had been read, ſtating their abſolute innocence of any intention to diſſeminate ſuch doctrines as were contained in the ſaid pamphlet, and many inſtances of conduct to evince, on the contrary, their attachment to the conſtitution, the court ordered Mr. John Robinſon to pay a fine of 100l. and Meſſrs. George, George, and James Robinſon, a fine of 50l. each.

27th. Sentence was paſſed in the court of King's Bench on Mr. Daniel Holt, of Newark, for printing and publiſhing Paine's Addreſs to the Addreſſers, and An Addreſs to the tradeſmen, &c. of Newark, namely, a fine of 50l. and two years impriſonment in Newgate for each offence; and afterward to find ſecu-

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rity for his good behaviour, himſelf in 200 l. and two ſureties in 150 l. each.

The ſame day the rev. Mr. Winterbotham, a diſſenting miniſter of Plymouth, who had been tried and convicted before Mr. Baron Perryn and a ſpecial jury, at the laſt aſſizes for the county of Devon, on two indictments, charging him with having preached two ſeditious ſermons at a meeting in Plymouth, on the 5th and 18th of November 1792, was ſentenced for the firſt offence to pay a fine of 100 l. and to be impriſoned two years in Clerkenwell Bridewell, and for the ſecond offence to pay a farther fine of 100 l. and to be impriſoned two years as before, from the expiration of the firſt; and afterward to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years, himſelf in 500l. and two ſureties in 250 l. each.

28th. The ſtables of ſir Peter Burrel, bart. at Langley, were conſumed by fire, occaſioned by a wooden brick to hold the hook for hanging horſes at while cleaning, being fixed too near the chimney of the harneſs room. Six fine coach horſes were burnt to death, and another was rendered uſeleſs. Sir Peter Burrel very narrowly eſcaped being kicked by one of the horſes while in the agonies of death.

30th. A beautiful teſſelated floor was lately diſcovered between Hanwood and Ponteſbury in the county of Salop. It is between 13 and 14 feet ſquare, is compoſed of ſmall teſſels of red brick, whitiſh marble, and brown, black, and grey ſtones; and appears to have belonged to the bathing apartments of a Roman villa.

A collection of ſilver ſhillings of the reigns of Elizabeth and James the Iſt, was lately found at Strathblane, in Sterlingſhire, incloſed in a piece of timber, which had been long uſed as a block to chop wood on, a ſeat, &c. and was at laſt, when cutting up for fire wood, diſcovered to contain this treaſure. It is ſaid that ſeveral gold coins of great value, ſome half crown pieces, and a crucifix were found in the block with the ſhillings.

The yellow fever, which rages with ſuch violence at Philadelphia, has appeared alſo in St. Kitts. The ninth regiment, on duty in that iſland, has loſt by it ſeveral officers.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. Mr. Thomas Muir and the rev. Fyſche Palmer arrived in the river from Leith, on board a revenue cutter. Orders were ſent down for delivering them into the cuſtody of Duncan Campbell, the contractor for the hulks at Woolwich; and they were put on board the hulks. A ſecond order was ſent down to ſeparate them; and they are placed in different hulks at Woolwich; the former in the Prudentia, and the latter in the Staniſlaus. They are in irons among the convicts, and were ordered yeſterday to aſſiſt them in the common labour on the banks of the river.

2d. A fire broke out at Hoare's wharf, Hermitage bridge, which conſumed ſeveral houſes, warehouſes, two large veſſels that lay along ſide the wharf, and ſome ſmall craft in the dock.

5th. Thomas Briellat, a pump maker in Hackney-road, was tried upon an indictment, charging him with wickedly, maliciouſly, and

seditiously speaking and uttering, in the presence of divers persons, the following words: viz. 'A reformation in this country cannot be effected without a revolution.' There were several other counts in the indictment, charging the defendant with having spoken the following seditious words: 'We have no occasion for any king;' 'there never will be any peaceful or good times till all kings are abolished from the face of the earth.' 'I wish there was no king at all, and that the French would land in England with one hundred thousand men to fight against all the government party.' He was found guilty—And this day he was sentenced to be imprisoned one year in Newgate, to pay a fine of 100 l. and find security for his good behaviour for three years, himself in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each.

5th. A fire broke out at Mr. Woodfall's printing office in Paternoster-row, the upper part of which was consumed, and in it the whole impression of the first and second volumes of Mr. Monk's agricultural dictionary, and the manuscript of the third volume.

6th. The coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Slaughter, who on the Saturday before was found murdered in his chambers in Clifford's Inn, and the apartment plundered. The verdict was, wilful murder against a person or persons unknown.

9th. Came on in the court of King's Bench the trial of John Lambert and others, the printer and proprietors of the Morning Chronicle, for a libel. The jury gave a verdict, *guilty of publishing, but with no malicious intent.* But lord Kenyon objecting to this as no verdict, they found a general verdict of *not guilty.*

10th. Sir James Marriot pronounced the following provisional decree:—That the St. Jago shall be restored to his catholic majesty, and the Spanish subjects, the claimants; and that one-eighth of the true value (the expences of the proceedings on both sides being first deducted from the general mass) shall be paid for salvage; provided that within six months it shall be declared by his catholic majesty, by some public act, that ships and cargoes, being the property of British subjects, which have been or shall be re-captured by the ships of war of his catholic majesty, or Spanish privateers, shall be restored to his majesty and to British subjects their proprietors, in like manner; otherwise the said ship and cargo are condemned as good and lawful prize to the captors.

11th. Jones, under sentence of death for the robbery of the banker's clerk last September in a house in Hatton-garden, was, on the 8th instant, found hanged in his knee-strings in the condemned cell. The coroner's verdict was—*felo de se*; and this day his body, extended on a plank at the top of an open cart, with his cloaths on and fettered, was conveyed to the top of Holborn-hill, near Hatton-garden, where it was placed in a deep pit dug for the purpose, and had a stake driven through it agreeable to the sentence against self-murder. The sheriffs, city marshals, and near 500 constables attended.

19th. Mr. John Frost was conducted in a coach by Mr. Kirby, the keeper, from Newgate to the house of Mr. Justice Grose, in Bloomsbury-square, where he, with

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two ſureties, entered into the recognizance required by his judgement for his keeping the peace, after which he was diſcharged. The mob took the horſes from the coach and drew him through ſeveral principal ſtreets.

On the 30th ult. Briſſot and 20th. 20 others, viz. Vergniaud, Genſonné, Duprat, Valazè, Lehardi, Ducos, Boyer-Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Duperret, Laſource, Carra, Beavau, Mainvielle, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze, were tried by the revolutionary tribunal in Paris, and condemned to death as authors or accomplices in a conſpiracy. Valazé ſtabbed himſelf as ſoon as he heard his ſentence. The others were guillotined on the Place de Revolution on the 31ſt.

On the 1ſt inſtant, Barnave, Duport-du-Tertre, and three others were guillotined in the ſame place.

On the 5th, Rabaut de St. Etienne was alſo guillotined.

In the court of King's 23d. Bench, Guildhall, came on a cauſe, Tarlton and co. *verſus* Magenday, being an action upon a caſe, the circumſtances attending which are ſingular and novel. The plaintiffs are reſpectable merchants reſiding at Liverpool; the defendant, a captain of the ſhip Othello, was employed in the ſlave trade. The plaintiffs had fitted out a veſſel, the Banaſtre, and ſent her to the coaſt of Guinea, laden with articles proper to trade with the natives, and to take in return ſlaves to the Weſt Indies. She proceeded to a part of the coaſt called Cameroons, where ſhe found three ſhips, the Othello, the Molloy, and the Chriſtopher, upon the ſame purſuit. The firſt day of her arrival, a canoe, with three natives, came off ſhore to trade with her, which were fired on by the Othello upon their return; and after they had reached the ſhore, one of them was blown to pieces by a cannon ſhot from that ſhip. This ſo terrified the natives, that they never returned to traffic with the Banaſtre, and ſhe was obliged to ſail without diſpoſing of that part of her cargo, which was peculiarly and ſolely adapted to that part of the coaſt. This action was therefore brought to recover a compenſation in damages from the captain by whoſe miſconduct their trade was interrupted, and their conſequent profits prevented. The council on the part of the defendant ſtated, in extenuation, that the three veſſels that had reached that coaſt, previous to the arrival of the Banaſtre, had entered into a written contract with the king of that country, by which the excluſive trade was to be confined to them alone, until their cargoes ſhould be completed; the agreement itſelf gave the European captains a liberty to fire upon ſuch of the natives as ſhould be found violating the terms of it, and even upon the king himſelf, if he ſhould attempt it. It was alſo ſtated, that, previous to any trade being undertaken, there was a duty payable to the king, which was, in the caſe of the Banaſtre, neglected. No evidence, however, having been called on the part of the defendant to ſubſtantiate theſe facts, the jury, with the concurrence, and under the direction of the court, found a verdict for the plaintiffs; the damages to be aſcertained hereafter.

BIRTHS for the Year 1793.

Jan. 4. Ducheſs of Leinſter, a ſon.
11. Lady Rodney, a ſon.
12. Lady Henry Fitzgerald, a ſon.
25. Lady of Edward Coke, eſq. M. P. a ſon and heir.

Feb. 4. Lady of Francis Fownes Luttrell, eſq. a daughter.
16. Counteſs of Harrington, a daughter.
20. Viſcounteſs Stopford, a ſon and heir.

Mar. 2. Counteſs of Albemarle, a ſon and heir.
6. Lady of J. Anſtruther, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
7. Lady William Ruſſel, a ſon.
17. Lady Capel, a ſon and heir.
25. Lady Willoughby de Ereſby, a daughter.

April 1. Marchioneſs of Tweedale, a ſon.
13. Lady Arden, a ſon.
18. Lady Mary Fludyer, a daughter.
19. Her Imperial majeſty, a ſon and heir, named Ferdinand Charles Leopold Joſeph Francis Marcellin.
29. At Liſbon, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Brazil, a princeſs, who was baptized May 6th, by the name of Maria.

May 5. Lady of ſir David Carnegie, bart. a daughter.
6. Lady of ſir Henry Gough Calthorpe, bart. a ſon.
8. Lady Eleanor Dundas, a daughter.
19. Lady of ſir Henry St. John Mildmay, bart. a ſon.
31. At Baſle, in Switzerland, lady Robert Fitzgerald, a ſon.

June 7. Lady of ſir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a ſon.
Lately, viſcounteſs Mountcaſhel, a ſon.
—. Lady of ſir Frederic Eden, bart. a ſon.
—. Counteſs Poulett, a daughter.
—. Lady of ſir George Rumbold, bart. a ſon.
—. Lady of the rev. ſir John Fagg, bart. a daughter.
Lady of ſir Thomas Dyke Ackland, baronet, a ſon.

July 2. Lady of the hon. lieut. col. Fane, a ſon.

Aug. 2. Grand ducheſs of Tuſcany, a ſon.
—. Viſcounteſs Mountſtuart, a daughter.
13. Marchioneſs of Saliſbury, a daughter.
21. Ducheſs of Courland, a prince.
25. Counteſs of Weſtmorland, a daughter.
Lady George Henry Cavendiſh, a ſon.
Lady Auckland, a daughter.

Sept. 8. Lady of George Pocock, eſq. a ſon.
30. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a ſon.
Lady of the lord Chancellor, a ſon.
Lady of ſir William Elliot, bart. a ſon.

Oct. 1. Ducheſs of Montroſe, a daughter.
28. Princeſs

28. Princeſs royal of Denmark, a daughter.
Lady of ſir John Morſhead, bart. a ſon.
Nov. 5. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.
8. Counteſs of Lauderdale, a ſon.
9. Lady of lord Leſlie, a daughter.
15. Ducheſs of Dorſet, a ſon and heir.
28. Lady of ſir H. Harpur, bart. a daughter.
Dec. 1. Marchioneſs of Worceſter, a ſon.
2. Queen of Naples, a princeſs, named Maria Elizabeth.
22. The lady of ſir Stafford Northcote, bart. a ſon.
26. Lady Anne Vernon, a daughter.
—. The counteſs of Guildford, a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1793.

Jan. 3. Right honourable Robert M'Queen, lord juſtice clerk in Scotland, to miſs Elizabeth Ord, daughter of the late lord chief baron Ord.
7. Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Miſs Pamela Seymour, companion to the daughter of the duke of Orleans.
Lately, honourable Hugh Howard, brother to viſcount Wicklow, to Miſs Bligh, couſin to the earl of Darnley.
12. Joſeph Leeſon, eſq. nephew to the earl of Miltown, to Miſs Ryley, daughter of the rev. John Ryley.
16. Major William Charles Madan, ſon of the biſhop of Briſtol, to Miſs Falconer, daughter of the rev. Dr. Falconer of Lichfield.
Feb. 4. Robert Selby, eſq. to Miſs Talbot, ſiſter of the earl of Shrewſbury.
—. Matthew Goſſent, eſq. viſcount of Jerſey, to Miſs Grace Frankland, daughter of the late admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, bart.
Lately, Henry Stewart, eſq. M. P. for Longford, in Ireland, to the hon. Miſs Pakenham, daughter of the late lord Longford.
—. Sir Bourchier Wray, bart. to Miſs A. Oſborne, daughter of the late Thomas Oſborne, eſq. of Monk's Hill, Glouceſterſhire.
21. Hon. capt. Thomas Windſor, to Miſs Bagnall, daughter of John Bagnall, eſq. of Earl Court, Berks.
March 7. Hon. Archibald Stuart, ſon to the earl of Moray, to Miſs Cornelia Pleydell, daughter of Edward Martin Pleydell, eſq. of Milbourn St. Andrews.
31. Charles Greville, eſq. to lady Charlotte Cavendiſh Bentinck.
April 2. Right hon. Henry Dundas, to lady Jane Hope ſiſter of the earl of Hopetoun.
6. Hon. col. St. John, to the hon. Miſs Craven, ſiſter of lord Craven.

16. Earl of Ancram, to lady Henrietta Hobart.

—. Rev. Mr. Hanham, eldeſt ſon of the rev. Sir James Hanham, bart. to Miſs Pike, daughter of the late lieutenant Pike of the royal navy.

22. Sir William Wake, bart. to Miſs Gambier, daughter of the late admiral Gambier.

—. Sir William Young, bart. to Miſs Barbara Talbot.

May 2. Henry Berkeley Portman, eſq. to the hon. Miſs Lucy Dormer, daughter of lord Dormer.

20. Captain Gage, brother to viſcount Gage, to Miſs Milbanke, daughter of J. Milbanke, eſq. of Wimpole-ſtreet.

26. Viſcount Miſſington, ſon of the earl of Portmore, to lady Mary-Elizabeth Bertie, only daughter to the duke of Ancaſter.

28. Charles Long, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Hume.

June 1. Alexander lord Kennedy, ſon of the earl of Caſſilis, to Miſs M. Erſkine, daughter of John Erſkine, eſq. of Dun.

8. Hon. Edmund Butler, ſon of viſcount Mountgarret, to Miſs Fowler, daughter of the archbiſhop of Dublin.

Charles Rawdon, eſq. to Miſs Henrietta Frances Dawſon, niece to lord Cremorne.

—. Arthur Atherley, jun. eſq. to lady Louiſa Kerr, daughter of the marquis of Lothian.

18. Lord Charles Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, to Miſs Aynſley, of Little Barle Tower, Northumberland, whoſe name lord Charles is to take.

—. Lord Inverary, ſon of the earl of Kintore, to Miſs Mary Bannerman.

20. Henry Oxenden, eſq. ſon of Sir Henry Oxenden, bart. to Miſs Mary Graham, daughter of the late colonel Graham.

July 2. Francis Daſhwood, eſq. to lady Anne Maitland, ſiſter to the earl of Lauderdale.

John Wilmot, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Haſlam, daughter of the late colonel Haſlam.

10. Alexander Maclean, eſq. to lady Mary Hope, daughter of the late earl of Hopetoun.

15. Samuel Eſtwick, eſq. ſon of Samuel Eſtwick, eſq. M. P. to the hon. Miſs Hawke.

—. Hon. Fletcher Norton, brother to lord Grantley, to Miſs Caroline Elizabeth Balmain, daughter of the late James Balmain, eſq.

25. Honourable James Caufield Browne, eldeſt ſon of viſcount Kilmaine, to the hon. Miſs Cavendiſh, daughter of the right hon. Sir Henry Cavendiſh, bart.

30. Sir Edward Aſtley, bart. to Mrs. Bullen.

Aug. 5. Francis Burdett, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Robert Burdett, bart. to Miſs Coutts, daughter of Thomas

mas Coutts, esq. banker of London.

6. Captain Sebright, eldest son of Sir John Sebright, bart. to Miss Croftes, daughter of the late Richard Croftes, esq. of Harling, Norfolk.

8. Charles Hope, esq. to lady Charlotte Hope, sister to the earl of Hopetoun.

16. Alexander Brodie, esq M. P. to Miss Wemyss, daughter of the late hon. James Wemyss.

—. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, baronet, to Miss Manners, daughter of lady Louisa Manners.

19. Sir Henry Cosby, to Miss Eliot, daughter of Samuel Eliot, esq. and niece to lady Le Despenser.

22. Hon. Henry Willoughby, son of lord Middleton, to Miss Jane Lawley, daughter of the late Sir Robert Lawley, bart.

29. The earl of Pomfret, to Miss Brown, of Pall-mall.

Sept. 3. Earl of Breadalbane, to Miss Gavin, daughter of the late, David Gavin, esq. of Langton.

—. Hon. Henry Bromley, only son of lord Montfort, to Miss Eliza Watts, of Islington.

16. Sir Robert Lawley, bart. to Miss Maria Denison, daughter of Joseph Denison, esq. banker of London.

Oct. 10. At Petersburgh, his imperial highness the great duke Alexander Paulovitch, to her imperial highness the grand duchess Elizabeth Alexievna.

15. William Chute, esq. M. P. for Hants, to Miss Smith, second daughter of Joshua Smith, esq. M. P. for Devizes.

Hon. Robert Molesworth, son of viscount Molesworth, to the hon. Miss Jones, daughter of viscount Ranelagh.

—. William Hicks, esq. eldest son of Sir Howe Hicks, bart. to Miss Chute, daughter of the late Thomas Lobb Chute, esq. of the Vine, Hants.

21. Rev. John Ackland, vicar of Broad Cliff, near Exeter, to the hon. Miss Catherine Devereux, sister of viscount Hereford.

Lord Mountjoy, to Miss Wallis, daughter of the late Hector Wallis, esq. of Springmount, in Queen's County, Ireland.

29. Henry Ellis Boates, esq. to Miss Jane Kenyon, daughter of Roger Kenyon, of Cefn, in Denbighshire, and niece to lord Kenyon.

31. Rev. Robert Barnard, prebendary of Winchester, to the hon. Miss Verney, daughter of lord Willoughby de Broke.

—. Andrew Barnard, esq. son of the bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, to lady Anne Lindsay, sister of the earl of Balcarras.

Nov. 8. Duke of Manchester, to lady S. Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon.

9. Captain Ricketts, of the royal navy, to lady Elizabeth Lambert.

14. Earl of Oxford, to Miſs Scott, daughter of the rev. Dr. Scott, of Itchen.

16. Charles Mordaunt, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir John Mordaunt, baronet, to Miſs Louiſa Cheſter, daughter of the late Charles Cheſter, eſq.

20. Hon. major Cochran, to lady Georgina Hope, daughter of the earl of Hopetoun.

Dec. 2. Sir John Ord, to Miſs Frere, daughter of John Frere, eſq. of Stratford Place.

—. William Sotherton, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Sarah Shepley Barker, daughter of the late Edmund Barker, eſq. of Potter-Newton.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1793.

Jan. 5. William Manners, eſq. of Hanby Hall, Lincolnſhire, to be a baronet.

8. John Sibthorp, M. D. to be regius profeſſor of botany at Oxford.

15. Rev. Folliott Herbert Walker Cornwall, to be dean of Canterbury.

19. Francis Drake, eſq. to be reſident at Venice.

28. Alexander lord Loughborough, to be lord chancellor.

—. Robert Graham, eſq. to be attorney-general to the prince of Wales.

28. John Anſtruther, eſq. to be ſolicitor-general to his royal highneſs.

29. The prince of Wales, to be colonel in the army (his commiſſion bearing date Nov. 19, 1792) and colonel commandant of the 10th or prince of Wales's own regiment of light dragoons.

—. Earl of Weſtmeath, to be a privy counſellor in Ireland.

Feb. 1. Elizabeth lady Cathcart, to be lady of the bed-chamber to the younger princeſſes.

—. Molyneux lord Shuldham, Sir Hugh Palliſer, bart. and Matthew Barton, eſq. admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white.

—. Mariot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, and William Lloyd, eſqrs. Sir Edward Hughes, K. B, John Evans, and Mark Milbanke, eſqrs. vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

—. Nicholas Vincent, eſq. Sir Edward Vernon, knt. Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Benjamin Marlow, eſqrs. and Sir Alexander Hood, K. B. vice admirals of the white; Sir Chaloner Ogle, knt. and Samuel lord Hood, vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the red.

—. Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot, William Hotham, and Joſeph Peyton, eſqrs. vice-admirals of the blue; John Carter Allen, eſq. Sir Charles Middleton, bart. Sir John Laforey, bart. and John Dalrymple, eſq. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white.

—. Herbert Sawyer, eſq. Sir Richard King, bart. and Jonathan Faulkner, eſq. rear-admirals of the red; Philip Affleck, eſq. Sir John Jervis, K. B. Adam Duncan, Richard Brathwaite, and Phillips Coſby,

by, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

29. Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolseley, and Samuel Granston Goodall, esqrs. hon. Keith Stewart, and William Henry duke of Clarence, rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red.

—. Captains Richard Onslow, Robert Kingsmill, Sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, Sir Hyde Parker, Rowland Cotton, Benjamin Caldwell, and the hon. William Cornwallis, to be rear-admirals of the white.

—. Captains William Allen, John Macbride, George Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dickson, and Alan Gardner, to be rear-admirals of the blue.

—. George Murray and Robert Linzee, esqrs. and Sir James Wallace, knt. to be colonels of marines.

—. Thomas Coxhead, esq. of Epping, to be a knight.

7. Robert Graham, Sylvester Douglas, Thomas Plumer, and William Garrow, esqrs. to be king's council.

—. William Grant, esq. to take precedence next to Mr. Graham, and John Anstruther, esq. next to Mr. Plumer.

—. His highness prince William of Gloucester, to be captain of a company in the first regiment of foot guards.

—. Lord Mulgrave, to be colonel of the 31st regiment of foot.

11. Lord chief baron Eyre, to be chief justice of the common-pleas.

12. Sir Archibald Macdonald, knt. to be a serjeant at law.

13. Sir John Scott, knt. to be attorney-general.

—. John Mitford, esq. to be solicitor-general.

—. Giles Rooke, serjeant at law, to be king's serjeant at law.

—. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Arthur viscount Gosford, and Francis Forward, esq. to be privy counsellors of Ireland.

14. Sir Archibald Macdonald, knt. to be chief baron of the exchequer.

—. Francis Ford, of Embercourt, esq. to be a baronet.

—. John duke of Athol, to be governor in chief and captain-general of the Isle of Man, and lieutenant of the same.

15. Lord chief baron Macdonald, to be a privy counsellor.

27. Edwin Martin Atkins, esq. of Kingston Lille, to be sheriff of Berks, vice Thomas Goodlake, esq. deceased.

28. Sir John Temple, bart. to be consul-general of the eastern states of America.

—, Phineas Bond, esq. to be consul-general of the middle and southern states.

March 1. William duke of Manchester, to be lord lieutenant of Huntingdonshire.

2. Brook Watson, esq. to be commissary-general to the forces abroad.

—. Dr. Thomas Gisborne and Dr. William Heberden, jun. to be physicians extraordinary to the queen.

13. John lord Mountstuart, to be lord-lieutenant of Glamorganshire.

15. John Dryden, esq. of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, knighted.

20. John Henslow, esq. surveyor of the navy, knighted.

April

April 12. Duke of York, to be general in the army.

16. Colonel Sir James Murray, to be adjutant-general of the forces abroad under the duke of York.

May 1, Right hon. Robert Hobart, to be a privy-counſellor.

—. John earl of Chatham, Charles George lord Arden, Samuel lord Hood, hon. John Thomas Townſhend, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, and Charles Small Pybus, eſqrs. to be lords of the admiralty.

—. Hon. Ann Murray, and the hon. Marjery Murray, daughters of the late viſcount Stormont, to rank as the daughters of earls.

—. John Smith Burges, eſq. to be a baronet.

9. William earl of Darlington, to be lord-lieutenant of Durham.

11. Francis Baring, eſq. to be a baronet.

14. Right hon. lieutenant-general Robert Coninghame, to be commander in chief in Ireland.

18. William lord Auckland of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Auckland, of Weſt Auckland, in the county of Durham.

June 21. Earl of Mornington, lord Apſley, viſcounts Belgrave, Bayham, and Stopford, to be privy-counſellors.

—. Viſcount Stopford, to be treaſurer of the houſehold.

22. Right hon. Henry Dundas, lord Grenville, right hon. William Pitt, lord Mornington, viſcount Belgrave, lord Apſley, hon. Edward James Eliot, and hon. Robert Banks Jenkinſon, to be commiſſioners for the affairs of India.

—. Right hon. William Pitt, lord Mornington, lord Bayham, Richard Hopkins, eſq. and hon. John Thomas Townſhend, to be lords of the treaſury.

28. Captain Edward Pellew, knighted.

29. Earl of Hertford, to be marquis of Hertford and earl of Yarmouth.

—. Lord Porcheſter, to be earl of Carnarvon.

—. George Poyntz Ricketts, eſq. to be governor of Tobago.

July 5. Right hon. Henry Dundas, to be cuſtos rotulorum of Middleſex.

6. John Anſtruther, eſq. to be juſtice of the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Angleſea.

—. William Grant, eſq. to be juſtice of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan.

13. Right hon. John Spencer, to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Sweden.

—. Francis Drake, eſq. to be miniſter plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa.

—. George Henry Roſe, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

—. James Craufurd, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation to the court of Copenhagen.

27. Right hon. Sir Richard Worſley, bart. to be reſident at Venice.

Aug. 17. Edward Milward, jun. eſq. to be comptroller of exciſe.

31. Dr. John Gillies, to be his majeſty's hiſtoriographer in Scotland.

Sept. 7. Patrick Bellew, eſq. to be gentleman uſher of the privy-chamber to her majeſty.

—. Charles Rookes, eſq. to be gentleman uſher daily waiter.

—. George N. Vincent and Charles Harwood, eſqrs. to be gentlemen uſhers quarter waiters.

25. Sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. to be a privy counſellor.

26. Charles Whitworth, eſq. envoy

envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Peterſburg, to be K. B.

—. George Harward, eſq. to be conſul at Oſtend.

26. Hon. colonel Henry Edward Fox, to be quarter-maſter-general of the army under the duke of York.

—. Lieut.-general Sir Charles Grey, K. B. to be general of the army in America only.

—. Major-general Robert Preſcott, to be lieutenant-general in America only.

—. Colonel Thomas Dundas, to be brigadier in America only.

Oct. 1. Robert Liſton, eſq. to be ambaſſador to the Ottoman Porte.

2. Colonel prince Edward, to be major-general.

18. Generals Henry Seymour Conway; his royal highneſs William duke of Glouceſter, K. B. Sir George Howard, K. B. to be field-marſhals.

—. Lieutenant-generals Robert Melvill, Mariſcoe Frederick, Robert Dalrymple, Horn Elphinſtone, James Johnſton; Charles marquis of Drogheda, K. St. P. Sir William Auguſtus Pitt, K. B. lord Adam Gordon, hon. Alexander Maitland, Archibald earl of Eglintoune, Hunt Walſh, Guy lord Dorcheſter, K. B. Sir Charles Thompſon, bart. K. B. Robert Clerk, Robert Cunninghame, hon. Sir William Howe, K. B. lord George Henry Lennox, Henry Fletcher, John Hale, Sir Robert Boyd, K. B. Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. Charles lord Southampton, Bernard Hale, Francis Craig, Hugh duke of Northumberland, K. G. William Taylor, Charles marquis Cornwallis, K. G. to be generals.

—. Major-generals Sir Thomas Shirley, bart. Joſeph Brome, Patrick Tonyn, Gabriel Chriſtie, John Reid, Charles Roſs, Sir William Green, bart. George Scott, Charles O'Hara, Robert Sandford, Loftus Anthony Tottenham, William Rowley, Harry Trelawney, Peter Bathurſt, hon. William Gordon, John Maunſell, Stuart Douglas, Robert Preſcott, hon. William Harcourt, Henry earl of Carhampton, William Dalrymple, William Picton, Sir Hector Monro, K. B. hon. Edward Stopford, hon. William Hervey, Weſt Hyde, John Fletcher Campbell, Francis Laſcelles, James Murray, Samuel Townſhend, Sir William Medows, K. B. Thomas Oſbert Mordaunt, to be lieutenant-generals.

Colonels, John Lind, William Sheriff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulſe, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Vallancey, Thomas Pigot, hon. John Thomas De Burgh, Sir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marſh, Cavendiſh Liſter, Charles Leigh, James Ogilvie, William Roberts, Robert Kingſton, Sir Robert Laurie, bart. John Tupper, William Martin, John Archer, William Edmeſton, David Home, Hugh Debbieg, Montgomery Agnew, Thomas Jones, James Stewart, Alexander earl of Balcarras, hon. Charles Stuart, Cornelius Cuyler, Thomas Dundas, Charles earl of Harrington, hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Neſbitt Balfour, Edmund Stevens, Thomas Trigge, Francis earl of Moira, Peter Craig, Benjamin Stehelin, to be major-generals.

All the lieutenant-colonels whoſe commiſſions are dated before 1783, to be colonels.

All the majors in the army, down to the ſame date, to be lieutenant-colonels.

Captains Lyons and Grey to be majors.

Lieut.-colonels Wm. Morſhead, Francis

Francis Dundas, and Hamilton Maxwell, to be aids-du-camp to his majesty.

Major-general Gerard Lake, to be lieutenant-governor of Berwick.

Colonel James Henry Craig, to be lieutenant-governor of Guernsey.

23. Rev. Dr. Samuel Horsley, bishop of St. David's, to be bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster.

—. George lord Rivers, to be lord-lieutenant of Dorsetshire.

30. Right hon. John O'Neill, to be baron O'Neill of Ireland.

Nov. 6. Captain James Saumarez, to be knighted.

13. Giles Rooke, esq. to be a justice of the common-pleas, and knighted.

30. Francis Bernard, esq. of Castle Bernard, in the county of Corke, to be baron Bandon of Bandon Bridge, in the county of Corke.

Dec. 2. Francis Fownes Luttrell, LL. D. to be a commissioner of the customs.

7. Marchioness of Bath, to be mistress of the robes to the queen.

—. Countess of Cardigan, to be lady of the bed-chamber to the queen.

14. Hon. and rev. Dr. William Stewart, to be bishop of St. David's.

20. Edward viscount Mountgarret, to be earl of Kilkenny.

—. Arthur viscount Valentia, to be earl Mountmorris.

—. Otway viscount Desart, to be earl of Desart.

—. Alice viscountess dowager Wicklow, to be countess of Wicklow.

—. John viscount Clonmell, to be earl of Clonmell.

20. Thomas lord Castlestewart, to be viscount Castlestewart.

—. Robert lord Leitrim, to be viscount Leitrim.

—. Francis lord Landaff, to be viscount Landaff.

—. Cornwallis lord de Montalt, to be viscount Hawerden.

—. John lord Fitzgibbon, to be viscount Fitzgibbon.

DEATHS for the Year 1793.

Jan. 3. Sir Alexander Strachan, bart.

4. Francis Twisleton Thompson, esq. uncle to lord Saye and Sele.

—. Major-general Collins.

5. Mrs. Griffith, authoress of the letters between Henry and Frances, &c.

6. Daniel Master, esq. uncle to viscount Torrington.

13. John Tempest, esq. son and heir of John Tempest, esq. M. P.

15. At Munich, Henry lord Clifford, of Chudleigh.

Sir Alexander Gilmour, bart.

17. Sir James Harrington, bart.

19. Mrs. Fowler, lady of the archbishop of Dublin.

—. At Pisa, Thomas lord Camelford.

21. Beheaded at Paris, Lewis XVI. king of France.

Feb. 1. Right hon. and rev. John viscount Tracey, warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

—. William Wildman, viscount Barrington.

2. Major-general James Stuart, colonel of the 31st regt. of foot.

Sir Joseph Pennington, bart. father of lord Muncaster.

17. The

17. The only ſon of lord Arden.

Henry Laurens, eſq. formerly preſident of the Congreſs in America.

—. Lady Powerſcourt.

—. Barbara counteſs dowager of Caithneſs.

March 2. Lady Dover.

3. At Luxemburgh, in his 58th year, the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, brother to the emperor of Ruſſia. He leaves no iſſue.

10. Lady Margaret Watſon.

11. William earl of Beſborough.

12. Sir Robert Lawley, bart. M. P. for Warwickſhire.

14. Caroline baroneſs Dinevor.

18. Thomas Woods Knollis, earl of Banbury.

—. Lady Aſheton, relict of Sir Ralph Aſheton, bart. and mother of lady Grey de Wilton, and lady Suffield.

20. William earl of Mansfield.

24. Arnoldus James Skelton, eſq. brother-in-law to marquis Cornwallis.

25. Right hon. lady Herbert.

April 3. The right hon. Abigail lady Sheffield.

6. Sir James Eſdaile, knt. alderman of London.

Hon. George Bennett, brother to the late earl of Tankerville.

—. Lord William Manners, brother to the duke of Rutland.

25. Lady Charles Herbert.

27. Sir Sampſon Wright.

30. Hon. Miſs Fairfax.

May 5. Sir Michael Malcolm, bart.

14. Lady of Sir Berney Brograve, bart.

15. Thomas Brograve, eſq. ſecond ſon of Sir Berney Brograve, bart.

19. John Chetwynd Talbot Chetwynd, earl Talbot.

23. Sarah lady Ducie.

June 1. Lady Gooch, relict of the late Sir Thomas Gooch, bart.

5. Henry lord Annally.

11. Rev. Dr. William Robertſon, the celebrated hiſtorian.

19. Hon. miſs Liſmore, daughter of lord Liſmore.

Lately, Samuel Smith, eſq. M. P. for Luggerſhal.

20. Earl of Moira, father of lord Rawdon.

28. Richard Naſſau viſcount Moleſworth.

July 1. James Veitch lord Ellioch, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice in Scotland.

2. Thomas lord Foley.

3. Sir Cæſar Hawkins, bart.

4. Hon. and rev. Nicholas Boſcawen, uncle to viſcount Falmouth.

6. Hon. Mr. Herbert, ſon of lord Herbert.

15. Robert lord Fairfax.

—. Hon. Robert Campbell Southwell, brother to lord Clifford.

16. Edmund viſcount Mountgarret.

—. The hon. Mrs. Sedley.

17. Richard Neville Neville, eſq. father of Richard Aldworth Neville, eſq. M. P. for Reading.

22. Lord Gardenſtone, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice in Scotland.

24. Viſcounteſs St. Laurence.

Aug. 5. John Lee, eſq. M. P.

7. Sir John Halket, bart.

9. Lady Anne Broughton, wife of Sir Thomas Broughton, bart.

10. Viſcounteſs Falmouth.

17. Lady of the right hon. Sir James Sanderſon, lord mayor.

19. Counteſs of Hopetoun.

21. Earl of Fingall.

22. Dr.

22. Dr. John Thomas, biſhop of Rocheſter.

Lady Jane Matthew, wife of general Matthew, and ſiſter of the late duke of Ancaſter.

Counteſs of Grandiſon.

Sept. 2. Sir Robert Mead Wilmot, bart.

3. John earl of Buckinghamſhire.

5. Lady Anne Finch, aunt to the earl of Aylesford.

6. Hon. James Caulfield, ſon to the earl of Charlemont.

7. James Baillie, eſq. M. P.

11. Richard Ladbroke, eſq. of Tadworth Court, Surry.

13. Alexander lord Saltoun.

—. Thomas Hankey, eſq. of Fetcham, Surry.

25. Henry earl of Digby.

Oct. 8. Hon. John St. John, uncle to viſcount Bolingbroke.

10. Hon. Andrew Erſkine, ſon of Alexander fifth earl of Kellie.

14. Wills Hill, marquis of Downſhire.

—. Giles Crawford, eſq. M. P.

18. Sir John Wilſon, knt. one of the juſtices of the common-pleas.

—. John Hunter, eſq. ſurgeon-general to the army, and inſpector-general of the military hoſpitals.

—. Ducheſs dowager of Ancaſter.

21. Hon. Septimus Weſt, brother to earl Delawar.

28. Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, brother to the marquis of Lanſdown.

Nov. 1. In Newgate, lord George Gordon.

4. Lady dowager Teynham.

8. Hon. Guy Carleton, eldeſt ſon of lord Dorcheſter.

10. James Rodney, eſq. uncle to lord Rodney.

11. Counteſs of Weſtmorland.

12. Lady Iſabella Ann Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

16. Robert lord Romney.

23. Peter lord King.

26. Lady Harriot Conyers, aunt to the earl of Pomfret.

—. Frances Brydges, eſq. of the ancient family of the dukes of Chandos.

Dec. 1. At Bath, lady Milner.

3. At Vienna, the ducheſs de Polignac.

—. Brownlow earl of Exeter.

6. Sir John Daſhwood, bart.

14. The right hon. Cecil Rice Cardonnel, baroneſs Dynevor in her own right.

15. Webb Seymour, duke of Somerſet.

19. Lady Elizabeth Finch, aunt to the earl of Aylesford.

29. Anne counteſs of Caſſilis.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council for the Year* 1793.

Berkſhire. Thomas Goodlake, of Barton-Regis *, eſq.

Bedfordſhire. Thomas Croſſe, of Bramingham, eſq.

Bucks. Francis Peter Mallet, of Chalfont St. Peter's, eſq.

Cumberland. Thomas Pattenſon, of Melvervy, eſq.

Cheſhire. John Egerton, of Oulton, eſq.

Cambridgeſhire and *Huntingdonſhire.* Thomas Cole, of Doddington, eſq.

Devonſhire. William Barber, of Fremington, eſq.

Dorſetſhire. James Frampton, of Moreton, eſq.

* In March following, Edward Martin Atkins, of Kingſton Liſle, eſq. was appointed in the room of this gentleman, deceaſed.

Derbyſhire. Sachéverell Pole, of Radbourn, eſq.

Eſſex. Staines Chamberlayne, of Hatfield Broad Oak, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. Chriſtopher Codrington, of Doddington, eſq.

Herts. George William Preſcott, of Theobald's, eſq.

Hertfordſhire. John Keyſall, of Bourton-court, eſq.

Kent. George Norman, of Bromley, eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. John Noon, of Bourton-on-the-Woulds, eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Richard Elliſon, of Sudbrooke-Holme, eſq.

Monmouthſhire. John Hanbury Williams, of Holbroke, eſq.

Northumberland. Henry Collingwood, of Lilburn, eſq.

Northamptonſhire. John Dryden, of Canons-Aſhby, eſq.

Norfolk. Edward Roger Pratt, of Ryſton, eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. The hon. Richard Lumley Saville, of Rufford, eſq.

Oxfordſhire. John Cailloud, of Aſton, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Thomas Barfoot, of Ayſton, eſq.

Shropſhire. John Corbett, of Sunden, eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Samuel Bailward, of Horſington, eſq.

Staffordſhire. George Molineux, of Wolverhampton, eſq.

Suffolk. George Doughty, of Leiſten, eſq.

County of Southampton. Sir George Iveſon Tapps, of Hinton-Admiral, bart.

Surrey. John Hodſon Durand, of Carſhalton, eſq.

Suſſex. Thomas Richardſon, of Warminghurſt, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Evelyn Shirley, of Eatington, eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Samuel Steward, of Stone, eſq.

Wiltſhire. John Gaisford, of Weſtwood and Iford, eſq.

Yorkſhire. Richard Henry Beaumont, of Whitley, eſq.

SOUTH-WALES.

Carmarthen. John Williams, of Wennalt, eſq.

Pembroke. John Higgon, of Scolton, eſq.

Cardigan. Thomas Lloyd, of Bronwydd, eſq.

Glamorgan. John Lucas, of Stout Hall, eſq.

Brecon. John Lloyd, of Aberanalt, eſq.

Radnor. William Symmonds, of Glaſcomb, eſq.

NORTH-WALES.

Angleſea. Evan Lloyd, of Maes y Porth, eſq.

Carnarvon. William Owen, of Pencraig, eſq.

Merioneth. William John Lenthal, of Ucheldref, eſq.

Montgomery. David Pugh, of Brynderwen, eſq.

Denbighſhire. Edward Eyton, of Eyton Hall, eſq.

Flint. Richard Puleſton, of Emrall, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales *in Council, for the Year* 1793.

County of Cornwall. Francis Glanville, of Catch French, eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Account of the Murder of Mr. Silva.

ON the 16th of January, Mr. Silva, of Chelſea, and his maid-ſervant were found murdered in the houſe. In the morning the maid-ſervant was in a neighbouring ſhop buying tea, and ſaid, her maſter expected company to breakfaſt. About noon the errand-man called at the houſe, and, no perſon coming to anſwer the bell, went down the area into the kitchen, where he found the maid lying dead, and her maſter endeavouring to crawl up ſtairs, but ſpeechleſs and inſenſible. They had both been ſtruck on the head with ſome heavy pointed inſtrument.

Mr. Silva died next morning, without having been able to give any account of the ſhocking act. There was no appearance of the houſe having been robbed.

On the 18th, the coroner's inqueſt ſat on the bodies, when the following evidence was given:

Thomas Cobb, a boy of about twelve, the nephew of Mary Williams, who, with his ſiſter, had been taken out of charity to be educated by Mr. Silva, ſaid, that on going out to ſchool on Wedneſday morning, he left both the deceaſed at breakfaſt in the kitchen; that, on returning about noon, and not being able to obtain admittance, he went down the area, and in at the kitchen window, when he ſaw Mr. Silva lying near the fire place groaning, and his aunt lying near the dreſſer apparently dead: that he went up the ſtairs, and out at the ſtreet door to call for help: on paſſing the parlour door, which was generally locked, he obſerved it open, and a lighted candle on the ſecond window-ſeat, but did not ſee or hear any perſon in the houſe.

George Saunders found the deceaſed in the kitchen, as deſcribed by the boy. On lifting up Mary Williams, there were ſigns of life, but ſhe expired in two minutes. Mr. Silva was alive, but ſpeechleſs and inſenſible, and ſo continued till he died on Thurſday morning. He found the parlour door open, but no candle in the room: in a cloſet in the kitchen a large iron cheſt unlocked, and nothing in it but a wooden bowl, and a ſmall iron cheſt faſtened to the large one, and locked: in the front room, one pair of ſtairs, a bureau open, with the drawers out, and the papers in confuſion; and on the floor a quantity of bedding folded up, apparently taken from the bedſtead in the next room.

Mr. North, ſurgeon, on examining the body of Mr. Silva, found a deep lacerated wound behind the left ear, a wound about two inches long on the upper part of the head, with fracture and depreſſion of the ſkull,

two

two ſmaller wounds on the left temple, the temporal bone fractured, and very much beat in upon the brain. The deceaſed languiſhed till about half an hour after eight on Thurſday morning.

John Horne ſaid, that Mary Williams came to his ſhop about half an hour after nine, when ſhe ſaid her maſter's nephew was come to breakfaſt with him, and had brought a fine fowl for dinner.

Mary Newens ſaid, that Mary Williams came to her ſhop about nine for the uſual quantity of rolls, and returned about eleven for a penny brick, which ſhe ſaid was for her maſter's nephew, either *come* or *coming* to breakfaſt; but which of the two words the witneſs does not recollect. That on Friday a man about 40 years of age came twice to her; ſaid he had promiſed to breakfaſt or dine with Mr. Silva, without fixing the day, but had not been near him, and begged on his knees that the witneſs would not ſay any thing more to injure him than the deceaſed Mary Williams had ſaid to her.

The jury found a verdict of wilful murder by perſons unknown.

Mr. Mendez, a nephew of Mr. Silva's, was taken up on ſuſpicion, and examined at Bow-ſtreet. He proved by reſpectable evidence that he was at home at the time the murder was committed, and was diſcharged.

The following circumſtances have ſince appeared.—A pot-boy had obſerved a man with a brown great-coat, endeavouring to open the outer gate of the houſe, with a ſmall bundle in his hand. Mendez, the nephew, received notice of his uncle's death on Thurſday night, as he ſaid, and not before, but did not deſcribe who gave him the intelligence. Previous to his examination, he diſcourſed with the pot-boy, who had obſerved a man at his uncle's door, queſtioned him as to the colour and ſort of great-coat, and offered him half a crown for his deſcription; but, on friendly expoſtulation, the gift was recalled. Subſequent to his releaſe, it has been diſcovered that Mendez had converſed with an acquaintance in Fleet-market, at half paſt ten on Wedneſday morning, with a fowl in his hand, ſaying, that "it would make a good broil," and he was going to eat it with a friend in the country. He has ſince been with the ſame perſon, and converſed with him about the uncertainty as to the day of their previous converſation reſpecting the fowl, Mendez ſuppoſing it to be Thurſday, the other inſiſting that it was on Wedneſday; but there has been no account given as to what afterwards became of that fowl. A child of Mendez was buried on Tueſday; on its going for interment, Mendez obſerved, that he ſhould not be long after it. On its being mentioned to him the other day that he would probably be re-apprehended, he ſaid, "Let them come, I am prepared for them." He was, however, ſeemingly very well on Tueſday evening at five and ſix o'clock converſing with his neighbours in Moorfields, without diſcovering any difference from his uſual conduct. He died on Wedneſday morning without any ſymptoms of external or internal violence. Mr. Langley, his apothecary, has given his opinion, that the death of Mendez was occaſioned by the viſitation of God; the

cauſe an apoplectic fit, or the burſting of a blood veſſel in the head. He has left a wife and two or three children. His body has ſince been opened and examined, when nearly half a pint of white arſenic was found in his body; on which the coroner found a verdict, *felo de ſe*; and he has been buried in the highway at Chelſea.

Mr. Wathen's *Account of an extraordinary Convulſion of the Earth near* Hereford. *From the* Gentleman's Magazine.

I SEND you ſome particulars of a circumſtance that has occaſioned ſome ſurpriſe, and indeed, conſternation, among numbers in this neighbourhood; you will obſerve, that, in its effect, it is nearly a counterpart to the moving of Marcley Hill *, in the neighbourhood of which, this ſecond commotion has happened. On Sunday laſt, I heard it mentioned, that an earthquake had happened at Caplow Hill, 2 miles from the village of Fownhope, and 8 miles S. E. from Hereford. Knowing how much theſe accounts are often enlarged upon, I treated it lightly, till I heard more particulars, the ſame evening, which induced me to walk there on Monday morning, as my curioſity was much excited to ſee the effects of the commotion that had taken place, which altogether exceeded every expectation I had formed. The account from a man and boy, that were on the ſpot when the ground firſt began to move, is as follows. Of the truth I have no reaſon to doubt, as the man was clear and exact in the account. He ſays, "that, on Thurſday morning, the 4th inſt. he was engaged in mending a hedge, and in lopping a tree near for that purpoſe, it inclined towards him; the hedge, and ground he ſtood upon, moved, and he, at the ſame moment, heard a noiſe not unlike a diſtant hail-ſtorm. On running from it, towards the river Wye, between which was a narrow meadow, he obſerved a ſight, awful and alarming; a large part of the ſloping hill, with trees, &c. on it, moving gradually towards him; and it ſince appears clearly, from ſome accurate obſervations made on the ſpot, that it continued its motion, more or leſs, from Thurſday to Friday morning. By the next morning, it had buried a horſe-road, for ſome hundred yards; and, on my taking an accurate ſurvey of it on Monday morning, its appearance was that of a very extraordinary convulſion of nature. I cannot ſay, as Baker ſays, of its neighbour, Marcley Hill, that it moved upwards, it was a movement downwards, and, in its progreſs inclining S. W. it has left immenſe chaſms in the earth, and moved ſtones thence of the magnitude of upwards of five or ſix tons; a number of trees thrown down, ſome moved ſtanding, and now remaining ſo; and a circumſtance of a large old yew tree, ſtill more remarkable, it appearing to have moved near 60 feet, and now is ſtanding firm and uninjured. The chaſms and cracks are from ſix inches to five feet wide, and ſix and ſeven feet in depth. Had I not ſeen the tracks of perſons feet in ſome parts of it, I ſhould ſcarce have attempted to

* See Camd. Brit. II. 443. 461. new ed.

have

have examined it so accurately. The people near, insist it is more than six acres of ground that has moved. As far as I can form an opinion from walking over it, I believe it to be from 4 to 5 acres. Some part of the fall came into the river, and, had it continued, must have materially changed the face of it. From all the observations I can make, it appears to be an extraordinary fall, or slip, of ground, occasioned by the earth being loosened, from the wet and rain of the last year. The immense large stones being moved in various directions, is the only circumstance, that inclines the opinion to think it more than a mere slip of the ground. A new road, made on the top of Caplow Wood, leading to Ross, is near where the fall, or slip, first began. On standing on the summit of the precipice it appears to have sunk fifty feet perpendicular, and then to have moved, or travelled onwards; on the right hand of the road, due W. is the fall; and on the left hand, due E. rises that part of the hill that forms the camp, whence is an extensive and beautiful view. Due E. from the camp, at less than two miles distance, is seen its wandering neighbour, Marcley Hill; due W. near 600 feet, is seen the river Wye, meandering in great beauty through a fine country. The village of Fownhope, with the house and park at Holmme Lacy (the Duke of Norfolk's); the celebrated Dindac camp; Cardon Hill, near Thorchester; Lady Hill, near Fosdy; the whole terminated by the Brecon and Radnorshire hills, constitute a part of this charming scene. The town of Hereford is seen in a fine point of view, near Rotheras wood.

Yours, &c. J. WATHEN.

Description of the Encænia at Oxford.

Oxford, Tuesday, July 2.

OXFORD, on this and some days past, was a very busy scene; people pouring in from every road, to see the installation of the new Chancellor, the duke of Portland. The streets were filled the greater part of Monday in expectation of his arrival. He came between eight and nine in the evening, and drove immediately to the Vice-chancellor's, Dr. Wills, warden of Wadham.

This morning, at ten o'clock, all the heads of houses and proctors were assembled in the Delegates' room, when the Chancellor was introduced to them by the Vice-chancellor. At half after ten, they proceeded to the Radcliffe library, where the other governors and subscribers to the Radcliffe Infirmary joined the procession to St. Mary's church. The church was crowded before eleven; but, by setting apart the galleries for ladies only, the pews for strangers generally, and the seats in the centre aile to the governors and subscribers to the Infirmary, order was well preserved, and the effect rendered strikingly beautiful. Mr. Booke, chaplain of Magdalen college, read prayers; Mr. Brown, of Magdalen hall, the lessons; and the Rev. Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, preached the sermon for the charity. His text was chosen from St. John's gospel, xiii. 34: "A new commandment I give unto you," &c. His lordship followed the virtue of benevolence through the different periods of society—represented it in the savage, in the enlightened heathen, and in the christian, with its different appearances in different stages of the christian world, and adverted

to the alarming diminution of the principle in France at this time. He then more particularly, and with greater effect, enjoined the practice of it in this kingdom, and more especially towards inſtitutions uſeful and comprehenſive as that of the Radcliffe Infirmary. Then commenting upon the peculiar benefits ariſing from the latter inſtitution, he addreſſed himſelf to the juſtice, the intereſts, and the humanity, of his audience; and diſmiſſed them with the exhortation of St. Peter, "Wherefore, warn the rich in this world," &c. The ſubſcription amounted to 268l.

In the courſe of the ſervice, which was chaunted by the choriſters from the Cathedral, Magdalen, and New College chapels, Dr. Hayes introduced a *Te Deum* newly compoſed. We did not expect any thing ſuperior to the ſeveral very excellent *Te Deums* compoſed by ſome of the firſt maſters; but, from the preſent compoſition, we think Dr. Hayes is entitled to a very reſpectable place among them. In this piece, in the Jubilate, and in an anthem compoſed for the charity, Mrs. Billington, Mr. Bartleman, and Mr. Webb, exerted their fine vocal powers to the entire ſatisfaction of the audience. Of Mrs. Billington and Mr. Bartleman we need not ſpeak; in Mr. Webb were recognized the clear full notes of the late Mr. Norris.

After the ſervice was ended, the Duke of Portland, the Vice-chancellor, the proctors, the heads of houſes, the doctors, and others, the governors and ſubſcribers to the Radcliffe Infirmary, dined at the Town-hall.

This morning's ſervice continued from eleven to near two o'clock; and, after an interval of two hours, the Theatre was opened for the reception of company to a grand miſcellaneous concert ſelected by Dr. Hayes. The numbers preſent were about 1700. The ladies, the other ſtrangers, and the gentlemen of the gown, ſat indiſcriminately where they could get; and a more pleaſing variety was afforded by that circumſtance. During the playing of the overture, the Chancellor came in, and unexpectedly took his official chair, amidſt the general plaudits of the whole company. Maſter Welſh was univerſally approved. Mrs. Billington received her accuſtomed and merited applauſe. The other performers more particularly admired were, Linley, Cramer, Mad. Krumpholtz, Giornovichi, Seconde, and Bartleman. Mrs. Billington was at firſt encored; but the opinion prevailing generally that a repetition of her very great exertions muſt be troubleſome to herſelf, the encoring ceaſed, and the plaudits increaſed. The company left the Theatre a little after nine, thoroughly ſatisfied.

The very great improvement of ſaſhing the Theatre ought to be mentioned, as it admits more air and more light—both very great advantages in a Theatre ſo crowded, and as no lamps or candles are ever allowed in it.

The band conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty; inſtrumental performers, thirty-ſix; vocal, ſixty; ſometimes vocal, ſometimes inſtrumental, twenty-four.

Wedneſday, July 3.

At ten o'clock this morning, the Chancellor, the heads of houſes, profeſſors, doctors, noblemen, and proctors of the univerſity, aſſembled in the hall of Wadham college, where a very elegant *dejeuné* was provided by the Vice-chancellor. About half after eleven, they proceeded

ceeded to the Theatre, all dreſſed in the habits of their reſpective ranks, profeſſions, and degrees; the Chancellor in black velvet robes, richly embroidered with gold,

The noblemen, &c. who followed in the proceſſion, were, lords Mansfield, Craven, Caher, Seymour, and J. Beresford; biſhops of Cheſter, Oxford, and Dromore; Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Burke.—The doctors were about an hundred. The hon. Meſſrs. Twiſleton, Morton, Grimſton, and Agar, followed.

The Theatre was crowded before the proceſſion entered, except the ſpace allotted for the noblemen and gentlemen who formed it; the riſing ſemicircle from the area was ſet apart for them, by an order of convocation: the firſt gallery, for ladies and ſtrangers; the ſecond gallery, for the bachelors, gentlemen commoners, and commoners of the univerſity—the two former to ſit in the centre, the latter on each ſide of the ſemicircle, and the maſters of arts in the area. To accommodate the ladies, a door was opened for them at half after nine; and the gentlemen were to have been admitted at ten; but the doors were not opened to the latter till very near eleven. The crowd around the doors was very great. The Theatre was ſoon filled, and both galleries with ladies before the members of the univerſity were admitted. About 3000 people, it was ſuppoſed, were in the Theatre, and 1000 diſappointed. The ladies were remarkably well dreſſed—very generally in white, with yellow, pink, and green coloured ribbons—very few hats, bonnets, or veils.

The Chancellor opened the convocation with a Latin addreſs: in which he acquitted himſelf in a ſcholar-like manner, with fluency and correctneſs of Latinity worthy the ſeminaries where he received his education. The following noblemen and gentlemen were admitted to the honorary degrees of doctor of laws:

His Grace the Duke of Devonſhire, Right Hon. the Earl of Dalkeith, Right Hon. the Marquis of Titchfield, Right Hon. the Earls of Kinnoul, Bute, Oxford and Mortimer, Fitzwilliam, Spencer, Mansfield, Inchiquin, and Darnley; Right Hon. Lord George Henry Cavendiſh; Right Hon. Viſcounts Grimſton, Fielding, and Valletort; Right Hon. Lords Naas, William Ruſſel, and Malmſbury, Right Hon. Frederick Montagu, and William Wyndham; all preſented by Dr. Wenman, fellow of All Souls college. The biſhop of Dromore, D. D. of the univerſity of Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*. All were received with applauſe; and we are happy to mention, that Mr. Wyndham was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the approbation of the univerſity; but ſo much was the area crowded before the new doctor came, that it was with difficulty he provided himſelf with a gown in the Theatre. The Chancellor, in conferring the degree on his ſon, addreſſed him by the epithet of "*dilectiſſime* juvenis."

The two compoſitions to which the Chancellor's prizes had been adjudged, were then recited. The Latin verſes, upon the following ſubject, *Marius in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginienſium*, by Mr. Coppleſtone, ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti college, were claſſical, and written with conſiderable ſpirit, and were more particularly recommended by the diffidence of the ſpeaker. The Engliſh Eſſay upon Popularity, by Mr. Taunton, B. A. of Chriſt

Church, poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of merit, was written with ſtrength and perſpicuity, and took the ſubject in a very comprehenſive point of view. The ſtyle was nervous—perhaps in ſome parts too cloſe an imitation of Johnſon—in others, however, it was rather homely. It was read with great animation, and they were both very generally applauded.

The learned Profeſſor of Poetry then addreſſed the Convocation in a Latin oration, enumerating the benefits conferred upon the Univerſity by the Kings of England, from Alfred to the preſent reign. The ſubſtance was not generally intereſting; but we do not think it deſerving of the marks of ſevere diſapprobation which it received (not however univerſally) at the concluſion, when celebrating the munificence of his preſent Majeſty in regard to the botannic garden, he added, *nec melius reges faventes habuiſſe niſi hoc unum habere*; and checked the effuſions of gratitude by this obſervation of an ancient adage—*veteris illius dicti memor non niſi poſt ſolis occaſum heroicum ſacrificium*.

This ſpeech was ſucceeded by the Inſtallation Ode—the poetry by Dr. Holmes, the Profeſſor—the muſic by Dr. Hayes. The crowd in the area was ſo great, aad ſo oppreſſive, that the Chancellor, declining the compliment intended for him, ſoon diſſolved the Convocation after the performance had proceeded but a very little way.

When the Chancellor had diſſolved the Convocation, and was leaving his chair, a paper calling for "God ſave the King," was flung down to him, and handed on a mace to the band, who immediately ſtruck up. The members of the univerſity ſeemed angry that the muſic ſhould drown their plaudits or hiſſes, and began to murmur; when the Chancellor waved his hand to the orcheſtra to deſiſt, and deſcended amidſt the moſt general applauſe. The reſt of the proceſſion moved on amidſt plaudits or partial hiſſes, as each perſon was generally approved, or partially diſliked. The young men immediately, to ſhew that they did not wiſh to depart without atteſting their loyalty, called upon the band to play "God ſave the King;" which was readily complied with, and the whole Theatre united their voices to ſwell the concert.

The Chancellor, doctors, &c. dined with the Vice-chancellor in Wadham-hall, at two o'clock. The company was numerous, about two hundred; and the entertainment the moſt elegant that could be procured.

At five in the evening the ſecond grand ſelection of muſic commenced. Mrs. Billington was encored in her firſt ſong, "Torni la Pace," &c.; and ſcarcely one performer but was univerſally applauded. Madam. Krumpholtz and Mr. Hindmarſh were particularly approved of. The houſe was more crowded than the former night—about two thouſand. It is a pity that the finer notes of Krumpholtz and other inſtrumental performers ſhould loſe any of their effect from the largeneſs of the room.

The pick-pockets collected a conſiderable booty, and it is ſaid one was detected in a maſter of arts' gown.

The ball at the Town-hall was attended by 593 perſons, admitted by tickets. Two rows were formed,

ed, each consisting of about sixty couple. The rest were obliged to sit still, some the whole evening, others till a vacancy was made. The greater number were gentlemen. Among the most distinguished ladies were Bentinck, Legges, Darnleys, Bligh, and her sister Lady Catharine, Miss Pierrpoint, and the renowned Wiltshire toasts, the Misses Harrington. The band was well chosen. The tickets, half a a guinea. The whole provided by the masters of the Star and Cross inns. They broke up about four in the morning.

Thursday, July 4.

To remedy the inconveniences generally complained of on Wednesday, the proctors, curators, &c. met this morning; and agreed that ladies, and masters of arts, and strangers of genteel appearance, should be admitted into the Theatre at a little after nine: the rest of the University about ten. The proctors appointed for the present festival were stationed with constables at every door, and directed every person to his proper place. The first gallery was filled with ladies only; the area, with masters of arts, and strangers who came with them. The upper gallery, with bachelors, commoners, and gentlemen commoners promiscuously, and strangers who came with them. By this excellent regulation, order was universally preserved, the effect rendered more striking, and the house wore the perfect appearance of a convocation. The rising semicircle was, as always, reserved for the University officers and doctors, who came in with their appropriate habits as yesterday, but without any procession. About eleven the Chancellor entered, attended by a select few of his noble and reverend friends. His reception was more flattering than that of yesterday. The newly admitted doctors were again hailed with loud plaudits, and Mr. Wyndham again experienced the enviable distinction. Mr. Burke, who came in with Dr. Collinson, of Queen's college, was very loudly and very long applauded.

The Chancellor then opened the Convocation with proposing the several candidates for honorary degrees to the doctors and masters. The following were admitted:

To the degree of Doctor in Civil Law:

Lords Kinnoul and Valletort; Sir Francis Molyneux, Sir Justinian Isham, Sir Walter Blount, Sir Henry Bridgman, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir Gilbert Eliott, Sir John Whalley Smyth Gardiner; the Hon. John Spencer; Thomas Grenville, Esq. M. P.; Charles Anderson Pelham, M. P.; Charles Pierrepoint, M. P.; Edward Loveden Loveden, M. P.; Henry Hope, of Amsterdam, John Strange, Charles Greville, Joseph Bullock, W. Long Kingsman, Richard Paul Jodrell, and Henry Curzon, Esquires; presented by Dr. Wenman, professor of civil law.

To the degree of Master of Arts:

John Fawcit, Herbert Rawlins, Peter Patton, Charles Husle, George Langton, and John Garbet, Esqrs.; presented by Mr. Crowe, public orator.

All were well received; particular applause only given to Sir W. W. Wynne.

After an overture by the full band, the philological exercises began.

Lord Seymour, of Christ Church, began in English blank verse: his subject, *the Death and Virtues of the late Chancellor*, the Earl of Guilford.

Lord Caher, of St. Mary Hall, after

after a short piece of music (which indeed was repeated between every address), recounted in English verse the virtues of the Duke of Portland's ancestors.

Mr. Pierpoint, of Oriel, delivered a Latin poem, which glanced over the various subjects of the present times.

The Honourable Mr. Grimstone, of Christ Church, on Peace, Science, and the Duke of Portland.

The Hon. Mr. Twisleton, of St. Mary Hall, spoke in an animated, indeed almost theatrical manner, an English ode upon the state of France; and was very frequently interrupted by loud applauses.

Mr. Lukin, in Latin Alcaics, had so little management of his voice, that a few words only were now and then heard.

Mr. Gray, of New College, in English blank verse.

Mr. Corbett, of Merton, a Latin poem, addressed chiefly to the Chancellor.

The Hon. Mr. Moreton, of Exeter college, spoke in Latin, but so low as scarce to be heard.

Mr. Stibbard, of Trinity college, then began an animated description of French misery, &c.; and, finishing with a contrast between the culture of the mind in England, and the present neglect of it in France, happily introduced the guardians of the University, who had particularly adorned it. Every part was not distinctly heard; but whatever was heard was loudly applauded at every period.

Mr. Cornwall, of Christ Church, on the progress in England towards refinement. English verse.

Mr. Dawkins, of Christ Church, was the last, and indeed the most eloquent speaker. His poem was English, admirably written, and very warm in the praises of the Duke's political conduct.

We understand that Mr. Pierrepoint's poem was composed by Mr. Richardson, of University college, who gained a prize last year for a Latin poem; Mr. Stibbard's, by Mr. Richards, of Oriel, who has so distinguished himself in the University; and Mr. Dawkins's, by Mr. Canning, who shewed very great marks of brilliant abilities at Eton, and since publicly in Oxford. Mr. Stibbard's speech is printed, and forms a part of Mr. Richards's poem, advertised with the title of "Modern France."

At five in the afternoon, a miscellaneous concert began, and concluded a little before nine; in which particular applause was given to Master Welch, who was encored, as was Mrs. Billington in her last song—to Krumpholtz, Fischer, Cramer, and Linley.

The Chancellor, heads of houses, &c. &c. to the number of 400, dined this day in Christ Church hall, where a very elegant dinner was provided by the dean. The duke was not at the concert in the evening.

A doctor of divinity, who exerted his utmost efforts to maintain order in the Theatre, of which he is the most active curator, and is too generally hissed, seized upon a master of arts, in his way through the area; but the matter was amicably settled.

Friday, July 5.

This day, about the usual hour, the Chancellor again opened the Convocation in the Theatre, when the honorary degree of D. C. L. was conferred on the Hon. Frederick North, Sir George Armytage, Bart.

Bart. Sir John Guiſe, Bart. Baron Wolff, of the Ruſſian empire, Orlando Bridgman, Eſq. M. P. John Cotes, Eſq. M. P. John Webb, Eſq. M. P. Thomas Wallace, Eſq. M. P. Samuel Eſtwick, Eſq. John Ludford, Eſq. Francis Fownes Luttrell, Eſq. Edward Martin Atkins, Eſq. Benjamin Way, Eſq. John Trent, Eſq. John Lloyd, Eſq. F. R. and A. SS. Edmond Malone, Eſq. Francis Plowden, Eſq. and Richard Burke, Eſq.; and the honorary degree of M. A. on Sir Thomas Pilkington, Bart. William Hanning, Eſq. Robert Briſtow, Eſq. Evelyn Pierpoint, Eſq. the Rev. Thomas James, D. D. maſter of Rugby ſchool, Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Burne, B. D. Rev. Joſeph Dacre Carlyle, B. D. the Hon. Sholto M'Clellan, M. A. Rev. John Fallowfield, M. A. and Benjamin Cooke, Muſ. Doc. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, were admitted *ad eundem*.

After which the poetical recitals were recommenced by the following gentlemen: Mr. Amherſt, Chriſt Church; Mr. Penroſe, New College, both *Engliſh*; Mr. Clutterbuck, Exeter College, *Latin*; Mr. Moncrieffe, Queen's College; Mr. Clarke, Exeter College, *Engliſh*; Mr. Simpſon, Queen's College, *Latin*; Lord J. Beresford, and Hon. Mr. Agar, Chriſt Church; Mr. Powell, Trinity College; Mr. Lemaiſtre, Queen's College, *Engliſh*; Mr. Eſtcourt, C. C. C. *Latin*; Mr. Prowett and Mr. Atkins, both of New College, *Engliſh*. Theſe poetical exerciſes were again received with warm and merited applauſe, and were moſt of them recited in a manly energetic ſtyle, ſuited to the dignity of the ſubject.

A blank verſe poem, in ſtyle approaching very near to that of the ſentimental poem of Leweſdon Hill, was to have been ſpoken upon the ſubject of war, deprecating its various calamities; and the reaſon of its ſuppreſſion does not appear.

In the afternoon of this day the muſical feſtival cloſed with the ſacred oratorio of the Meſſiah; and we are happy to announce, that the muſic of each has been ſo well attended, and ſo deſervedly approved, that the Profeſſor will find his expences, which amounted to near 1700l. amply repaid; whilſt he enjoys equal happineſs in having given univerſal ſatisfaction to the judges and admirers of muſic. And honeſt John Bull will be happy to hear, that "God ſave the King," and "Rule Britannia," were repeatedly performed by the whole band; vocal and inſtrumental, joined in full chorus by the whole audience.

At night there was a ſecond ball for the ladies, at the Town Hall, which was very fully attended, and broke up about four on Saturday morning. Lord Caher alſo gave a private dance in the hall of St. Mary's, to the Duke and Dutcheſs of Portland, and their elegant ſuite of friends. There was another private ball at All Souls.

Saturday, July 6.

Early notice was ſent to the different colleges, that the Chancellor would viſit them in turn to take leave, that the reſpective heads and maſters of arts of each ſociety might be ready to receive him in their college halls. He began his round at nine, preceded by the beadles, and attended by the Vice-chancellor; viſiting New College firſt (where Mr. Gutch had the honour of preſenting to him the two volumes of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Univerſity), then Hertford, and the reſt in order.

order. He was attended to the gates by the heads and masters of arts of each college, uncovered; and the younger members walked about their quadrangles uncovered. He had walked his course before four; and, after dining at Wadham, quitted the University, exactly at six, in as private a manner as he entered it.

The weather proving favourable during the whole week, the promenades were well attended. A greater assemblage of polite company has not been known in the university since the installation of Lord North, 1773. The price of lodgings was so exorbitant, that the heads of colleges universally agreed to allow the students to receive and lodge their friends in their own apartments: which they cheerfully did, submitting to every inconvenience for themselves.

Trial of Mr. Muir.

High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh.

FRIDAY, August 30, came on the trial of Mr. Thomas Muir, younger, of Huntershill, for seditious practices, which lasted about sixteen hours.

He was accused of wickedly and feloniously exciting, in November last, at different meetings, at Kirkintilloch, Campsie, and other places, denominated societies for reform, by means of seditious speeches and harangues, a spirit of disloyalty and disaffection to the king and the established government; of advising and exhorting persons to purchase and peruse seditious and wicked publications and writings (viz. Paine's Works, a Declaration of Rights, the Patriot, and others) calculated to produce a spirit of disloyalty and disaffection to the king and government; of distributing or circulating a seditious writing or publication of the tendency aforesaid, or causing to distribute or circulate such seditious writing or publication; of producing and reading aloud, in a public meeting or convocation of persons, a seditious and inflammatory writing (viz. An Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the Delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland) tending to produce in the minds of the people a spirit of insurrection, and of opposition to the established government; and publicly approving of, and recommending, in said meeting, such seditious inflammatory writing, &c.

To these charges Mr. Muir pleaded not guilty. He said he had nothing to observe on the relevancy; he would trust himself to the jury. He had given in, when last before the court, written defences, in which he declared the libel to be false, and that he would prove that he had all along supported the constitution. Being asked, if he had any other defence; he said, he rested upon his own written defence. He had uniformly advised the people to pursue legal and constitutional measures, and that he had also advised them to read all books written upon the great national question of reform.

The jury being named, Mr. Muir objected to every one of them. He said, that as the gentlemen, however respectable, were all subscribers to the Goldsmiths Hall Association, and had offered a reward for discovering those who circulated what they deemed seditious writings, they had

had already pre-judged him, and were therefore improper perſons to paſs upon his aſſize.

The Solicitor General, in reply, ſaid their lordſhips were equally precluded, as they had, and every friend to the conſtitution, condemned the writings of Paine. The court unanimouſly repelled the objection.

After examining many witneſſes in behalf of the proſecution, and others on the part of the defendant, the Lord Juſtice Clerk ſummed up the evidence, and commented with much ſtrength of language on the different parts of it, but left it to the jury to draw their own concluſions; who finding him guilty of the crimes charged, the Court ſentenced him to be tranſported beyond ſeas (to ſuch place as his majeſty, with the advice of his privy council, ſhall judge proper) for the ſpace of 14 years, with the uſual certification in caſe of return.

Proceedings of various Societies.

Extract of a letter read to the Society for Conſtitutional Information, from the editor of the Patriot at Sheffield, to a Society at Stockport; 26th October 1792.

IT only remains then for us, ſeeing the great and innumerable difficulties we have to encounter, to caſt about for the moſt likely and proper means and weapons by which to defend ourſelves, and to forward and ſupport ſuch meaſures as it may be neceſſary to purſue; and on this head, my good Sir, permit me to impreſs it on the minds of your ſociety, that reaſon, imperial reaſon, muſt ever be our generaliſſimo or commander in chief; when I ſay this, I beg leave to add, that art muſt be ſecond in command. By the word "art" I do not mean low craft or cunning, but that mode of application of our reaſon and arguments on different men and on different occaſions, which only a conſiderable degree of ſtudy, and practical knowledge alſo of men and manners, can ever furniſh us with, ſo as to make us proficients.

Allow me then to obſerve to you, Sir, that I perfectly coincide with you in opinion with regard to the different ſocieties appointing delegates to go into the different villages and country places for the purpoſe of informing their minds, and rouſing them from the lethargy in which they ſeem plunged—I have already communicated the ſame idea to the London Conſtitutional and Correſponding Societies, and to thoſe of Norwich and Mancheſter, and I hope it will ſoon be univerſally adopted by every one. But the grand object to be attended to on this head is the choice of men to be appointed; a neglect of this kind had like to have had very awkward conſequences in this neighbourhood, and if not immediately checked would have injured the cauſe of freedom very greatly; infinite care and circumſpection will therefore be neceſſary on this head.

As I am on the ſubject, permit me to ſuggeſt to thoſe members of your ſociety who may undertake this arduous but honourable and praiſeworthy taſk, that they cannot be too cautious in their mode of proceeding—The minds of men, for the wiſeſt and beſt purpoſes, are formed by the Great Creator as various and unlike each other as their faces, and their

their paſſions reign over each with the ſame uncertain and variegated ſway; and in the ſame manner that Sir Robert Walpole (one of the elders and fathers of corruption) very juſtly obſerved that every man has his price in the way of being bought, ſo we may fairly apply the ſame maxim to mankind in general in the article of perſuaſion, and the dexterous method of bringing them from wrong opinions they may have formed, or prejudices they may have imbibed, by an attentive obſervation of their intellectual faculties, and that leading paſſion of the ſoul which governs the main ſpring of their moſt material actions.

For example, the generality of farmers in this county and Lancaſhire are as ignorant as the brutes they ride to market, and ſo abſorbed in the ſordid idea of *getting*, that provided they can keep up the prices of grain, cattle, &c. ſo as to anſwer their landlords, and pay *their taxes*, however enormous, they are too ſluggiſh and indolent to think about reforms, or any thing of the kind; yet there is one ſtring about their hearts, which, being ſkilfully touched, will make them dance to any tune, and move to any meaſure. This is the ſubject of *tythes*; and why does it touch them? why, Sir, becauſe it is within the ſcope of their limited capacity—ignorant as they are in other matters, they ſee and pungently feel the weight of this baneful and unjuſt devourer of all their improvements in agriculture and huſbandry; and, I believe, did every tax operate in the ſame viſible degree which this impoſition does, I fear there would be an end to the idea of taxation being ſubmitted to at all. Indeed, as taxes are laid on at preſent by thoſe who do not repreſent us, the taxation is neither more nor leſs than robbery, a ſubmiſſion to it, ſlavery.

But to return to my ſubject: *In the ſame manner that a farmer may be rouſed by the mention of tythes, the ſhoemakers may by the exceſſive dearneſs of leather, the inn-keeper by the numerous and unneceſſary ſtanding army, and ALL by a temperate and diſpaſſionate relation of the immenſe number of ſinecure places and uſeleſs offices*, in which the corrupt and proſtitute favourites, agents, and dependants of the ri h and great riot in the ſpoils and plunder wreſted from the ſweat of the brow, and continual labour of body, of the huſbandman, the mechanic, the labourer, and the artificer. It is by no means a difficult matter to raiſe general indignation at the idea of ſo ſmall a comparative number of uſeleſs, idle, and profligate *Drones* ſucking and ſquandering away the honey produced by ſuch immenſe numbers of hard toiling and induſtrious *Bees*. If you (for I am certain *you* will be one of the moſt active of theſe delegates) meet with men who have violent prejudices in favour of any *abuſe* or *party*, never attack thoſe prejudices *directly*, for that will only enflame and confirm them the more: paſs them over for the preſent, and engage their attention towards ſomething elſe, in which they will liſten with a leſs degree of apprehenſion of being attacked in a favourite point; once gain their good opinion, and open their eyes to one evil, they will be more ready to hear you on others, till at laſt the favoured object by which their eyes were jaundiced will appear in its true colours, and fall before your arguments like all the reſt.

Extract of a letter from the Society for Conſtitutional Information

mation in London to the National Convention in France.

Servants of a ſovereign people, and benefactors of mankind,

We rejoice that your revolution has arrived at that point of perfection which will permit us to addreſs you by this title; it is the only one that can accord with the character of true legiſlators. Every ſucceſſive epoch in your affairs has added ſomething to the triumphs of liberty; and the glorious victory of the 10th of Auguſt has finally prepared the way for a conſtitution, which we truſt you will eſtabliſh on the baſis of reaſon and nature.

Conſidering the maſs of deluſion accumulated on mankind to obſcure their underſtandings, you cannot be aſtoniſhed at the oppoſition you have met both from tyrants and from ſlaves. The inſtrument uſed againſt you by each of theſe claſſes is the ſame; for in the genealogy of human miſeries *ignorance* is at once the parent of oppreſſion and the child of ſubmiſſion.

The events of every day are proving that your cauſe is cheriſhed by the people in all your continental vicinity; that a majority of each of thoſe nations are your real friends, whoſe governments have tutored them into apparent foes, and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the dreaded neceſſity of fighting againſt them.

The condition of Engliſhmen is leſs to be deplored—here the hand of oppreſſion has not yet ventured completely to raviſh the pen from *us*, nor openly to point the ſword at *you*. From boſoms burning with ardor in your cauſe we tender you our warmeſt wiſhes for the full extent of its progreſs and ſucceſs. It is indeed a ſacred cauſe; we cheriſh it as the pledge of your happineſs, *our natural and neareſt friends*, and we rely upon it as the bond of paternal union to the human race, in which union our own nation will ſurely be one of the firſt to concur.

Our government has ſtill the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is our real opinion that we now ſpeak the ſentiments of a great majority of the Engliſh nation. The people here are wearied with impoſture, and worn out with war. They have learned to reflect, that both the one and the other are the offſpring of unnatural combinations in ſociety, as relative to ſyſtems of government, not the reſult of the natural temper of nations, as relative to each other's happineſs.

An addreſs from Mancheſter having been ſent to the different papers for inſertion, was refuſed admittance by the Morning Chronicle and Morning Poſt; the latter paper returned the following anſwer, which was ordered to be entered on the books of the ſociety; 21ſt December 1792.

"This excellent paper, drawn by a maſterly hand, we wiſh to ſee in the poſſeſſion of every Engliſhman; but after the verdict againſt Mr. Paine, which was not warranted by the law or conſtitution, the proprietors of news-papers tremble at inſerting any thing except fulſome panegyrics, on a depraved legiſlature and hungry court minions—the vile aſſociations have worked the public mind into ſuch a fervour, that a jury would, by the intimation of a judge, find any thing a libel—we there-

therefore can only express our sorrow that self-preservation will not permit us to make the Morning Post the vehicle to convey this paper to the public."

Extract from the Proceedings of the same Society.

At a meeting, 18th January 1793.

Resolved, That citizen St. André, a member of the National Convention of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened friends of human liberty, be admitted an associated honorary member of this society.

Resolved, That the said resolution be published in the news-papers.

At a meeting, 25th January 1793.

Resolved, That citizen Barrére, a member of the National Convention of France, being considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened friends of human liberty, be admitted an associated honorary member of this society.

Resolved, That citizen Roland, being also considered by us as one of the most judicious and enlightened friends of human liberty, be admitted an associated honorary member of this society.

Resolved, That the said resolutions be published in the news-papers.

Resolved, That it appears to this society, from the best information we can obtain, that the people of Great Britain are, at this present time, utterly averse to a war with France, and consider such an event as a calamity of the human race, however it may gratify a confederacy of foreign Kings.

Resolved, That the said resolution be published in the news-papers.

At a Meeting 1st February 1793.

Read a circular letter from the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report an answer.

Resolved, That the speeches of citizen André and citizen Barrére (associated honorary members of this society) as given in the Gazette National ou Moniteur Universelle of Paris, on the 4th, 6th, and 7th of January 1793, be inserted in the books of this society.

Resolved, That the said resolutions be published in the news-papers.

Extracts of the Instructions to the Delegates from the Society for Constitutional Information, to the General Convention at Edinburgh.

That in specifying the redress to be demanded of existing abuses, the delegates ought never to lose sight of the two essential principles, General Suffrage and Annual Representation, together with the unalienable right in the people to Reform; and that a reasonable and known compensation ought to be made to the Representatives of the Nation, by a National Contribution.

Extract from a copy of a letter from Stockport, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Received 17th September 1792.

We have carefully perused the addresses; and I am to observe on their contents in general, that the sentiments *hardly rise to that height which we expect from men, sensible of their*

their full claims to absolute and uncontroulable liberty, i. e. *unaccountable to any power which they have not immediately constituted and appointed.*

These are our sentiments, whatever may be your's, though in the present state of political knowledge *it may be prudent not to avow them openly.* We desire your sentiments on the means of accomplishing that object which we presume you have in view in common with us. We think it expedient that we should perfectly understand each other in the beginning, lest the appearance of disunion might furnish matter of triumph to our enemies. We observe one expression, which says, "Numerous other reforms would "undoubtedly take place, &c. &c." But we ask, how is that parliament to be chosen? Can we expect it from the present order of things? *Would not all the evil be done away at once by the people assembled in Convention?* Does it appear probable, that the odious laws which we complain of will be abolished any other way? Can the grievances arising from Aristocracy be redressed, while the ——— retains its present authority in the Legislature? Is the universal right of conscience ever to be attained, while the B—— maintain their seats on the ———.

Extract from a copy of a letter from the Editors of the Patriot at Sheffield, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. Dated October 15th 1792.

We clearly foresee that Scotland will soon take the lead of this country, and conceive it will be necessary to take the greatest care that an universal communication should be constantly kept up between the several Societies, however distant, and that all should determine to act upon the same principle, and move *together, as near as may be, in regular and active unison. 'Twas by this method France became so thoroughly united; and we ought never to lose sight of it.*

Extract from a copy of a letter from the Society for Political Information at Norwich, to the Secretary to the London Corresponding Society; November 11th 1792.

The Friends of the people mean only a partial reform, because they leave out the words expressing the Duke of Richmond's plan, and talk only of a reform; while the Manchester people seem to *intimate by addressing Mr. Paine, as though they were intent upon republican principles only.* Now, to come closer to the main question, it is only desired to know whether the generality of the Societies mean to rest satisfied with the Duke of Richmond's plan only; OR WHETHER IT IS THEIR PRIVATE DESIGN TO RIP UP MONARCHY BY THE ROOTS, AND PLACE DEMOCRACY IT ITS STEAD.

Extract from a draft of a letter from the London Corresponding Society, to the Constitutional Society at Sheffield; 4th March 1793.

With regard to petitioning parliament, we are unanimous in the opinion that such a petition will not produce a reform; yet from many considerations we are now persuaded, that if every society in the island will send forward a petition, we shall ultimately gain ground, for as much as it will force the

the present members of the senate to repeatedly discuss the subject, and their deliberations, printed in the different news-papers, will most naturally awaken the public mind towards the object of our pursuit; the nation once informed that a reform in parliament is sought for from different quarters, gives rise to debates in the House of Commons, and is acknowledged by every rank to be wanting, will begin to exercise their own reason on the subject; arrived at that period, *we presume our business will be nearly accomplished.*

Extract from a copy of a letter from the United Societies at Norwich, to the Society for Constitutional Information; 5th March 1793.

At present we see *a great propriety in universal suffrage and annual elections*, but we beg you will be obliging enough to inform us of what you have collected of the sense of the people by your correspondents.—We have to inform you, that our *worthy corresponding societies of London have recently submitted three propositions for our investigation: First, Whether a Petition to Parliament, or an Address to the King, or a Convention.*

Permit us briefly to state our views for your revisal; and with respect to the first, we behold *we are a conquered people*; we have tamely submitted to the galling yoke, and resistance in the present circumstance is vain; we cannot, we cannot act the man, and as necessity have no law, we think ourselves under *that degrading necessity to state our grievances to the House of Commons, with a request for redress, and should they refuse to grant our reasonable petition,* we *have still* got (no thanks to them) a *formidable engine*, that will convey the *insult to the remotest parts of the kingdom.*

As to the propriety of the second, we wish to submit to your superior judgment, and should esteem it a favour to be informed of the result, for at present we are *dubious of its good consequences.* Lastly, a Convention, and oh! *that the period were arrived*; but in the present state of affairs, alas! it is impracticable; *yet this is the object we pursue*, and esteem any *other means* only *in subordination to, and as having a tendency to accomplish that desirable end.*

Extract from a draft of a letter from the London Corresponding Society, to the Secretary of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh; May 17, 1793.

Our petitions, you will have learned, have been all of them unsuccessful; our attention *must now therefore be turned to some more effectual means.—From your society we would willingly learn them, and you, on your part, may depend upon our adopting* the firmest measures, provided they are constitutional; and we hope the country will not be behind hand with us.

Extract from a copy of a letter from Mr. Skirving, Secretary of the Friends of the People at Edinburgh, to the Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. No date.

If the present ministry fail, who after them shall be trusted; it requires little penetration to see the anarchy and discord which will follow; it will be such that nothing *short of a*

general union among the people themselves will be able to heal; haste, therefore, to associate, at least to be ready to associate. If then, such a broken state of things should take place, the civil broils that would necessarily ensue would soon subside before the united irresistable voice of the whole. Do not, I entreat you, hesitate, thinking such *a work premature as yet*; but a *month*, and then it may be *too late*. A malignant party may be already formed, and only waiting for the halting of the present managers; it will then be too late to seek to subject to deliberation, after a party has dared the act of rebellion. *If you go no farther than separate meetings in different towns, we will not be able to confide in your confraternity, because, while in such a state,* you may be but the tools of a faction. We could have all confidence, and unite with all affection, in one *assembly of commissioners*, from all countries of the world, if we knew they were chosen by the unbiassed voice of the people, because they would come up with the same disinterested views and desires as ourselves, having all agreed to a common centre of union and interest; but we could not confide in fellow citizens who kept aloof from such union, and would not previously affiliate in one great and indivisible family.

Extract from a draft of a letter from the London Corresponding Society, to the Secretary to the Political Societies at Norwich; July 25, 1793.

Exhorting you, therefore, to throw aside all unavailing complaint, we wish you to occupy yourselves in instructing the people, in introducing and maintaining order and regularity in your own society, and *in forming a junction with all others associated for the same purpose throughout the nation*, by keeping up a constant correspondence with them; but, above all, *orderly and courageously preparing yourself for the event*; for as it is natural to suppose that those who now prey on the public will not willingly yield up their enjoyments, nor re-possess us of our rights *without a struggle*, which, by their behaviour in Ireland, we have some reason to think they are meditating, and perhaps may intend to effect by means of those very foreign mercenaries who are now paid by the sweat of our brow, and whom, under some plausible pretence, it would be no difficult matter to land on our shore.—It may be more advantageous to humanity to shew them at first, that their opponents are neither mob nor rabble, *but an indignant oppressed people, in whom is not yet entirely extinct the valour of their forefathers.*

Copy of a Jacobinical Hand Bill.

Seasonable Advice to the People in Power.

Rulers of Britain, Civil and Ecclesiastical, look upon France, and tremble!

BEHOLD in it the *end* of pride, covetousness, luxury, pleasure, oppression, and the rest of the sins, which like a mighty flood now covers *this* Empire, as it has done *that*. Alas! who can tell how soon the Righteous Judge of all the earth may dash Britons in pieces, one against another; as He hath lately done to

Frenchmen *?—we have had more awful checks and warnings †, than they had; and we alſo pretend to a greater degree of light, underſtanding, and virtue;—may we not therefore, according to the reaſonable dealings of God, expect even a heavier Rod than is now chaſtiſing France?—and indeed, if nothing elſe but judgments will ſtop our torrent of wickedneſs, and learn us the fear and love of God, and the practice of righteouſneſs, the ſooner they come—the better!

Wo unto them that call themſelves *Chriſtians*, and lay heavy rents, tithes, duties and taxes upon the people, in order that they may poſſeſs parks, palaces, town-houſes and equipages—horſes and dogs—playhouſes and gaming tables—pictures and bands of muſic—grand furniture and coſtly cloathing—luxurious tables and a numerous retinue of ſervants, with a thouſand other vanities, whilſt multitudes of poor children are thereby deprived of chriſtian inſtruction and education; and multitudes of young men and women are driven to whoredom, theft, robbery, drunkenneſs and deſtruction; and multitudes of poor ſick and old men and women are forced to languiſh away the helpleſs evening of life, deſtitute of comfort, and even of neceſſaries!

And will not God be avenged on ſuch a nation as this? SURELY HE WILL! Since the beginning of the world HE has never ſent warnings in vain, nor ſuffered the abuſe of external bleſſings and internal light to paſs without puniſhment. Though judgment is not *ſpeedily* executed, yet at laſt it *always* comes: and if the pure gold can no otherways be obtained than by paſſing the ore through the furnace, may the fire be ſpeedily kindled! for, certainly (*whichever company I belong to*) *one* Million of Men doing juſtly, loving mercy, and walking humbly according to the law of Jeſus Chriſt; is better than *ten* of proud, covetous, cruel, oppreſſive wicked reprobates.

LEGISLATORS!

Let the neceſſities of the poor be conſidered before the luxuries of the rich.

Lower rents, taxes, duties, government revenues and ſalaries, penſions and perquiſites.

Divide farms, and let the poor have land, and their children education.

Cultivate the waſtes, foreſts, moors, and commons, and divide them into ſmall parcels.

Reduce the number of horſes, coaches, and dogs; and increaſe cows, cottages, ſheep and hogs.

Let trade (eſpecially *foreign*) give place to agriculture, and cities to villages.

Let milk and butter and beer, be provided before tea and ſugar, and wine and ſpirits;—and corn for man before corn for horſes;—and wool and flax, before cot-

* May His rod reform them, and His anger ſpeedily ceaſe!

† The loſs of America; the great waſte of blood and treaſure, and increaſe of the National Debt by that and the foregoing War; and the awful Viſitation which fell upon the King ſoon after.—Theſe I look upon as ſharper rebukes than any which the French felt for a long time before their preſent calamities began.

Not to mention the riots and inſurrections which have exiſted at different times for twenty years paſt in England and Ireland, and are all tokens of the anger of God.

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ton and silk;—and spades and ploughs, and scythes and sickles, before musquets and cannon, and swords and bayonets.

Redress the hardships, errors, and abuses in the poor-laws, insolvent cases, and prisons: And

Let *good* laws be *speedily, impartially and cheaply* executed IN ALL CASES.

Oh! that you would, by effectually and earnestly pursuing such ends as these, render a constitutional and Parliamentary Reform—the cries of the oppressed, and the judgments of God—UNNECESSARY!

Father of Jesus Christ! arise for the help of the oppressed, and let the great and the powerful, and the rich and the ungodly, know that they are *but men!*—O God! destroy them, whoever they are, that without cause destroy the earth!

so prays
THOMAS BENTLEY.

Aug. 9th, 93.

Letter of the Pope *to the Bishop of* Leon.

Pius VI. to his venerable brother John Francis, Bishop of Leon, sends greeting, &c.

AMIDST the cares and perplexities which surround us, and which you and your brethren share with us, we have the comfort to reflect, that most princes and civilized nations have thought it a duty to come forward to the relief and support of the valuable French exiles, whom the hatred of religion has stripped of their possessions, and driven from their habitations to seek security in foreign nations.

Among these sovereigns and these nations the illustrious King of Great Britain and his subjects have made a conspicuous figure. In that kingdom an address * was published, calculated, by the brilliancy of expression and the strength of argument, to excite the national benevolence. A design so glorious was crowned with success. The king was pleased to set the example, and it was soon followed by liberal contributions of his subjects of all descriptions. A large sum of money was collected and brought to the common stock.

Private donations were followed by a public contribution, encouraged by a king, whose humanity and munificence must be ever remembered with the sincerest gratitude. But to secure the end proposed by this private and public liberality, it was necessary to deal out the supplies with discretion, and in proportion to the real wants of its several objects. The suffrages of the public, long acquainted with your virtues, and witnesses of your zealous exertions in favour of the French clergy, named you, our venerable brother, to this important trust. It now became your duty to transact business with the benevolent committee, and to enquire into the respective situation of the exiles, and you have discharged your trust in such a manner, that no one has had, or now has, the least reason to complain.

On the receipt of this interesting intelligence, we addressed a brief, bearing date November 21, 1792,

* The Address first printed in behalf of the French Clergy was written by the Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

to our venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and to our beloved children, the abbots, abbesses, chapters, and the secular and regular clergy of Germany, in which we expressed our approbation of your conduct, and delivered our unfeigned esteem for the king and the whole nation in the following terms:—"We have every reason "to applaud and commend——in "a special manner, the illustrious "king of England and the whole "British nation, who following "the impulse of humanity, have "succoured the wretched, and as "St. Ambrose says, rivalling the "glory of the ancient Romans, "have thought it a duty to open "their doors to the unfortunate "exiles, and an honour to their "country to afford it an opportu-"nity of shewing its generosity "towards foreigners."

But as we do not know whether this brief ever reached you, of which you will receive a copy enclosed, we thought it proper to write to you, whom the king and the nation have employed to distribute the contributions, that you may assure the gentlemen of the committee of the grateful sense we entertain of the bounty of the king and of the nation, whom we consider as having added a new lustre to the dignity of the crown and the honour of their country.

To those sentiments you will add, that we have heard with a heartfelt satisfaction, that the catholics of those kingdoms have been relieved from the pressure of a penal code under which they had long groaned. The manner in which this was done adds greatly to our comfort. We admire on one hand the liberality of sentiment manifested by government, and on the other we observe with pleasure the fidelity and loyalty of the catholics, which conciliated the confidence of their rulers and the esteem of their fellow subjects.

We trust that you will with pleasure comply with our request. We should be happy to have it in our power to relieve the wants of every ecclesiastic banished from France: but so great is the number of those who have resorted to Rome, and who are maintained by us, that we really can do no more. It is then our duty to feel and to express our gratitude towards a nation who we trust will never cease to protect and entertain you till the bishops and priests may be enabled to return to their dioceses and their churches. We are the more inclined to indulge this hope, because the publication above mentioned assures us, that the regular and exemplary lives of the French ecclesiastics have greatly added to the public commiseration which had been excited by their sufferings, and that the humanity and liberality of the English nation is extended even to its enemies.

We have lately addressed another brief to the faithful of the provinces of Poitiers and Little Britany, to warn them against the insidious attempts of a Guillot de Folleville, who styles himself bishop of Agra and vicar apostolic *. As in that brief we had occasion to mention your name, we inclose a copy of it

* This person pretended to be authorised by his Holiness as vicar apostolic; and the brief was only intended to caution the people against so wicked a deception.

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for your perusal, that you may join your zealous endeavours to ours to caution your diocesans against the snare.

We are willing to hope, that the difficulties under which we labour will give place to joy and comfort, which we daily beg of Almighty God. In the interim, we give to you, to your brethren, and to all the French ecclesiastics in England our apostolical benediction.

Dated Sept. 2, 1793, the 19th of our pontificate.

TRIAL of *LOUIS* XVI.

ON Tuesday at three o'clock, Louis XVI. preceded and followed by large bodies of horse and foot, under the command of general Santerre, and surrounded by thirty municipal officers, arrived at the bar of the National Convention.

The President.—"I inform the assembly, that Louis is at the gate of the Feuillans. Representatives, you are about to exercise the right of national justice: you must answer to all the citizens of the republic for the firm and wise conduct which you will pursue on this occasion. Europe observes you. History records your thoughts—your actions. An impartial posterity will decide upon your conduct with an inflexible severity. Let your attitude be conformable to the new functions you are about to fulfil. Patience and the profoundest silence are suited to the character of judges. The dignity of your sitting ought to answer to the majesty of the French people. It is about to give, through your organs, a great lesson to kings, and an example useful to the world.

"Citizens of the tribunes, you are interested in the glory and liberty of the nation, of which you are a part. You know that justice can preside only where the deliberations are tranquil. The National Convention confides in your entire devotion to the country, and on your respect for the representation of the people. The citizens of Paris will not lose this new occasion of shewing the patriotism and public spirit with which they are animated. They need only remember that terrible silence, in which Louis was brought back from Varennes: a silence which was the forerunner of the judgment of kings by nations."

The king entered the bar. The mayor, two municipal officers, and the generals Santerre and Wittenkoff entered with him.

The President.—"Louis, the French nation accuses you. The National Convention decreed on the 3d of December, that you should be tried by it. On the 6th of December it was decreed, that you should be brought to the bar. The declaratory act of the crimes imputed to you, is about to be read. Louis, be seated."

The king sat down.

The secretary then read the following declaratory act of the crimes of Louis the last king of the French:

Louis, the French people accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes, for the purpose of establishing your tyranny on the ruins of its liberty.

On the 20th of June 1789, you violated the sovereignty of the people in suspending the meetings of

its representatives; and driving them by violence from the place of their sittings. The proof of this is in the procès verbal drawn up at the Tennis Court of Versailles by the members of the constituent assembly.

You wished, on the 23d of June, to dictate laws to the nation; you surrounded its representatives with troops; you presented to them two royal declarations destructive of all liberty; and you ordered them to disperse. Your declarations and the procès verbal of the assembly verify these crimes.

You caused an army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your satellites shed their blood; and you did not withdraw this army till the capture of the Bastile, and the general insurrection, made it known to you that the people was victorious. The language which you held on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July to different deputations of the Constituent Assembly, make known what were your intentions; and the massacres of the Thuilleries bear witness against you.

After these events, and in spite of the promises which you made on the 15th in the Constituent Assembly; and on the 17th, in the town house of Paris; you still persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You for a long time eluded the execution of the decrees passed the 11th of August, relating to the abolition of personal servitude, the feudal regimen, and the tithes; you long refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; you there permitted, in orgies celebrated in your sight, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be worn, and the nation to be blasphemed; finally, you made a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of several citizens, nor was it till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your observations of the 18th of September, on the decrees of the 11th of August, in the procès verbal of the Constituent Assembly; in the events of the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles, and in the speech which you made the same day to a deputation of the Constituent Assembly, to which you said, that "you wished to be aided by "its counsels, and never to separate "yourself from it."

You took, at the federation of the 14th of July, an oath which you have not kept. You soon strove to corrupt the public opinion by the means of Talon, who acted in Paris, and of Mirabeau, who was to exite a counter-revolutionary movement in the provinces. You lavished millions to bring about this corruption, and you wished to make even popularity a mean of enslaving the people. These facts are drawn from a memoire of Talon's, which you noted with your own hand, and from a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, giving you an account of a conversation which he had had with Rivarol, he says, "that the millions "which some had induced you to "distribute, had produced nothing."

During a long period, you meditated the project of a flight. There was sent to you, on the 23d of February, a memoir which indicated to you the means, and you noted it. On the 28th a crowd of nobles and officers spread themselves through your

your apartments in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, for the purpoſe of favouring that flight. You wiſhed on the 18th of April to quit Paris to go to St. Cloud, but the reſiſtance of the citizens ſhewed you that their diſtruſt was great; you ſought to diſſipate it by communicating to the Conſtituent Aſſembly a letter which you had addreſſed to the agents of the nation at foreign courts, announcing that you had freely accepted the conſtitutional articles which had been preſented to you, and yet, on the 21ſt of June, you fled with a falſe paſſport; you left a declaration againſt thoſe ſame conſtitutional articles; you commanded your miniſters not to ſign any of the acts emanating from the National Aſſembly; and you forbad the miniſter of juſtice to affix the great ſeal. The money of the people was waſted to inſure the ſucceſs of this treaſon, and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouillè, who not long before had been charged with the direction of the maſſacre of Nancy, and to whom you had written on this ſubject, "to "be careful of his popularity, be"cauſe that it might be very uſe"ful." Theſe facts are proved by the memoir of the 23d of February, with notes in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the 20th of June, entirely written by yourſelf; by your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillè, and, by a note of his, in which he gives you an account of the diſpoſal of 993,000 livres received from you, and employed in part to corrupt the troops who were to eſcort you.

After your arreſt at Varennes, the exerciſe of the executive power was for a moment ſuſpended in your hands, and you conſpired again. The blood of the citizens was ſhed in the Field of Mars on the 17th of July. A letter of your hand-writing, written in 1790 to La Fayette, proves that there exiſted a criminal coalition between you and La Fayette, to which Mirabeau had acceded. The reviſion began under theſe cruel auſpices; every ſpecies of corruption was employed. You paid libels, pamphlets, and journals deſigned to pervert the public opinion, diſcredit the aſſignats, and ſupport the cauſe of the emigrants. The regiſters of Septeuil ſhew what enormous ſums have been employed in theſe liberticidal manœuvres.

You appeared to accept the conſtitution of the 14th of September; your diſcourſes announced the deſire of maintaining it, and you laboured to overthrow it even before it was completed.

A convention had been made at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Auſtria, and Frederic William of Brandenbourg, who engaged to raiſe up in France the throne of abſolute monarchy; and you was ſilent on that convention till the moment when it was known through all Europe.

Arles raiſed the ſtandard of revolt, you favoured it, by ſending three civil commiſſioners, who occupied themſelves, not in repreſſing the counter-revolutioniſts, but in juſtifying their crimes.

Avignon and the Comtat-Venaiſſin had been united to France; you did not execute the decree till a month after, and during that time a civil war deſolated the country. The commiſſioners whom you ſucceſſively ſent, completed the devaſtation.

Niſmes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès ſuffered great agitations dur-

ing the first days of liberty; you did nothing to check these seeds of a counter-revolution, till the moment when the conspiracy of Dusaillant broke out.

You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillese, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles.

You gave the command of the south to Witgenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled "a few instants "more, and I had recalled for ever "round the throne of your majesty, "millions of Frenchmen, become "once more worthy of the wishes "which you form for their happi-"ness."

You paid your former body guard at Coblentz; the registers of Septeuil bear testimony to it; and many orders signed by you shew that you transmitted considerable sums to Bouillè, Rochefort, La Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beaupre, Hamilton, and the woman called Polignac.

Your brothers, enemies of the state, rallied the emigrants round their standards, raised regiments, made loans, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them, till the moment when you was sure you could not hurt their projects. Your intelligence with them is proved by a billet in the handwriting of Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, subscribed by your two brothers, and conceived in the following terms,

"I wrote to you, but it was by "the post, and I could say nothing. "We are two here who are but as "one; the same sentiments, the "same principles, the same ardour "to serve you. We keep silence, "but it is left in breaking it too "soon, we should commit you; but "we will speak when we shall be "sure of general support, and that "moment is nigh. If any persons "speak to us on the part of those * "people we will hear nothing; if on "your's we will listen; but we will "go strait forward our own road; "if they should wish you to say "any thing to us, be under no con-"straint. Be tranquil with regard "to your safety, we exist only to "serve you, we labour to this end "with ardour, and all goes well; "our enemies, even, have too much "interest in your preservation, to "commit a useless crime, which "would complete their ruin.

Adieu.

L. S, Xavier, & Charles Philippe."

The regular army which was to be put on the war establishment, was only 100,000 strong at the end of December; you thus neglected to provide for the external safety of the state. Narbonne, your agent, required a levy of 50,000 men; but he stopped the recruiting at 26,000, declaring that all was ready. Nothing was in reality ready. After him, Servan proposed to form, near Paris, a camp of 20,000 men; the legislative assembly decreed it; you refused your sanction. An impulse of patriotism made the citizens from all quarters fly to Paris; you issued a proclamation of a tendency to stop their march, notwithstanding our armies were stripped of soldiers: Dumourier, the successor of Servan, declared that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor supplies, and that the posts were left defenceless.

You commissioned the commanders of the troops to disorganize the

* The National Assembly.

army,

army, to drive whole regiments to deſertion, to make them paſs the Rhine, that they might be at the diſpoſal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Auſtria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon, the commandant of Franche Comté.

You charged your diplomatic agents to favour the coalition of foreign powers, and your brothers againſt France, and eſpecially to cement the peace between Turkey and Auſtria, that the latter might diſpenſe with ſending troops to his frontiers on the ſide of Turkey, and thus have a greater number to oppoſe France. A letter of Choiſeul-Gouffier, late ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, eſtabliſhes this fact.

You expected to be preſſed by a requiſition made to the miniſter Lajard, of whom the legiſlative aſſembly demanded that he ſhould indicate what were his means of providing for the external ſafety of the ſtate, to propoſe by a meſſage the levy of 42 battalions.

The Pruſſians advanced towards our frontiers. Your miniſtry was ſummoned on the 8th of July to give an account of the ſtate of our political relations with Pruſſia; you anſwered on the 10th, that 50,000 Pruſſians were marching againſt us, and that you had given notice to the legiſlative body, according to the forms of the conſtitution, of this formal act of approaching hoſtilities.

You confided the war department to Dabancourt, nephew of Calonne; and ſuch was the ſucceſs of your conſpiracy, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as ſoon as the enemy appeared.

You deſtroyed our navy: a vaſt number of the officers of this body emigrated; ſcarcely ſufficient were left to do port duty; yet Bertrand was granting paſſports every day; and when the legiſlative body, on the 8th of March, repreſented to you his culpable conduct; you anſwered that "you was ſatisfied with his "ſervices."

In the colonies you have favoured the maintenance of an abſolute government; your agents have every where fomented in theſe colonies, troubles, and counter-revolutions, which were to have operated there at the ſame time that the counter-revolution was effected in France; all which ſhews plainly enough that your hand guided this conſpiracy.

The interior of the ſtate was agitated by fanatics, of whom you declared yourſelf the protector, by evidently manifeſting your intention of recovering through them your ancient power.

The legiſlative body, on the 29th of November, paſſed a decree againſt the factious prieſts; you ſuſpended the execution of it.

The fermentation increaſed; the miniſter declared that he knew of no means provided by the exiſting laws to apprehend the guilty. The legiſlative body made a new decree, you ſuſpended the execution of it alſo.

The want of patriotiſm in the guard which the conſtitution had given you, made it neceſſary to diſband it. On the day after, however, you wrote them a letter expreſſive of your ſatisfaction at their conduct, and you have continued to pay them. This fact is proved by the accompts of the treaſurer of the civil liſt.

You retained about your perſon the Swiſs guards; the conſtitution forbad you to do ſo, and the legiſlative aſſembly had expreſsly ordered their departure.

You

You have maintained in Paris particular companies, charged to bring about movements useful to your counter-revolutionary projects. D'Angremont and Gilles were two of your agents; they were paid by the civil list. The acquittances of Gilles, charged with the organization of a company of 60 men, will be presented to you.

By considerable sums, you have wished to suborn several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. The letters of Dufresne-Saint Leon, and several others which will be presented to you, establish this fact.

You have suffered the French nation to be vilified in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain; since you have done nothing towards requiring reparation for the injurious treatment the French experienced in those countries.

You reviewed the Swiss on the 10th of August, at five o'clock in the morning, and the Swiss fired the first on the citizens: you have shed the blood of the French.

These are the crimes which are imputed to you. Reply to the questions which the National Convention has charged me to ask you.

When the reading was finished, the President said,

"Louis, you are now to reply to the questions which the National Convention has charged me to put to you.

President.—"Louis, the French people accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes for the purpose of establishing your tyranny on the ruins of its liberty.

"On the 20th of June 1789, you violated the sovereignty of the people in suspending the meetings of its representatives, and driving them by violence from the place of their sittings. The proof of this is in the procès verbal, drawn up at the Tennis Court of Versailles by the members of the constituent assembly."

The King.—"There was not then any law existing on that subject."

President.—"You wished on the 23d of June to dictate laws to the nation; you surrounded its representatives with troops; you presented to them two royal declarations destructive of all liberty, and you ordered them to disperse. Your declarations and the procès verbal of the assembly verify these crimes."

The King made the same reply as to the preceding question.

President.—"You caused an army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your satellites shed their blood; and you did not withdraw this army till the capture of the Bastile; and the general insurrection made known to you that the people was victorious. The language which you held on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July to different deputations of the constituent assembly, make known what were your intentions; and the massacres of the Thuilleries bear witness against you."

The King.—"I had then the power of marching my troops where I pleased; but I had no design of shedding blood."

President.—"After these events, and in spite of the promises which you made on the 15th in the constituent assembly, and on the 17th in the Town-hall of Paris, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You for a long time eluded the execution of the decrees of the 11th of August, relative to the abolition of personal servitude, the feudal regimen, and tythes; you long refused to acknowledge

knowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body-guard, and called the regiment of Flanders to Verſailles; you there permitted, in orgies celebrated in your ſight, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be worn, and the nation to be blaſphemed. Finally, you made a new inſurrection neceſſary; occaſioned the death of many citizens; and it was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promiſes."

The King.—"I made what I conceived to be juſt and neceſſary obſervations on the decrees which were preſented to me. As to the cockade, that is falſe—no ſuch thing happened in my preſence."

Preſident.—"You took, at the federation of the 14th, an oath which you have not kept. You ſoon ſtrove to corrupt the public opinion, by the means of Talon, who acted in Paris, and of Mirabeau, who was to excite a counter-revolutionary movement in the provinces. You laviſhed millions to bring about this corruption, and you wiſhed to make even popularity a mean of enſlaving the people. Theſe facts are drawn from a memoir of Talon's, which you noted with your own hand, and from a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, giving you an account of a converſation which he had had with Rivarol, he ſays, "that the millions "which ſome had induced you to "diſtribute had produced nothing."

The King.—"I cannot preciſely recollect what paſſed at that time, but the whole was anterior to my acceptance of the conſtitution."

Preſident.—"Was it not in conſequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the ſuburb of St. Antoine, and diſtributed money to the poor labourers, telling them that you could not do more?"

The King.—"I never had a greater pleaſure than that of giving to thoſe who had need; this can have no relation to any plot."

Preſident.—"Was it not in continuation of the ſame plot, that you feigned indiſpoſition to ſound the minds of the people on your retreat to St. Cloud or Rambouillet, under pretence of re-eſtabliſhing your health?"

The King.—"This accuſation is abſurd."

Preſident.—"During a long time you meditated the project of a flight. There was ſent to you on the 23d of February, a memoir which indicated to you the means, and you noted it. On the 28th, a crowd of nobles and officers ſpread themſelves through your apartments in the caſtle of the Thuilleries for the purpoſe of favouring that flight. You wiſhed, on the 18th of April, to quit Paris for St. Cloud. But the reſiſtance of the citizens ſhewed you that their diſtruſt was great; you ſought to diſſipate it by communicating to the Conſtituent Aſſembly a letter which you had addreſſed to the agents of the nation at foreign courts, announcing that you had freely accepted the conſtitutional articles which had been preſented to you; and yet, on the 21ſt of June, you fled with a falſe paſſport; you left a declaration againſt thoſe ſame conſtitutional articles; you commanded your miniſters not to ſign any of the acts emanating from the National Aſſembly, and you forbade the miniſter of juſtice to

to affix the great seal. The money of the people was wasted, to ensure the success of this treason: and the public force was to protect it under the orders of Bouillè—who not long before had been charged with the direction of the massacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote to take care of his popularity, as it might be very useful. These facts are proved by the memoir of the 23d February, with notes in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the 20th of June, all of your own writing; your letter of the 4th Sept. 1790 to Bouillè; and by a note of his, in which he gives you an account of the expenditure of 993,000 livres given by you, and partly employed in corrupting the troops which were to escort you."

The King.—"I have no knowledge of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I refer to what I said to the commissioners of the Constituent Assembly at that time."

President.—"After your arrest at Varennes, the exercise of the executive power was for a moment suspended in your hands, and you conspired again. On the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars. A letter under your hand, written in 1790 to La Fayette, proves that a criminal correspondence existed between you and La Fayette, to which Mirabeau had acceded. The revision began under these cruel auspices, and every kind of corruption was employed. You paid libels, pamphlets, and journals, designed to pervert the public opinion, discredit the assignats, and support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what enormous sums have been employed in these liberticidal manœuvres. You appeared to accept the constitution the 14th of September; your discourses announced the desire of maintaining it; and you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed.

The King.—"What passed on the 17th of July could in no respect affect me; of the rest I have no knowledge."

President.—"A convention had been made at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenbourg, who engaged to raise up in France the throne of absolute monarchy, and you was silent on that convention till the moment when it was known through all Europe."

The King.—"I communicated it as soon as it came to my knowledge; as for the rest, every thing which relates to this object, by the constitution, regards the ministers."

President.—"Arles raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it by sending three civil commissioners, who occupied themselves not in repressing the counter-revolutionists, but in justifying their crimes."

The King.—"The instructions which the commissioners had, must prove what they were entrusted with; and I knew none of them when the ministers proposed them to me."

President.—"Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin had been united to France: you did not execute the decree till a month after, and during that time a civil war desolated the country. The commissioners whom you successively sent completed its devastation."

The King.—"I do not recollect what delay was put to the execution;

tion; this fact cannot regard me perſonally; they who were ſent, and thoſe who ſent them, are alone to be regarded."

Preſident.—"Niſmes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès, ſuffered great agitations during the firſt days of liberty; you did nothing to check theſe ſeeds of a counter-revolution, till the moment when the conſpiracy of Duſaillant broke out."

The King.—"I gave every order on that ſubject which the miniſters propoſed to me."

Preſident.—"You ſent 22 battalions againſt the Marſeilleſe, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutioniſts of Arles."

The King.—"I muſt have the papers to give a proper anſwer to this."

Preſident.—"You gave the command of the South to Witgenſtein, who wrote to you, on the 21ſt of April, after he had been recalled, "A few inſtants more, and I had recalled for ever round the throne of your majeſty millions of Frenchmen, become once more worthy of the wiſhes which you form for their happineſs."

The King.—"This letter is poſterior to his recall. He has not been employed ſince. I do not remember the letter."

Preſident.—You paid your former body-guard at Coblentz; the regiſters of Septeuil bear teſtimony to it; and many orders ſigned by you ſhew, that you tranſmitted conſiderable ſums to Bouillè, Rochefort, La Vauguyon, Choiſeul-Beaupré, Hamilton, and the woman called Polignac."

The King.—"At firſt, when I heard that my body-guard had formed on the other ſide of the Rhine, I forbade any pay to be ſent to them. I remember nothing of the reſt."

Preſident.—"Your brothers, enemies of the ſtate, rallied the emigrants round their ſtandards, raiſed regiments, made loans, and contracted alliances, in your name; you did not diſavow them, till the moment when you was ſure you could not hurt their projects. Your intelligence with them is proved by a billet in the hand-writing of Louis Staniſlaus Xavier, ſubſcribed by your two brothers, and conceived in the following terms:

"I wrote to you, but it was by the poſt, and I could ſay nothing. We are two here who are but as one; the ſame ſentiments, the ſame principles, the ſame ardour to ſerve you. We keep ſilence, but it is leſt in breaking it too ſoon we ſhould commit you: but we will ſpeak when we ſhall be ſure of general ſupport; and that moment is nigh. If any perſons ſpeak to us on the part of thoſe people we will hear nothing; if on your's, we will liſten; but we will go ſtrait forward our own road; if they ſhould wiſh you to ſay any thing to us, be under no conſtraint. Be tranquil with regard to your ſafety; we exiſt only to ſerve you, we labour to this end with ardour, and all goes well; our enemies, even, have too much intereſt in your preſervation to commit an uſeleſs crime, which would complete their ruin.

Adieu.

L. S. Xavier and Charles Philippe."

The King.—"I diſowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according to the injunctions of the conſtitution, and as ſoon as I had any knowledge of them. I have no knowledge whatever of this note."

Preſident.—"The regular army, which

which was to be put on the war eſtabliſhment, was only 100,000 ſtrong at the end of December; you thus neglected to provide for the external ſafety of the ſtate. Narbonne required a levy of 50,000 men; but he ſtopped the recruiting at 26,000, declaring that all was ready: nothing was in reality ready. After him, Servan propoſed to form a camp of 20,000 men; the legiſlative aſſembly decreed it; you refuſed your ſanction. An impulſe of patriotiſm made the citizens from all quarters fly to Paris; you iſſued a proclamation of a tendency to ſtop their march, notwithſtanding our armies wanted men. Dumourier, the ſucceſſor of Servan, declared that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor ſupplies, and that the poſts were left defenceleſs."

The King.—"I had given the miniſter all the orders for accelerating the augmentation of the army during the month of December laſt; the liſts have been laid before the aſſembly. If they deceived themſelves, the fault is not mine."

Preſident.—"You commiſſioned the commanders of the troops to diſorganize the army, to drive whole regiments to deſertion, to make them paſs the Rhine, that they might be at the diſpoſal of your brothers and Leopold of Auſtria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon, the commandant of Franche Comté."

The King.—"There is not a word of truth in this charge."

Preſident.—"You charged your diplomatic agents to favour the coalition of foreign powers, and your brothers againſt France, and eſpecially to cement the peace between Turkey and Auſtria; that the latter might diſpenſe with ſending troops to his frontiers on the ſide of Turkey, and thus have a greater number to oppoſe France. A letter of Choiſeul Gouffier, late ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, proves the fact."

The King.—"M. Choiſeul has not ſpoke the truth, there never was ſuch a thing."

Preſident.—"You expected to be preſſed by a requiſition made to the miniſter Lajard, of whom the legiſlative aſſembly demanded that he ſhould indicate what were his means of providing for the external ſafety of the ſtate; to propoſe by a meſſage the levy of 42 battalions. The Pruſſians advanced towards our frontiers. Your miniſtry was ſummoned on the 8th of July to give an account of the ſtate of our political relations with Pruſſia; you anſwered on the 10th, that 50,000 Pruſſians were marching againſt us: and that you had given notice to the legiſlative body of this formal act of approaching hoſtilities."

The King.—"It was only at this epoch that I firſt knew of it; all the correſpondence paſſed with the miniſters."

Preſident.—"You confided the war department to Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne; and ſuch was the ſucceſs of your conſpiracy, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as ſoon as the enemy appeared."

The King.—"I did not know that Dabancourt was Calonne's nephew; I did not diveſt the poſts."

Preſident.—"Who was the cauſe of Longwy and Verdun being unprovided?"

The King.—"I do not know that they were."

Preſident.—"You deſtroyed our navy; a vaſt number of officers of

this

this body emigrated; scarcely sufficient were left to do port-duty; yet Bertrand was granting passports every day; and when the legislative body, on the 8th of March, represented to you his culpable conduct, you answered, that you was satisfied with his services."

The King.—"I did every thing in my power to restrain the officers. With respect to M. Bertrand, as no complaint sufficient to place him in a state of accusation had been urged against him by the National Assembly, I did not think it expedient to dismiss him."

President.—"In the colonies you have favoured the maintenance of an absolute government; and your agents have every where fomented in these colonies the disturbances and plots of counter-revolution, which were to have operated there at the same time when a counter-revolution was effected in France; all which shews plainly enough, that your hand guided this conspiracy."

The King.—"If any person in the colonies have called themselves my agents, they have not said truth. I have had no share whatever in what you have now stated."

President.—"The interior of the state was agitated by fanatics, of whom you declared yourself the protector, by evidently manifesting your intention to recover through them your ancient power."

The King.—"I can only reply to this, that I have no knowledge of any such project."

President.—"The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against the factious priests; you suspended the execution of it."

The King.—"The constitution gave to me the free sanction of decrees."

President.—"The fermentation increased; the minister declared that he knew of no means provided by the existing laws to apprehend the guilty. The legislative body formed a new decree, the execution of which you also suspended."

The King made the same reply as to the last.

President.—"The want of patriotism in the guard the constitution had given to you, made it necessary to disband it. On the day after, however, you wrote them a letter expressive of your satisfaction at their conduct, and you have continued to pay them. This fact is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list."

The King.—"I continued to do so only until I could, agreeably to the decree, form a new establishment of guards."

President.—"You retained about your person the Swiss guards—the constitution forbade you to do so, and the legislative assembly had expressly ordered their departure."

The King.—"I followed the decree which was made on that subject."

President.—"You have maintained in Paris particular companies, charged to bring about movements useful to your counter-revolutionary projects. D'Angremont and Gilles were two of your agents: they were paid by the civil list. The acquittances of Gilles, charged with the organization of a company of sixty men, will be presented to you."

The King.—"I have no knowledge of the projects attributed to these men: never did an idea of a counter revolution enter my head."

President.—"By considerable sums, you have wished to suborn several members of the constituent and

and legiſlative aſſemblies. The letters of Dufreſne St. Leon, and others, which will be preſented to you, eſtabliſh this fact."

The King.—"Several perſons preſented themſelves to me with ſimilar plans, from which I obliged them to deſiſt."

Preſident.—"What members of the conſtituent and legiſlative bodies did you corrupt?"

The King.—"I never ſought to corrupt any. I knew nothing of it."

Preſident.—"Who were the perſons who preſented plans to you?"

The King.—"The plans themſelves were ſo vague, that I do not at this time recollect."

Preſident.—"Who are thoſe to whom you have promiſed money?"

The King.—"No one."

Preſident.—"You have ſuffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain, ſince you have taken no one ſtep to require reparation for the injurious treatment the French experienced in theſe countries."

The King.—"The diplomatic correſpondence will prove the contrary; in other reſpects this was a concern of the miniſter."

Preſident.—"You reviewed the Swiſs on the 10th of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiſs were the firſt who fired upon the citizens."

The King.—"I went to view all the troops that were aſſembled near me on that day; I had the conſtituent authorities with me, the department, the mayor, and the municipality; I had even requeſted a deputation of the National Aſſembly to repair thither; and I afterwards went in the midſt of them with my family."

Preſident.—"Why, in the beginning of Auguſt, did you double the Swiſs guards?"

The King.—"All the conſtituent authorities had ſeen that the caſtle was threatened; and as I was a conſtituent authority, I had a right to defend myſelf."

Preſident.—"Why did you ſend for the mayor of Paris to the palace, in the night of the 9th of Auguſt?"

The King.—"On the reports which were ſpread abroad."

Preſident.—"You have cauſed the blood of Frenchmen to be ſhed?"

The King.—"No, Sir, it was not me."

Preſident.—"You have authoriſed Septeuil to carry on a conſiderable commerce of grain, ſugar, and coffee, at Hamburg. This fact is proved by a letter of Septeuil."

The King.—"I have no knowledge of what you ſay."

Preſident.—"Why did you put your veto on the decree which ordered the formation of a camp of 20,000 men?"

The King.—"The conſtitution gave me the free ſanction of decrees; and even in that period, I demanded the formation of a camp nearer the frontiers at Soiſſons.

Preſident.—"Louis, have you any thing to add?"

The King.—"I require a copy of the act of accuſation, and the communication of the pieces, and that counſel ſhould be granted me."

Preſident.—"Louis, the documents on which the accuſation againſt you is founded are now going to be laid before you."

A memoir of Talon's, with notes, was preſented to the king; and he was aſked, if he acknowledged the notes to be of his hand-writing: he replied, that he did not.

A me-

A memoir of Laporte's; the same answer.

A letter of his writing. The king believed it to be of his writing, and said that the contents of it he would explain; it was read. The king declared it to be merely a project: that it was never sent, and that it had no connection at all with a counter-revolution.

Four letters of Laporte, of the year 1791, the dates on them said to be in the king's hand-writing. The king recollected neither the letters nor the dating.

A plan of a constitution signed La Fayette, followed by nine lines in the hand-writing of the king. He replied, that if such things had existed they were done away by the constitution, but that he did not remember either the plan or the writing said to be his.

Three letters of Laporte, of the year 1791, noted by the king. Answered the same as to the former letters of Laporte.

A paper without signature, containing a statement of expences. Before the king was questioned on this paper, the president himself asked him the following question:

"Did you cause to be constructed in one of the walls of the castle of the Thuilleries a chest with an iron door, and did you put into it any papers?"

The king replied, that he had no knowledge of it, nor of the above-mentioned piece without a signature.

Another of the same kind, noted in the hand-writings of the king, Talon, and Saint Foy; the king did not know.

A third piece of the same kind; the same answer.

A register or journal in the hand-writing of the king, entitled, Pensions or gratifications granted out of the privy purse.

The king answered, I know that paper: it is a list of charities which I distributed.

A list of the Scotch company of the body-guards, the king knew, and declared that it related to a period before the continuance of their pay was forbidden, and also that those who were absent had never received any pay.

Three other lists of the same kind received the same answer.

Question. Where did you deposit these pieces which you acknowledge?

The King. Those pieces must have been at the house of my treasurer.

A paper respecting the hundred Swiss, the king declared he did not know.

To a paper signed *Nion*, register, and to another signed Conway, the king answered as to the last question.

To four certified copies of original papers deposited with the department of the Ardèche, the king returned the same answer.

Two papers respecting the camp of Jales, received the same answer.

A copy from the original of the powers given to Dusaillant, was not known by the king.

A copy of the instructions and powers given to M. Conway by the brothers of the king, and another copy from the original, the king knew nothing of.

The same answer to a letter of Bouillè's, giving an account of 900,000 livres received from the king.

A bundle of papers, containing five pieces found in the portfolio of

Septeuil; two of which were drafts signed *Louis*, and received by Bonmères; and the reſt notes. The king had no knowledge of them.

Another bundle, containing eight orders in favour of Rochefort, ſigned *Louis*, received the ſame anſwer.

A note of Laporte's without ſignature; the ſame anſwer.

A bundle containing two papers relative to a gift made to madame Polignac and M. Lavauguyon; the ſame anſwer.

A note ſigned by the brothers of the king. The king declared, that he did not know either the writing or the ſignatures.

A letter of Toulongeon to the brothers of the king. The king did not know it.

A packet relative to Choiſeul Gouffier and his agencies, received the ſame anſwer.

A letter of the king to the biſhop of Clermont. He declared that he did not know either the ſignature or the writing, and that many perſons had ſeals bearing the arms of France.

A copy, ſigned Deſnies, the king did not know.

A memorandum-book of the payment of the guards of the king, ſigned Deſnies, commiſſary. The king declared he knew nothing of it.

A bundle containing an account of the ſums paid to Gilles, for a company of ſixty men, received the ſame anſwer.

A paper relative to the penſions. The ſame anſwer.

A letter of Dufreſne-Saint-Leon. The ſame anſwer.

A printed pamphlet againſt the Jacobins. The ſame anſwer.

The preſident then ſaid, "Louis, the National Convention permits you to retire."

It was immediately decreed, that the general of the Pariſian national guard ſhould now conduct the king back to the Temple.

Another decree was paſſed, allowing the king to have counſel.

On the 15th, the commiſſion having brought forward in evidence a number of new papers, it was decreed that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent with them to the king, for the purpoſe of interrogating him upon them. This was accordingly done, and on the 17th Grandprez appeared at the bar of the Convention, and ſaid,

"I come in the name of the commiſſion of twenty-one, to render "an account of the execution of "the decree paſſed by you on the "15th of this month, which enjoined your commiſſion to ſend commiſſioners to the Temple, for the "purpoſe of communicating to "Louis thoſe papers which were "not preſented to him at the bar. "The papers are in number 107. "You will be ſufficiently informed "of the reſult by our reading the "proces-verbal, drawn up at the "Temple by the commiſſioners, at "the time of their communicating "the papers."

"We the commiſſioners, &c. have communicated to Louis Capet, in the preſence of citizen Tronchet, thoſe papers which had not before been preſented to him:

On the firſt paper being preſented to him, Louis ſaid, that he knew it. It was a declaration of the king on his quitting Paris for Varennes.

The ſecond, he ſaid he did not know.

The third, he ſaid that he believed

lieved he had received. It was a memoir of Bouillè's.

The fourth he declared he had not any knowledge of. It was a declaration of Chavrot's, written on three pieces, relative to D'Angremont, in which Chavrot declared that D'Angremont had orders to raiſe a company for the ſervice of the court, which was to be employed in preventing liberty from being talked of with too much enthuſiaſm.

Oſſelin affirmed the truth of theſe facts.

The fifth he ſaid he did not know. It was a letter of Laporte to the king.

The ſixth received the ſame anſwer. It was another letter of Laporte's to the king.

The ſeventh, he ſaid, did not concern him; and that he had given money to the widow of Favras, merely from charity.

To the eighth, he anſwered, that he did not know it. It was a letter of Chambonas to the king.

The ninth received the ſame anſwer. It was a private declaration, ſtating that endeavours had been uſed to corrupt Santerre, commander of the Pariſian national guard.

Your commiſſion invited the general to come to the place where it held its ſittings. He declared that ſome perſons came to his houſe, and endeavoured to corrupt him by the moſt inſidious propoſitions; that among others was that of purchaſing his brewery at 700,000 livres, for which he had aſked only 100,000 ecus.

To the tenth, he ſaid, yes, I did receive this. It was a letter of Narbonne's to the king, adviſing him to ſacrifice five or ſix millions for the purpoſe of recovering his power.

The eleventh received the ſame anſwer. It was a letter of Deleſſart's.

The twelfth alſo received the ſame anſwer. It was the reſignation of the miniſter.

To the thirteenth he anſwered the ſame. It was a paper explanatory of the preceding one.

To the fourteenth, he ſaid, I do not remember any thing of this. It was a letter of Choiſeul Stainville, giving an account of the money received from Bouillè, for the payment of the body guards.

To the fifteenth, he anſwered, I have no idea of having ever received this. It was a letter of Damas.

To the ſixteenth, he ſaid, I have no remembrance of it.

To the ſeventeenth; the ſame anſwer.

To the eighteenth; the ſame anſwer.

To the nineteenth, he ſaid, I have not any knowledge either of this piece, or of the facts which it mentions. It was a declaration relative to a dépôt of arms in the Thuilleries.

The twentieth received the ſame anſwer. It was a declaration of the ſame kind.

To the twenty-firſt, he ſaid, I do not know it. It was a letter of Dabancourt's.

To the twenty-ſecond, he anſwered, I know this to be my handwriting, but I do not know if it was ever ſent. It was a note from Louis to La Fayette.

To the twenty-third, he ſaid, this appears to me to be the handwriting of Monſieur.

The twenty-fourth received the

same answer. These were two notes signed with the initials of Monsieur and of Philippe Joseph d'Artois.

To the twenty-fifth, he said, I do not know this. This was apparently a pension granted to Tailleur, for his office of valet-de-chambre to Madame d'Artois at Turin.

To the twenty-sixth, he answered, I do not know it.

To the twenty-seventh; the same.

To the twenty-eighth; the same.

To the twenty-ninth; the same. These pieces were declarations of several citizens, respecting the revolution of the 10th of August.

To the thirtieth, he answered, this was a plan; I do not remember if it was ever sent: besides, the National Assembly at the same time testified its satisfaction. This was a letter from the king to Bouillè on the affair of Nancy.

To the thirty-first, he answered, I know this. It was the reply of Bouillè.

To the third-second, he replied, I do not know this. It was a memoire which proved the corrupt means employed to procure, by a decree, the disburdenment of the civil list from the liquidation of pensions.

To the thirty-third, he said, though the signature is defaced, I know it. It was an order signed Louis.

To the thirty-fourth, he answered, I do not know this.

The thirty-fifth received the same answer.

To the thirty-sixth, he replied; this I know. It was a letter of Mourgues to the king, containing his resignation.

The thirty-seventh received the same answer. It was a letter of Mourgues, which stated his resignation to be occasioned by the king's refusal to sanction the two decrees suspended by the veto.

To the thirty-eighth, he said, this I know. It was a letter of Rohan's on the conduct which should be followed by the king.

The thirty-ninth received the same answer. It was a letter explanatory of the preceding.

To the fortieth, he answered, this I do not know.

To the forty-first, he replied, this I know. It was a letter of Tarbé, giving in his resignation, and pointing out Blondel and Beaulieu to replace him.

To the forty-second, he answered, I do not know this. It was an order of Laporte to the quarter masters to send matrasses to the hall of the Thuilleries in the night of the 9th and 10th.

The forty-third received the same answer.

The forty-fourth, forty-fifth, forty-sixth, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, forty-ninth, fiftieth, fifty-first, and fifty-second, received the same answer. These were declarations made to the police on the dépôts of arms, and the hostile preparations at the Thuilleries.

To the fifty-third; the docketing seems to be my hand-writing. This was a memorial docketed in the hand-writing of Louis, and stating that it was necessary to make the constitution be rigorously observed, as the people would then know it to be their torture and ruin.

To the fifty-fourth, fifty-fifth, fifty-sixth, fifty-seventh, fifty-eighth, fifty-ninth, and all to the sixty-ninth inclusively, he answered, I do not know these papers.

To the seventieth, he replied, this letter is my writing. It was to authorize De Laporte to put out to interest his disposeable money.

To the seventy-first, he replied, I do not know this.

The seventy-second, received the same answer. It was a plan for forming a corps of royalists.

To the seventy-third, seventy-fourth, seventy-fifth, and seventy-sixth, he answered, I do not know these. They were various declarations made to the police.

To the seventy-seventh, he answered, I do not know this. It was a note of the ci-devant prince de Poix, beginning with these words, "I have the honour to lay before your majesty the sums paid to the guard, to the month of April 1792."

To the seventy-eighth, he replied, I know the docketing, but I do not recollect any thing of the contents of the letter.

To the seventy-ninth, he said, I know my signature. It was the declaration on his flight to Varennes.

To the eightieth, he said, I know this. It was the declaration of the queen on the same occasion.

To the eighty-first, eighty-second, eighty-third, eighty-fourth, eighty-fifth, eighty-sixth, eighty-seventh, eighty-eighth, and up to the ninety-sixth inclusively, he answered, I do not know these. They were memorandums containing the expences of printing.

To the ninety-seventh, he replied, the signatures are mine. It was a list sent by Mandat to citizen Durand.

To the ninety-eighth and ninety-ninth, he answered, these I know. They were two receipts for 500,000 livres each, given to Duchâtelet.

To the hundredth, hundred and first, and hundred and second, he replied, these I do not know.

To the hundred and third, hundred and fourth, and hundred and fifth, he answered, these pieces are of my writing. They were drafts signed Louis.

To the hundred and sixth and hundred and seventh, he replied, these I have no knowledge of."

"Copies of all these pieces, collated and marked, have been sent to Louis Capet.

"Louis has demanded, with every reservation, that a copy of the procès verbal should be communicated to him.

"We restrained ourselves from making any other observations, and left the temple at midnight. We caused ourselves to be escorted by a good and trusty guard, because that we were the depositaries of the papers which we had communicated to Louis Capet. On our arrival here, we found all the committees closed; we then lodged the papers in the apartment of the officer of the guard, and affixed seals both on the enclosure of them, and on the chest in which we shut them up."

The reporter then observed to the convention, that the committee had received some fresh documents which it might be necessary to question the king upon; but this proposition was resisted, and the order of the day passed to on the motion of Legendre.

Different decrees were passed on the subsequent days, to authorize the communication of different pieces demanded by the king's council.

On the twenty-sixth, which was the day appointed for hearing the king, a member of the committee of twelve informed the convention that the key sent by the late king

to Thierry, on the 12th of the last August, and of which Louis had declared that he had not any knowledge, was, notwithstanding, that which opened the iron chest found at the castle of the Thuilleries. At the same time he presented four keys belonging to drawers in the apartments of the late king.

The convention ordered that the keys should be deposited on the bureau, to be shewn to Louis.

The President.—"I announce to the assembly, that Louis and his defenders are ready to appear at the bar."

The king entered the bar accompanied by Malesherbes, Tronchet, Deseze, the mayor of Paris, and the commander of the national guards.

The President.—"Louis, the convention has decreed you should be definitively heard to day."

The King.—"My counsel will now read to you my defence."

The following defence was then read by Deseze:

Defence of Louis the sixteenth.

Citizens Representatives of the Nation,

The moment is at last come; the moment when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, may make himself heard, in the midst of that people. It is come, the moment, when surrounded by the counsel which humanity, and the law have given him, he may present to the nation a defence which his heart avows; and develope before it the intentions which have always animated him. Already the silence which environs me, tells me that the day of justice has succeeded those of anger and prejudice; that this solemn act is not a vain form; that the temple of liberty is also that of the impartiality commanded by the law; and that the man, whoever he may be, who is reduced to the humiliating condition of an accused, is always sure of exciting in his behalf the attention and interest even of those who are his prosecutors.

I say the man, whoever he may be, for Louis is in reality no more than a man, and a man who is arraigned. He can now use no arts; he can do nothing; he can no more either inspire fears or hopes; this then is the moment in which you ought, not only to shew him more justice, but I will dare even to say more favour. He ought to inspire you with all those feelings which arise from the contemplation of the most boundless misfortune; and if, as a celebrated republican has told us, the calamities of kings have in the eyes of those who have lived under a monarchical government, something much more touching and much more sacred than the calamities of other men, then doubtless the fate of that monarch who has filled the most brilliant throne in the universe, must excite an interest still more powerful; that interest too, ought to increase, as the decision which you are to pronounce on his fate approaches nearer. To the present you have only heard the replies which he has made to you. You have called him in the midst of you; he is come; he is come with calmness, with courage, with dignity; he is come full of the consciousness of his innocence, strong in his intentions, whose consoling testimony not any earthly power can tear from him; and resting in a manner on his whole life, he has opened to you his soul; he has wished that you should know, and the nation by you, every thing that he has done; he

has

has revealed to you his very thoughts: but in replying thus to you at the very moment in which you called him; in discussing without preparation, and without examination, charges which he could not foresee; in extemporising, if I may so express myself, a justification which he was very far from imagining it would be necessary to give, Louis could only affirm his innocence, he could not demonstrate it to you, as he could not produce the proofs of it. It is I, citizens, I who bring them, I bring them before that people in whose name he is accused. At this moment I could wish that I had power to make myself heard by all France; I could wish that this hall were suddenly enlarged to receive her. I know that in speaking to the representatives of the nation, I speak to the nation itself; but it surely may be permitted to Louis to regret, that an immense multitude of citizens who have received an impression of the charges urged against him, cannot this day be present to hear and appreciate those replies which demonstrate his innocence. That which most nearly concerns him, is to prove that he is not culpable; this is his only wish, his only thought. Louis knows well that Europe waits with anxiety, the judgment which you are on the point of pronouncing; but he is only occupied with France. He knows well that posterity will one day collect all the pieces relative to this great discussion between a nation and a man; but Louis considers only his contemporaries; he aspires but to undeceive them. We ourselves aspire but to defend him; we wish but to justify him. We, like him, forget that Europe listens to us; we forget posterity, the opinion of which is already forming; we wish but to see the moment before us; we are absorbed in the fate of Louis, and we shall believe that we have fulfilled our duty, when we have demonstrated his innocence.

One thing, citizens, I ought to make known to you, and to us it has been a great grief, that time has been wanting to all of us, but particularly to myself, for the forming of this defence; the most extensive materials were in our hands, and we could hardly cast our eyes over them; we were under the necessity of employing in the classification of the pieces laid before us by the commissioners, those moments which were granted us for the discussion of them. The necessity also of consulting with the accused, deprived me of a great part of that time which was intended for the arrangement of the matter; and for a cause which, from its importance, from its solemnity, its spendour, and its reverberation to ages, if I may use such an expression, merited many months of meditation and diligence, I have had only eight days. I supplicate you, therefore, citizens, to hear me with that indulgence, which our respect for your decree, and the desire we have shewn to obey you, ought to inspire. Let not the cause of Louis be injured by the forced omissions of his defenders; let our zeal be aided by your justice, that it may be said, in the magnificent diction of the Roman orator, that you have yourselves, in some degree, laboured with me in the justification which I now lay before you.

I have a vast field to survey, but I shall, by dividing it, lessen its extent.

If I had to reply but to judges, I should present to them only prin-

ciples, and ſhould content myſelf with telling them, that ſince the nation has aboliſhed royalty, there is nothing more to pronounce on Louis; but I ſpeak alſo to the people itſelf; and Louis has the deſtruction of the prejudices inſpired againſt him, too much at heart, not to impoſe on himſelf even a ſuperfluous taſk; not to make it a duty to diſcuſs all the facts which are imputed to him.

I ſhall thetefore firſt lay down principles, and then enter into an examination of the facts which are urged in the act of accuſation.

PRINCIPLES RELATIVE TO THE INVIOLABILITY ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

I ſhall in this place examine theſe principles under two points of view:

Under that in which Louis was placed previous to the abolition of royalty; and under that in which he has been placed ſince the abolition of royalty was decreed.

In commencing this diſcuſſion, I meet in the firſt place with the decree by which the national convention conſtitutes itſelf the judge of Louis, and I am not ignorant of the falſe conſtruction which ſome minds, of more ardour perhaps than reflection, have wiſhed to put upon that decree.

I know they have ſuppoſed, that by the decree of abolition the convention had beforehand taken from Louis the inviolability with which he was inveſted by the conſtitution.

I know they have ſaid, that Louis could no longer make uſe of that inviolability as a mean of defence.

But that this is an error, the moſt ſimple obſervation will be ſufficient to demonſtrate.

What has the convention in reality decreed?

In decreeing that Louis ſhould be judged by it, it has only decided that it would be judge of the accuſation which was brought againſt him by itſelf; but at the ſame time that it conſtituted itſelf judge of this accuſation, it ordered that Louis ſhould be heard; and all muſt feel the utter impoſſibility of his being judged without a hearing.

If, therefore, Louis has a right to be heard before he is judged, he has the right of defending himſelf from the accuſation brought againſt him, by all thoſe means which may ſeem to him the moſt efficacious: this right is the right of all accuſed perſons; it belongs to them from their ſituation. The judge has no right to deprive the accuſed of even the ſmalleſt means of defence; he can only appreciate their weight in giving his deciſion.

The convention then has no more than this power, with reſpect to Louis: the convention will appreciate his defence when that defence ſhall be preſented, but cannot before either weaken or prejudge it. If Louis deceives himſelf in thoſe principles which he believes it of importance to him to hold, it will belong to the convention to remove them in its deciſion; but, till then, it is neceſſary that they ſhould be heard. Juſtice commands it, no leſs than the law.

Here then are the principles which I lay down, and which I claim:

Nations are ſovereigns:

They are at liberty to give themſelves that form of government which appears moſt convenient to them:

They may, when they have diſcovered the faults of that which they had choſen, adopt a new one to better their condition.

I do

I do not conteſt this right of nations: it is impreſcriptible; it is enrolled in our conſtitutional act; and it cannot be forgotten that it is to the efforts of one of the defenders of Louis, then a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, that France is indebted for ſeeing this fundamental maxim placed in the number of its eſtabliſhed laws.

But a great nation cannot itſelf exerciſe its ſovereignty, which muſt neceſſarily be delegated.

The neceſſity of this delegation obliged it either to elect a king or to form a republic.

In 1789, at the firſt epoch of the revolution, which changed at once the form of government, under which we had exiſted for ages, the aſſembled nation declared to the repreſentatives whom it had choſen, that it willed a monarchical government.

A monarchical government neceſſarily requires the inviolability of its head.

The repreſentatives of the French people thought that in a country where the king alone was charged with the execution of the law, it was neceſſary for him to have on his ſide all the ſtrength of opinion, that his action might not meet with obſtacles, or might be able to ſurmount them; that it was neceſſary that he ſhould inſpire that reſpect which would enſure the obedience commanded by the law; that he ſhould reſtrain in their due bounds all the ſecondary authorities, which had a tendency to deviate from, or totally diſregard them; that he ſhould repreſs or prevent all thoſe paſſions which were perpetually endeavouring to injure the public welfare; that he ſhould anxiouſly watch over all the parts of the public order; in one word, that he ſhould keep tight in his hands all the ſprings of government, and that he ſhould not ſuffer one of them to ſlacken.

They thought that to perform ſuch great duties, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that the monarch ſhould be inveſted with great power, and, that he might have the full liberty of exerciſing it, he muſt be inviolable.

The repreſentatives of the nation knew beſides, that it was not for kings, that nations created this inviolability, but for themſelves; that it was for their own tranquillity, for their own happineſs, and becauſe that, under monarchical governments, tranquillity would be always diſturbed, if the head of the ſupreme power could not at all times oppoſe the inflexibility of the law againſt all thoſe paſſions and extravagances which would ſeek to elude or to violate his orders.

Finally, they conſidered as a principle, no leſs moral than political, that maxim of a neighbouring people, that the faults of kings ſhould never be perſonally attributed to them; that the misfortune of their ſituation, the ſeductions which ſurrounded them, ought to cauſe even the offences they might commit, to be charged on the evil influence of others; and that it would be far better for the people itſelf, to whom inviolability truly belonged, rather to ſuppoſe the madneſs of kings, than to expoſe them to thoſe attacks which could not fail to excite great revolutions.

It was in theſe ideas that the repreſentatives of the people laid the baſes of the conſtitution demanded from them by France.

"I open, therefore, the conſtitution, and I ſee in the firſt chapter, "of

"the

"the sovereignty," that the sovereignty is indivisible, and is delegated hereditarily to the reigning race from male to male.

Thus I remark primarily, that the title under which the sovereignty has been conferred on Louis is a delegation.

There have been disputes on the character of this delegation.

It has been asked if it was a contract.

It has been more especially demanded if it was a synallagmatic contract.

But this was merely a dispute of words.

Doubtless this delegation was not a contract of the nature of those which can only be dissolved with the mutual consent of both parties; it is evident that it was no more than a trust; a grant of the exercise of the sovereignty, of which the nation reserved to itself the principle, which it could not alienate; a grant consequently revocable by its nature, like all trusts; but, it was in one sense a contract, as while it subsisted, and was not revoked, it obliged the granter to adhere to the conditions under which it was given, in the same manner which it obliged the receiver to fulfil those under which it was received.

Let us dismiss all disputation upon words, and admit at once, that the constitutional act, in binding down Louis to exercise with fidelity the august functions confided to him by the nation, did not mean to subject him to other conditions, or to other penalties, than those written in the instrument itself.

Let us see then what are the penalties and conditions to be found in that instrument.

In the second article, I find that "the person of the king is inviolable and sacred:" and I observe that this inviolability is laid down in the most positive manner. There is no condition that alters, no exception that modifies, no distinction that weakens it; it is in two words, and it is perfect.

But let us consider the cases foreseen by the constitution, and which, without altering the inviolability of the king, since they respect his character of king, as long as he professes it, yet suppose circumstances under which he might lose that character, and cease to be king.

The first of these cases is to be found in the fifth article.

"If a month after the invitation "of the legislative body, the king "has not taken the oath; (that to "be faithful to the nation and the "law, and to maintain the constitution) or if, after taking it, he "retracts, he shall be held to have "abdicated the royalty."

The nation here imposes on the king the obligations of taking the oath of fidelity, and of keeping it, when taken.

To retract his oath, would doubtless be a crime of the king, against the nation. The constitution foresaw the crime. What penalty did it ordain? That he should be considered as having abdicated the royalty.

I explain myself ill in speaking of penalty, for it is not a penalty which the law pronounces, in the legal sense of the word, it is not a judgment which it passes, it is not a deposition which it establishes; this latter word is not once used in the law; it is simply a supposition which it has created, and in the event of

which,

which, it declares, that the king shall be presumed to have abdicated the royalty.

It is not here, legislators, that words are indifferent.

It is clear that it was from respect for the character of the king, that the constitution wished to avoid wounding him even in terms; that it was in this view that it appeared solicitous to chuse its expressions, and that it did not make use of others. You see that it created no tribunal; that it spoke of no judgment; that it never pronounced the word *deposition*, it merely thought there was a necessity for its safety, to foresee a case in which it might have to complain of the perfidies or of the crimes even of the king; and it has said, that "if that case arises, the king shall "be presumed to have given his "consent to the revocation of the "grant which I had made him, and "I shall become at liberty to re-"sume it."

I know well that it is necessary always to declare this presumption of revocation, and that although the constitution should be silent on the manner in which this declaration ought to take place, the right of pronouncing it evidently belongs to the nation; but in a word, it is here merely a fiction to realise; and this fiction realised, would not be, to speak correctly, a penalty, but a fact.

I have said that the constitution foresaw the case, in which the king would retract his oath of fidelity; but without retracting this oath the king might be unfaithful to it; he might endanger the safety of the nation; he might turn against it the power which had been given him to defend it: The constitution has foreseen this crime also: What has it pronounced?

It says in the sixth article,

"If the king put himself at the "head of an army, and direct the "forces of it against the nation, "or if he do not oppose, by a for-"mal act, any such enterprise un-"dertaken in his name, he shall be "held to have abdicated."

I supplicate you, citizens, to notice well the nature of the crime against which the law has provided.

"To put himself at the head of an "army, and direct the forces of it "against the nation."

Assuredly there cannot exist a crime of greater magnitude; this alone includes all. It supposes, in the combinations which go before it, all the perfidies, all the machinations, all the plots which such an enterprise necessarily requires; it supposes in its effects all the horrors, all the scourges, all the calamities, which a sanguinary civil war brings along with it. And, nevertheless, what has the constitution pronounced? A presumption of the abdication of royalty.

The seventh article provides for the case where the king shall leave the kingdom, and on the invitation made to him by the legislative body to re-enter, shall refuse to obey: and what does the constitution here pronounce? The presumption of having abdicated the royalty.

Finally, the eighth article (and this last article is very important) purports "that after abdication, "*express* or *legal*, the king shall "be in the class of citizens, and "may be accused and tried like "them, *for acts posterior* to his abdi-"cation."

I have no need to define *express* abdication.

Legal

Legal abdication is defined by the articles which I have just quoted.

It results therefore, from this, that the king does not enter into the class of citizens, till after having voluntarily abdicated, or committed those crimes which bear the presumption of abdication.

The king then is not before in the class of citizens.

He has therefore a constitutional existence, particular, insulated, absolutely distinct from that of other citizens; and from whence comes this particular, this privileged existence, if it is not from the law having invested him with the sacred character of inviolability, which cannot be taken from him till after his express or legal abdication?

And observe, that the law which says the king shall return into the class of citizens after legal abdication, had just before made this abdication result from,—what? From the greatest crime which a king can commit against a nation, that of leading an army against it for the purpose of subjugating or enslaving it, and it is after this atrocious crime that it declares him to have returned to *the class of citizens*; it does not suppose then, that even if taken with arms in his hands, the king could lose his life; it does not even suppose that he can be condemned to the slightest suffering, it does not imagine that he can be subject to any other than the abdication of royalty.

Citizens, how much do these passages of the constitutional law, thus brought together, explain each other, and what light they throw on the question which I am now arguing!

But I shall continue.

The king, re-entered into the class of citizens, can then be judged like them.

But for what acts?

For acts *posterior* to his abdication.

Therefore, for acts *anterior* to his abdication he cannot be judged, in the sense commonly attached to the term.

All that can be applied to these acts, is the presumption of this abdication itself.

Behold here all that the constitution has willed, and you cannot depart from the letter of it.

And, besides, the law is perfectly equal in this point between the legislative body and the king.

The legislative body might likewise betray the nation; it might abuse the power which had been confided to it; it might prolong that power beyond the fixed period; it might invade the sovereignty; the nation would doubtless then have a right to dissolve a legislative body guilty of such misfeasance; but no penalty is pronounced by the constitution, either against the body, or the members.

I will now apply these principles.

Louis is accused. He is accused in the name of the nation; he is accused of various crimes. On the subject of these crimes, is there any provision made in the constitutional act, or is there not?

If there is no provision relative to them in the constitutional act, you cannot pass judgment upon them, for then there exists no law which can be applied to them; and you know, that it is one of the most sacred rights of men, not to be judged otherwise than by laws promulgated before the commission of the crimes.

If they are contained in the provisions

visions of the constitutional act, then Louis has only incurred the presumption of having abdicated the royalty.

But I go further: I say that they were provided for by the constitutional act; for the constitutional act has made provision for one of them, which is the most atrocious of all, and in which all the others are necessarily included; it is that of making war on the nation by turning against it its own forces. In whatever manner it may be understood, all is here; all the perfidies which Louis could have committed in the design of overthrowing the constitution which he had promised to maintain, would be no more than a war made against the nation; and this war, in a figurative sense, is far less terrible than the burnings, the massacres, the devastations, which are always produced by war taken in its literal sense. Well: even for all these crimes the law pronounces nothing more than the presumed abdication of royalty.

I well know that now, when the nation has abolished royalty itself, it can no longer pronounce this abdication.

The nation had undoubtedly a right to abolish royalty.

It might justly change the form of government in France.

But does it follow that it might alter the destiny of Louis?

Can it take from him the right of demanding, that no other law should be applied to him than that to which he submitted himself?

Has it the power to go beyond the terms of that trust by which he was bound?

Has not Louis a right to say to you:

When the convention formed itself I was the prisoner of the nation.

You might then have decided on my fate, as you now wish to do.

Why did you not decide?

You have abolished royalty; I do not contest your right; but if you had suspended this declaration of the national will, and commenced by accusing and judging me, you would not have had the power of imposing any other penalty on me than the presumed abdication of the royalty.

Why therefore did you not commence by this?

Can your act injure that right which I possessed?

Could you thus detach yourselves from the constitution, and then object to me that it was destroyed?

What! You desire to punish me; and because that you have annihilated the constitutional act, you wish to deprive me of its benefits!

You desire to punish me; and because that you cannot find any penalty to which you have the right to condemn me, you wish to pronounce one different from that to which I was subjected by myself.

You wish to punish me; and because that you know not of any law which can be applied to me, you wish to make one for me alone!

Certainly, there is not now any power equal to your's; but there is yet one which you have not: it is that of being unjust.

Citizens, I know not any reply which could be made to this defence.

It is however resisted.

It has been said, that the nation could not, without alienating its sovereignty, renounce the right of punishing otherwise than by the penalties of the constitution, the crimes committed against it.

But this is an equivocation which it is truly astonishing that any

any should have permitted themselves to use.

The nation has the power to give to itself a constitutional law.

It has not the power to renounce the right of changing this law, because that this right is in the essence of the sovereignty which belongs to it; but it cannot now say, without raising against it the cries of an indignant world, I will not execute the law which I created myself, in spite of the solemn oath which I took to execute it during the time it should exist.

To hold such language to him, would be to insult the national faith, and to suppose that on the part of the representatives of the French people, the constitution was nothing more than the most horrible of all snares.

It has likewise been said, that if the crimes of which Louis is accused are not to be found in the constitutional act, all that can be concluded from thence is, that he ought to be judged by the principles either of the natural or political law.

To this objection I reply in two ways:

First, that it would be truly astonishing, that the king himself should not enjoy the right which the law accords to all citizens, of not being judged otherwise than by the law, and of not being subjected to any arbitrary judgment.

And secondly, that it is not true that the crimes of which Louis is accused are not to be found in the constitutional act.

What is it, in the whole, that he is reproached with?

It is, that he has betrayed the nation, by co-operating with all his power, in favour of those enterprizes which were undertaken to overthrow the constitution.

Now, this crime is evidently marked out in the second part of the fixth article, which concerns the case in which the king makes no opposition to an enterprize undertaken in his name.

But, if the crime mentioned in the first part of the same article, that of making war on the nation at the head of an army, which is far more weighty than the second, is to be punished only by the presumed abdication of royalty; how is it possible to impose a penalty much more heavy on a crime less flagrant.

I shall endeavour to find the most specious objections that have been made: I wish it were possible to notice them all.

I shall not mention what has been said by some, that *Louis had been judged by insurrection:*

Reason and feeling equally refuse to allow the discussion of a maxim destructive of all liberty, and of all justice; of a maxim which exposes the life and honour of every citizen, and is in itself contrary to the nature of insurrection.

I shall not examine the signs by which legitimate insurrections may be distinguished from those that are not so; national insurrections, from insurrections merely partial; but I maintain, that in its nature an insurrection is a sudden and violent resistance to some oppression which is believed to be suffered, and that for this very reason it cannot be a meditated movement, and consequently not a judgment.

I say, that in a nation which has any constitutional law whatever, an insurrection cannot be more than an appeal to that law, and a demand of a judg-

a judgment founded on the diſpoſitions of it.

In concluſion, I declare that every conſtitution, be it republican or otherwiſe, which is not founded on this fundamental baſis, and which gives to a mere inſurrection, no matter what its nature or intention, all the characters which belong only to the law, is a mere edifice of ſand, which the firſt breath of the populace will infallibly overthrow.

I ſhall not dwell longer on what ſome have urged, that royalty was a crime, becauſe it was an uſurpation.

The crime in this caſe would be on the ſide of the nation, which had ſaid, I offer you the ſovereignty; and which ſhould ſay within itſelf, I will puniſh you for receiving it.

But others object, that Louis has no right to invoke the conſtitutional law, ſince this law has been violated by him.

Let it be ſuppoſed for the preſent, that he has violated it, though I ſhall ſoon prove the contrary.

But even in this caſe, the conſtitutional law has provided for the caſe of ſuch a violation, and has pronounced againſt it no other penalty than the preſumed abdication of the royalty.

Others have ſaid, that Louis ought to be judged as an enemy.

But is not he an enemy who puts himſelf at the head of armies againſt his own nation? And ſince it is forgotten, we muſt again repeat, that the conſtitution has provided againſt this caſe, and has fixed the penalty.

It has been declared, that the king was only inviolable to each individual citizen, but that between the people and the king there was no natural relation.

But in this caſe the republican functionaries will have no power to claim for themſelves the guarantees given them by the law.

The repreſentatives of the nation will therefore not be inviolable againſt the people, for what they ſhall have ſaid or done in their quality of repreſentatives. What an inconceivable ſyſtem!

It has, finally, been ſaid, that even if there exiſted no law which could be applied to Louis, the will of the nation ſhould take place.

Citizens, here is my reply:

In Rouſſeau I read the following words:

"There where I ſee neither law "which can be followed, nor judge "who can pronounce, I cannot tell "the general will; the general will "cannot, as general, pronounce ei-"ther on a perſon or on a fact*."

Such a text has no need of a comment.

I break off here this long collection of objections, which I have gathered from all the writings that have been publiſhed, and which, as every one muſt ſee, do not deſtroy my principles.

As for the reſt, it appears to me, that from any thing that has been or can be ſaid againſt the inviolability pronounced by the conſtitutional act, we muſt draw one of theſe two conſequences: either that the law muſt not be taken in the plain ſenſe which it preſents to us, or that it ought not to be executed.

Now with reſpect to the firſt point, I reply that in 1789, when this law was diſcuſſed in the Conſtituent Aſſembly, all the doubts, all the objections, and all the difficulties were then ſtarted, which have

* Contrat Social, Art. IV.

been

been now renewed: this is a fact which it is impossible to contest; it is registered in all the journals of that period; the proofs of it are in every body's hands; and yet the law was adopted such as it is written in the constitutional act.

It cannot therefore now be construed in another sense, than that given to it by the law itself.

We must, therefore, not allow ourselves to make distinctions which would change or disguise the intention of the law.

Consequently, that absolute inviolability which the law has pronounced, cannot be limited to a relative or modified inviolability.

I reply to the second point, that if the law of inviolability was ever so unreasonable, absurd, or destructive to the national liberty, it would still be necessary to execute it till its revocation, because that the nation accepted it in accepting the constitution, because that by that acceptance it justified its representatives from the very error with which they have been reproached; and finally, which overturns all objections, because that it took an oath to execute it so long as it existed.

The nation can doubtless now declare, that it no longer wishes a monarchical government, since it is impossible that such a government can subsist without the inviolability of its head; it may renounce such a government on account of that inviolability, but it has no power to destroy the inviolability of Louis, for the time that he sate on the constitutional throne. Louis was inviolable while he was king; the abolition of royalty cannot in any thing change his condition; all that results from it is, that nothing more can be applied to him than the mere penalty of the presumed abdication of royalty; but for this very reason no other can be applied.

Let us then conclude from this discussion, that where there is no law which can be applied, there can be no judgment; and that where there can be no judgment, there can be no condemnation pronounced.

I speak of *condemnation*; but take care then, if you take from Louis the inviolability of a king, you still owe him the rights of a citizen; for this is inconceivable, that Louis should cease to be a king when you declare your wish to judge him, and that he should again be one at the moment of that judgment which you wish to give.

But if you wished to judge Louis as a citizen, I would demand of you, where are the protecting forms which every citizen has an imprescriptible right to call for?

I would demand of you, where is that separation of powers, without which neither the constitution nor liberty can exist?

I would demand of you, where are those juries of accusation and of judgment; a kind of hostage given by the law to the citizens to guarantee their safety and their innocence?

I would demand of you, where is that absolutely necessary power of challenging, which the law has itself opposed to resentments and to the passions?

I would demand of you, where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely established to retard condemnation, or to soften it?

I would demand of you, where is that silent scrutiny which compels the judge to meditate before he pronounces, and which shuts up, if I may so express myself, in the same

ſame urn his opinion, and the teſtimony of his conſcience?

I would demand of you, in a word, where are all thoſe religious precautions which the law has taken, that even the culpable citizen may never be ſtruck but by itſelf?

Citizens, I will ſpeak to you here with the frankneſs of a man who is free. I ſeek among you for judges, and I ſee nothing but accuſers!

You wiſh to pronounce on the fate of Louis, and it is yourſelves who have accuſed him!

You wiſh to pronounce on the fate of Louis, and you have already expreſſed your intentions!

You wiſh to pronounce on the fate of Louis, and your opinions are known to all Europe!

Shall Louis then be the only Frenchman for whom there exiſts not any law or any form?

He ſhall neither have the rights of a citizen nor the prerogatives of a king!

He ſhall neither enjoy his ancient condition nor his new one!

What a ſtrange and inconceivable deſtiny!

But I will not inſiſt on theſe reflections; I leave them to your conſciences. I do not wiſh to defend Louis only with principles; I wiſh to combat the ſuſpicions which have been raiſed on his intentions and his character; I wiſh to deſtroy them. I will now, therefore, preſent to you his juſtification in the diſcuſſion of the facts which are contained in your act of accuſation.

I ſhall divide this act into two parts.

I ſhall firſt go over the facts which preceded the conſtitution.

I will afterwards examine thoſe which have followed it.

Discussion of Facts.

First Part.

Facts anterior to the acceptance of the Conſtitution.

Citizens, you go back in your act to the month of June 1789; I too will go back to that period.

How have you the power to accuſe Louis of having wiſhed, on the 20th of June, to diſſolve the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation?

Have you then forgotten, that it was he who formed it?

Have you forgotten, that for more than a hundred and fifty years, princes more jealous than him of their power, uniformly refuſed to convoke that aſſembly; that he alone had the courage; that he alone dared to ſurround himſelf with the knowledge and the conſolations of his people, without dreading their claims?

Have you forgotten all the ſacrifices which he made before that great national convocation; all that he took from his own power to add to your liberty; all the warm ſatisfaction which he teſtified to ſee us enjoying that precious good that he had himſelf accorded to us?

Citizens, we are too far removed from that moment; we have too much effaced it from our memories; we do not ſufficiently reflect on what France was in the year 1787, on the empire which was then exerciſed by abſolute authority, on the reſpectful fear which it impreſſed; we do not conſider that without a generous exertion of the will of that prince againſt whom every voice is now raiſed, the nation would not have been aſſembled. And can you think that the ſame man who ſpontaneouſly expreſſed this will,

at once so bold and so noble, could in the short space of a month after have one so different?

You reproach him with the agitations of the month of July, the troops cantoned round Paris, and the movements of those troops.

I could reply to you, that Louis has completely proved that he had not the intentions attributed to him.

I could reply to you, that the troops cantoned round Paris were intended only to protect Paris from the agitators; that so far from their having received an order to resist the citizens, they had, on the contrary, received one to behave with all possible respect towards them; that I myself saw this order at the time when I defended the general * of those troops, who was then accused of treason against the nation, and whom the nation did not hesitate to declare innocent.

But I have a still better reply to make to you, with which the nation itself has furnished me.

I see, on the 4th of August, the whole nation proclaiming Louis *the restorer of French liberty*, requesting him to unite with it for the purpose of presenting the homage of their mutual acknowledgments to the Supreme Being, and voting a medal to perpetuate for ever the remembrance of this great epoch.

I no longer find any thing that concerns Louis in the month of July.

You reproach him with the arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Versailles.

The municipal officers demanded it.

With the insult offered to the national cockade, Louis has himself told you, that if this odious fact be true, which he does not know it to be, it did not take place in his presence.

With his observations on the decrees of the 11th of August, his conscience dictated them.

And how is it possible to imagine, that he had not then a freedom of opinion on the decrees, when the nation since gave him the right of opposing the decrees themselves?

You reproach him with the events of the 5th and 6th of October!

Citizens, there is here only one reply, which it is proper for Louis to make; it is, not to recal those events!

I am myself much more gratified in recalling to your memories the affectionate emotions of Louis towards the National Assembly on the 4th of February, and those of the Assembly towards Louis!

I am much more gratified by reminding you, that in the month of July following, the representatives of the people themselves constituted Louis chief of the national federation; and doubtless so brilliant a mark of confidence clearly demonstrates their opinion of him.

You say, that since that federation Louis has endeavoured to corrupt the public opinion; that at his dwelling memorials have been found, in which Talon was mentioned as intended to act in Paris, and Mirabeau as charged to excite counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces; that there have also been found letters of the administrator of his civil list, which speak of money squandered, and declare that that money has produced nothing.

* Besenval.

You

You object to him these memoirs and these letters.

Citizens, I have many replies to make.

In the first place, if I were defending an ordinary accused person before the tribunals, I should maintain, that those pieces which had been procured by the invasion of his dwelling, ought not to be brought against him.

I should observe, with respect to the seals which justice affixes on the papers of every accused person, that the inventory of those papers which are sealed up, is never made but in the presence of the person who is the object of accusation.

I should add, that otherwise nothing would be easier than for malevolence and enmity to slide under the seals such papers as would injure the accused, and withdraw those which might be used in his justification.

Finally, I should say, that without that sacred form, of the necessity that every accused person should be present when an inventory was taken of the pieces remaining or seized in his dwelling, the liberty and the honour of every citizen would be every day exposed to the most imminent danger.

Now this defence, which I should have the right to consider as effective in favour of any accused person, I have doubtless a still greater right to consider as decisive in favour of Louis.

The dwelling of Louis has been violently entered, his drawers forced open, his bureaus broken, and a great part of his papers dispersed or lost; the law did not take them under its protection; there was no seal affixed on them; no inventory taken in the presence of Louis; every body had the power, during the tumult of invasion, to put out of the way or carry off any of the pieces; and, above all, those which would have explained the pieces now produced. In a word, Louis was not present when these pieces were seized; he did not assist in collecting them; he did not assist at their examination: he has, therefore, a right not to acknowledge them, nor has any person the right to urge them against him.

But, besides, what are these pieces?

They are letters of a dead man.

But can the letters of a dead man be brought here as proofs?

If the person to whom they are imputed was still in existence, they could not be urged against him before they were ascertained to be of his hand-writing: how then can they be brought against a third person? How can they be urged against Louis?

It is said that these letters speak of money lavished.

But if this fact, which the letters themselves neither explain nor point out the motives of, should be true; if some persons abused the beneficence of Louis, if, under pretext of good intentions, and by holding out to him the prospect of doing great good, they drew from him sums more or less considerable, do we not know with what art kings may be deceived? Do kings know the truth? Are they acquainted with it? Are they not always surrounded with snares? Are not many persons unceasingly occupied in appropriating to themselves either their power or their riches, and frequently to their prejudice? And can they be considered as guilty of corruption, merely because some importu-

nate or intriguing men have excited, or in a manner haraſſed their munificence?

A memorial addreſſed to Louis has been mentioned, in which Mirabeau, it is ſaid, is delineated as diſpoſed to excite a counter-revolutionary movement in the provinces.

But can a king be anſwerable for all the memorials which are preſented to him? Can he examine the allegations? Can he aſcertain the facts of them?

How unhappy indeed would be the condition of kings, if they were to be thus charged with all the ſuſpicions which might be excited even by the demands made to them?

Citizens, Mirabeau enjoyed, during the whole of his public life, a popularity which may be called immenſe.

That popularity has ſurvived even after his death.

His memory has now been attacked, but a voice is raiſed to defend it before the nation: we muſt therefore wait till the nation ſhall have heard and decided.

In reality, all theſe letters, all theſe memorials, all theſe writings, what do they offer that is perſonal to Louis? There is not one ſingle circumſtance which can in any way tend to accuſe him; there does not exiſt even the ſhadow of a proof that he received favourably either the plans which were preſented, or the propoſitions which were made to him. The docketing which has been remarked on the memorials relates merely to the date, and to the name of the author; nothing reſults from it which can make known the opinion entertained of them by Louis; and, doubtleſs, if it is here permitted to cite the teſtimony of public opinion, his known character for the ſtricteſt probity will alone be ſufficient to exculpate him from any charge capable of criminating him.

With regard to the letter which is ſaid to have been written by Louis to La Fayette in 1790, and in which he deſired him to concert with Mirabeau:

It appears, in the firſt place, that this was merely a project, and that in truth the letter was never written.

But, in the next place, Mirabeau and La Fayette were then the two moſt popular men in the nation; they both paſſionately deſired the conſtitution and liberty; they had both a powerful aſcendancy over many minds. Louis deſired that they would concert together. For what? *For the good of the ſtate!* Theſe are the terms of the letter, where then can be the crime?

You reproach him with his letter to general Bouillè on the 4th of September of the ſame year.

But here, Louis has not occaſion even to juſtify himſelf; he only followed the example ſet him by the repreſentatives of the nation: the repreſentatives of the nation decreed, on the third of September, that Bouillè ſhould be praiſed, "*for "having glorioufly fulfilled his duty.*" Louis himſelf wrote to him on the next day to exhort him to perſevere in rendering the ſame ſervices to the nation, how then can the king be blamed for thinking and acting in the ſame manner as the repreſentatives of the nation themſelves thought and acted?

You have required of him an account of the meeting of perſons at the

the Thuilleries on the 28th of February 1791 *.

But this meeting was not the act of Louis: vague rumours were the occasion of it. Some men, of an ardent zeal, thought that his person was exposed to some danger, and they rallied themselves round him. Louis could not prevent their zeal, but at least he exerted himself to keep it within bounds; he himself made them put in his custody the arms which they had brought with them; he was the first to calm the inquietude which the people might have felt.

You have reproached him with his journey to Varennes.

But Louis at that time explained his motives to the Constituent Assembly, and I shall, like him, refer to those motives.

You have wished that he should answer to you for the blood spilt in the Field of Mars on the 19th of July.

Citizens, of all the things with which you have reproached him, this above all is one of those which sinks deepest into his heart.

What! You accuse him with the blood spilt in the Field of Mars! You wish that this blood should fall upon him! And have you then forgotten that at that cruel epoch this unhappy prince was suspended from all authority? Shut up in his palace, the prisoner of the nation, deprived of all exterior communication, and guarded in sight: where then could he find any means of conspiring? What could he do?

Finally, you have reproached him with having paid, out of the civil list, libellers to pervert the public opinion, and maintain the cause of the emigrants.

I shall soon have occasion to remark upon what regards the emigrants, and I shall have no difficulty in proving that Louis never had the design of maintaining or favouring their cause.

But, as to the libels, I observe, first, that it was not at the house of the administrator of the civil list, as some have said, that the receipts of the writings mentioned were found, but at that of his secretary, who was not even known to Louis; and certainly Louis cannot justly be charged with the abuse which his subalterns might make of their functions, or with the intentions which they might show.

But, after all, if Louis should have done, not to pervert opinion, but to reclaim it, that which the factious on their side did either to lead astray or corrupt it in its operations, for what reason should he be reproached?

The nation has now decreed a republic, but a republic was not the form of government which opinion then required; the republicans on the contrary were then the factious. They were so even in last July, when the Legislative Assembly, by a decree, unanimously declared itself against that system.

The nation wished the constitution. It was therefore proper to write in its defence; it was even a duty to do so. Louis, as supreme head of the government, as charged to maintain the constitution, as holding the royalty from it, was obliged to preserve and watch over the trust; he had the power to influence the public opinion in directing it: and if in the execution of the ideas which were presented to him, and which he thought it his

* The original, by mistake, says 1789. *Note of the Translator.*

duty to receive, some persons were false to his intentions, or abused his confidence; if some unknown to him spread dangerous opinions; if they attacked the wise and the useful; we must pity, we must lament the fate of kings; but we ought not to accuse them.

Citizens, here is the first epoch of your act of accusation.

I have run over all the facts which you have placed in it, and which you have imputed to Louis.

I have justified Louis from these facts; and nevertheless, I have not yet pronounced the word, which alone would have effaced all the errors and all the faults which he had committed, if he had indeed committed them; I have not said that since all these facts he has *accepted* the constitution.

That word had been sufficient to reply to all.

The constitution was the new treaty of alliance between the nation and Louis.

This solemn treaty could not have been entered into without a reciprocal and absolute confidence.

There was then no more clouds between the people and the king.

The past no longer existed, all suspicions were dissipated, all dissentions appeased, all prejudices vanished; in a word, all was forgotten or extinguished.

That which preceded the constitution therefore cannot be recalled.

Let us now then examine that which has followed it.

Second Part.

Facts posterior to the Constitution.

I distinguish here into two classes the facts which the act of accusation brings forward.

The facts which Louis is not obliged to answer, as they only relate to the agents which the constitution itself gave to him:

And the facts which concern him personally.

I shall first put on one side all those facts which fall under the responsibility of the ministers.

It would not indeed be just, that Louis should be made the guarantee of those errors into which his ministers may have fallen, or the faults they may have committed.

The constitution did not require this guarantee from him; it had, on the contrary, to free him from it, created the responsibility of the ministers; it was to them alone that it declared, that the nation would call them to account for all they should do against its interests, or for all they should neglect to do for them. It was on them alone that it declared, that its vengeance should fall for all the crimes which should be committed against its safety or its laws. It did not address the same menaces to the king; it did not announce against him any accusation; it did not threaten him with any penalty; it had besides, and even by this, fettered his power. The king could do nothing without his ministers; an order signed by him alone could not be executed; it was necessary that the security of the agent whom he had chosen should always be given to the law; it is therefore not astonishing that the law did not render him responsible.

No one then has now a right to accuse at once the king and his ministers on the same facts.

However, by casting a glance over those facts relative to the ministers, which are brought forward by

by the act of accusation, it is easy to see that the imputations are unfounded.

FIRST.

Facts which belong to the responsibility of the ministers.

For example; Louis has been reproached with not having communicated the convention of Pilnitz till it was known to all Europe.

But, in the first place, the convention of Pilnitz was a secret treaty between the emperor and the king of Prussia. The conditions of this treaty were but imperfectly known in Europe; no positive communication had been made to the government; there was not even any certain proof of its existence; it was only known by the letters or notes of agents placed in foreign courts: there was therefore no reason of state which could impose it as a law on the executive power to make known to an assembly, of which all the deliberations were public, a treaty which itself was not so.

But afterwards, that knowledge which the government could not give to the assembly, of a convention which it doubted, it gave to its diplomatic committee, on the first moment that it received the intelligence of it. I invoke, to verify this, the registers of foreign affairs; they must depose to this fact; they must attest, that the very first pieces which the government received, relative to the convention of Pilnitz, were remitted to the diplomatic committee. They will attest too, that at an epoch, when the existence of this convention was by no means certain, and when many seemed to believe that it would never be executed, notice of it was already given to the diplomatic committee. I have myself had in these hands the proofs of this. Thus the minister, to whom this pretended delay has been imputed, and who cannot now justify himself from it, since he no longer exists, was very evidently free from all reproach.

Louis has been reproached with respect to the commissioners who were sent to Arles. It has been pretended that these commissioners occupied themselves more in favouring the counter-revolutionists than in repressing them.

But in regard to this, Louis has made, to the interrogatory put to him, a reply perfectly just.

He has said, that it was not by the acts of the commissioners that the intentions of the government should be judged, but by the instructions which they had received.

You have not accused these instructions, you cannot therefore accuse the government.

You have reproached Louis with having delayed, for a month, to send the decree by which Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin were united to France.

Citizens, the legislative assembly addressed the same reproach to the minister Delessart; it was one of the heads of the accusation instituted against him, and on which the national high court was to pronounce. Delessart is no more; he perished at the moment that he was preparing his justification to Europe; he had himself announced that this justification, at which he laboured in the depth of the prison where he was shut up, would not leave the least cloud on his innocence. Can you now renew against his memory an imputation, from which death has deprived him of the power of exculpating himself?

You have reproached Louis with the troubles of Nîmes, the agitations of Jales, and the conſpiracy of Duſaillant.

But is Louis then to anſwer for all the ſtorms which ſuch a great revolution muſt neceſſarily excite? It is impoſſible, in general, that there ſhould not be troubles in a country where the form of government is changing; it was eſpecially difficult to prevent them in the ſouth of France, where minds naturally ardent are eaſily led to give themſelves up to all the movements which ſome may ſeek to excite in them. Louis has been charged with favouring theſe troubles: it has been thought, that becauſe the princes, his brothers, had connections with Duſaillant, he himſelf had them alſo; but this opinion is an error. We may even judge of this error by the pieces which have been communicated to Louis; for, among other things, we may remark in theſe pieces a power given to Duſaillant to borrow, in the name of the princes, a ſum of *one hundred thouſand crowns*: now, can it be conceived that if Louis had been occupied in protecting conſpiracies, he would have reduced the conſpirators to the neceſſity of borrowing a ſum ſo diſproportionate to the expences which their projects would require, and that he would not himſelf have furniſhed them more actively with ſuccours?

But beſides, in proportion as the troubles in the ſouth were known to the government, it directly tranſmitted its intelligence to the aſſembly, and all the precautions which it deſired or ſuggeſted were taken to ſuppreſs them. The proof is in the reſult, which is, that the troubles have ceaſed to exiſt for ſeveral months, and that it was by the forces, and the means of government, that they were extinguiſhed.

A diſpoſition has been ſhewn, on the occaſion of theſe ſame troubles, to produce againſt Louis, as a crime, a letter which Wittgenſtein, the commandant in the ſouth, and who was recalled, wrote to him after his recal.

It has been ſuppoſed that Louis employed him after this epoch.

But, in the firſt place, Louis could not hinder Wittgenſtein from writing a letter after his recal; and he has declared, moreover, that he had no remembrance of having received that which has been ſpoken of, and which has only been cited from a pretended regiſter kept by that officer.

All that he could do was, not to give him a new employ after his recal, and in reality Wittgenſtein never was employed after.

Mention has been made of the government of Corſica; he never had this government.

Mention has alſo been made of a promotion for him in the army of the north; it is certainly poſſible that La Fayette may have demanded it. The project of a letter which has been found in the war-office ſeems to ſanction this idea; but the fact is, that this letter was never ſent, and that Wittgenſtein, who remained at Paris from his being recalled till his death, was never employed after that recal.

Louis has been reproached too, with the account given by Narbonne to the National Aſſembly, reſpecting the army.

I reply, that at his leaving the miniſtry, the National Aſſembly decreed that Narbonne, who alone was reſponſible for all the acts of govern-

government which concerned it, carried with him the eſteem and the regret of the nation.

He has been reproached with having deſtroyed the marine, and with having retained the miniſter Bertrand, notwithſtanding the obſervations which the National Aſſembly addreſſed to him.

I reply, that the miniſter Bertrand always refuted himſelf the charges made againſt him; and that while the National Aſſembly did not accuſe him, Louis had a right to continue his confidence to him.

He has been reproached with the diſaſters in the colonies.

I do not think there is any neceſſity of juſtifying him on this point.

He has been reproached on account of the time at which he made known the firſt hoſtilities with which we were menaced by the Pruſſian army.

Louis has himſelf explained, in his interrogatory, that he made known theſe hoſtilities to the National Aſſembly on the firſt moment that he had any certain knowledge of them; and the office for foreign affairs will furniſh the proof of this.

He has been reproached with the capture of Longwy and Verdun.

I reply, that as to Longwy, it was the inhabitants who ſurrendered it.

And as to Verdun, who was it nominated that commandant, now ſo celebrated for his heroiſm, that Beaurepaire, who thought it better to die than capitulate? who was it, if it was not Louis?

He has been reproached with having ſuffered the French nation to be vilified in the different countries of Europe.

I have here only one word to ſay.

I demand for Louis, that the office for foreign affairs ſhould be ſearched, and there will be found the moſt authentic proofs, that at every time when any inſult to the French, in any court of Europe, had been denounced to the government, the government immediately demanded reparation for it.

We have been too much preſſed for time to get this ſearch made, but Louis atteſts that the proofs exiſt.

Finally, Louis has been reproached with having retained the Swiſs guards, notwithſtanding the conſtitution forbade him, and the aſſembly had ordered their departure.

Here are the facts which reply to this imputation, and by which it is refuted.

A decree of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, on the 17th of September, had declared that the king ſhould be deſired to cauſe a new formation of the *ci-devant* regiment of Swiſs guards to be immediately laid before the legiſlative body, agreeably to the conventions and capitulations agreed to by the Helvetic Body.

And in the mean while the National Aſſembly, conſidering that the regiment had by its conduct merited well of the nation, ordered that it ſhould be kept up on its old footing, till ſomething ſhould be otherwiſe decreed *on its deſtination and mode of ſervice.*

In conſequence of this decree the Swiſs guards remained in the ſame ſtate.

On the 15th of laſt July the Legiſlative Aſſembly paſſed a decree, which ordered that the executive power ſhould, under three days, cauſe the troops of the line, then in garriſon at Paris, to depart.

Another decree, of the ſame day, ordered that the diplomatic committee

mittee should make a report on the capitulations with the Swifs, and on suppreffing the commiffion of colonel-general of the Swifs.

On the 17th, D'Affry wrote a letter relative to the order which had been given him for the departure of the regiment of Swifs guards.

He called upon the capitulations which were not then abrogated.

A decree ordered, that provifionally, and till the report of the diplomatic committee was preferted, two battalions of the regiment fhould remove to the diftance of thirty thoufand toifes from the capital.

D'Affry, placed between the Helvetic capitulations, and the wifh which feemed manifefted by the affembly, addreffed to the affembly, on the 4th of Auguft, fome new obfervations on the mode of executing this decree.

The affembly paffed to the order of the day.

The decree was executed.

Citizens, here are the facts which relate to the minifters.

Louis might have difpenfed with difcuffing them, becaufe they were merely miniferial acts.

If all thefe facts were in reality true, they would certainly afford caufe for reproach, they would give room for accufation; but Louis would not be obliged to reply.

But in difcuffing them with the rapidity to which I have been compelled by want of time, I have wifhed to prove to the French people, that, even in thofe things where the nation did not require his guarantee, Louis has always acted as if he had been obliged by the law to give it.

I fhall now pafs to the facts which may be confidered as regarding him perfonally.

SECONDLY.

Facts perfonal to Louis.

Here, legiflators, the time forces me again to haften my progrefs.

I will, notwithftanding, reply to all the reproaches which have been made againft Louis.

I fhall reply to them, indeed, more rapidly, and with lefs of detail, than if I had time to form all the combinations neceffary for a defence which includes fo many different heads; but, finally, I fhall reply in fuch a manner as will refute them.

I muft repeat that Louis's counfel think not of themfelves, they think but of Louis.

We well know, that a caufe on which all Europe now looks with anxiety, and which, defended as it is before the repreffentatives of a nation, that by its triumphs is become an object of aftonifhment to all others, offers to all the movements of the foul fo rich a fubject, would require a difcuffion no lefs great, if I may fo fay, than the caufe itfelf. But we wifh to enlighten the people, to call them back, to diffipate the prejudices which have been infpired in them; we wifh to convince them by facts alone; and this abandoning of all oratorical arts is one facrifice more which we make to Louis, and which, doubtlefs, Europe itfelf will acknowledge.

Louis has, in the firft place, been attacked on his refufal to fanction the decree for a camp near Paris, and on that relating to the prieffs.

I might, without doubt, obferve, that the conftitution left to the king his fanction abfolutely free; and that, even fuppofing Louis deceived himfelf,

himself in the motives which induced him to refuse his sanction to the decree on the camp near Paris, no one has a right to demand of him to give a reason for his erroneous conduct, and still less to reproach him with it as a crime.

But dismissing this reflection, and supposing that his conduct was wrong, I reply, that in reality his refusal was given only on wise motives. He feared to excite troubles; the decree alarmed the national guard, the opinion of the capital was divided; a great part of this opinion seemed to coincide with the decree, a still greater part seemed to combat it; the council itself was not unanimous. In the midst of these agitations, Louis thought that it was prudent to refuse the sanction required of him, but at the same time he determined on a measure which possessed all the advantages of the decree without its disadvantages. He formed the camp of Soissons, and eventually this plan was that which became the most useful to the nation; for the camp of Soissons rendered the greatest services to the French army, and in truth that of Paris would have been useless.

With respect to the decree against the priests, citizens, no one can compel conscience. Louis feared to wound his, in sanctioning the decree; he may, without doubt, have deceived himself, but even his error was virtuous; and in blaming, if we must blame the result, it is impossible, at least, not to respect the principle.

Recal also to your minds the so memorable day of the 20th of June, and see with what courage Louis maintained his opinion. How many other princes are there who would have been overpowered by such a menacing appearance of danger? Well, Louis, on the contrary, listened to his conscience, and not to fear; he continued to resist, and if any thing could justify his refusal in the eyes of those who were most disposed to consider it as a crime, I will dare to say that it would be the perseverance of that refusal.

Do not, besides, believe that this opinion of Louis, on the decree against the priests, was a solitary opinion, and that no minister of his council held the same; the minister Mourgues wrote to him, on that very 20th of June, that the decree was "*neither according to his principles, nor according to his heart.*"

There has also been urged against Louis, with respect to the priests, a memorial which was transmitted to him from Rome, in which the pope reclaimed his rights over Avignon, and those of the holy see.

But how could Louis prevent the pope from sending him a memorial, and where can be the crime in his having received it?

There has likewise been objected to him a letter which he wrote, in 1791, to the bishop of Clermont, in which he declared himself disposed to re-establish the catholic religion whenever it should be in his power.

But this was an opinion purely religious, and in consequence a free opinion, this liberty is written in the constitution; the civil constitution of the clergy, on the contrary, is not there, it was withdrawn, or, rather, it never made a part of it; and Louis wrote previous to the epoch of his accepting the constitution.

Louis, besides, might accept the constitution without believing it free from errors, he even said so at the time

time of his acceptance. He might hope for legal reforms, but he was far from hoping for legal reforms with the intention of destroying or overthrowing.

Louis has been reproached with having continued to pay his guards, of which the assembly had decreed the disbanding.

Citizens, I shall here make several replies.

In the first place, no one can contend that Louis had not the right to refuse his sanction to the decree which ordered that his guard should be disbanded, since he held this guard from the constitution itself, and none could take it from him without his consent; however, the National Assembly required its disbanding; he ordered it.

But as the decree for disbanding gave to Louis the power of reviving this guard, and of recomposing it, in part, of the same persons, it was very necessary that till this recomposition was effected, Louis should continue their pay to them.

It was, at once, an act of humanity and of justice.

Louis owed it, in the first place, to those who ought and were qualified to be re-admitted.

He owed it also with respect to others who had not been convicted.

Besides, he did not do this clandestinely, he did it by an ordinance which was made public.

It has been said, that among these guards there were some known for incivism.

But, in the first place, there has been no particular and positive accusation regularly brought on this head.

Secondly, they ought not to be believed culpable while they remained unconvicted.

And, thirdly and lastly, those who should, in the eyes of Louis, have been convicted of incivism, would not have been admitted into the recomposition which was to be made; but till then it would have been barbarous in Louis to refuse them those succours which their pressing necessities required.

Louis has likewise been reproached with having given succours to the emigrants.

He has been reproached for holding correspondence with his brothers.

He has been reproached with having sought to favour, by means of his ambassadors, the coalition of foreign powers against France.

Finally, he has been reproached with having an influence on the court of Vienna.

Legislators, I unite all these facts, because they all come under the same head of accusation. I shall now reply to them.

In the first place, I ought to observe, that in all public acts of the government, Louis never ceased to manifest the strongest opposition to emigration, and that he always resisted it, not only by means of all the national proclamations, but also by all his connections with foreign parts.

I invoke, in confirmation of this, the registers of foreign affairs, and those of the council; we have not had time to examine them ourselves, but they contain a multitude of examples.

I can at least cite one fact which is very remarkable, and of which the office for foreign affairs has furnished the proof.

In the month of November, 1791, the emigrants wished to purchase cannon and other necessaries for war,

and

and the inhabitants of Frankfort refuſed.

Louis was informed of this by his reſident.

He immediately made the reſident be written to by the miniſter to give him an order, in his behalf, to thank the magiſtrate of Frankfort for the wiſe conduct which he had ſhewn on this occaſion, and to requeſt that he would redouble his precautions and vigilance to prevent the emigrants from procuring at Frankfort the arms and ammunition which they had aſked.

So far the public acts.

Now, have there been any private acts?

Succours of money are mentioned.

Citizens, there is not one ſingle emigrant, one ſingle real emigrant, to whom Louis has given pecuniary ſuccours.

He has maintained his nephews, ſince their father has not been in a ſituation to maintain them himſelf.

But who is there that will have the courage to impute this to him as a crime?

In the firſt place, one of his nephews was no more than eleven years old, and the other fourteen, when their father left France; and can we conſider as emigrants children of that age who follow their father?

In the ſecond place, there was not at that epoch any law which fixed the age relative to emigration; the convention itſelf has juſt made one on the ſubject; but this law which the convention has juſt made did not exiſt.

In the third place, ſince the decree which declares the property of emigrants to belong to the nation, and which has conſequently deprived their father of his, the nephews of Louis were without reſources; and they were his nephews.

Was he then forbidden the feelings of nature, and obedience to its dictates? And becauſe that he was king, was it neceſſary that he ſhould ceaſe to be a relation, and even to be a man?

He made ſome private gifts to the governeſs of theſe children, but it was to the governeſs of theſe children who left France in 1789.

He made ſome to one of the dependants who were educated with him, Choiſeul-Beaupre; but Choiſeul retired into Italy after the commencement of the revolution, and never bore arms againſt France *.

He made ſome to Rochefort, who is mentioned in the act of accuſation, but Rochefort is not an emigrant.

He tranſmitted a ſum of money to Bouillè, but it was for the journey to Montmedy.

He has been reproached with a gift made to Hamilton; but in juſtice he owed it to him, as an indemnification of the loſſes ſuffered by him in the journey to Montmedy, and which he was not able to bear.

It has been ſaid that Bouillè ſent to Monſieur, by the order of Louis, a ſum of ſix hundred and ſome thouſand livres, which he had in his hands belonging to Louis.

But it is ſimply a phraſe bearing a double meaning which has given cauſe for this imputation.

The account given by Bouillè

* We forgot to mention Vauguyon, who is mentioned in the act of accuſation; but Vauguyon was another dependant of Louis, and he retired into Spain at the beginning of the revolution.

was,

was, "*sent to Monsieur, brother of the "king, by his order.*"

This order is evidently not that of Louis, but that of Monsieur, who in reality gave orders in a foreign country, and even commissions, under the name of the king; this mistake only arises from the expression, brother to the king, which is added to the name of Monsieur; but the truth is, that if the pieces had been communicated to us which ought to accompany the account given by Bouillé, and in which the order of Monsieur would necessarily have been found, we should have had authentic proof of this. The truth I declare to be, and Louis affirms it, that he never sent any pecuniary succour to Monsieur.

All that he did was to pay an old debt of his other brother's, amounting to 400,000 livres; but this debt Louis was security for; and can any one be astonished that he did not violate his engagement *?

The security given for the booksellers in 1789, which has without fear been imputed to him as a crime, for even the most innocent actions have been urged against him, was likewise an act of benevolence, which had for its object the favouring and supporting this commerce.

Thus all the liberalities with which he has been reproached do honour to his heart, and none of them can give cause to suspect his principles.

He has been reproached as having an influence at the court of Vienna; and in proof of this a letter has been cited of Dumoutier to Monsieur, in which Dumoutier appeared to point out Breteuil to him as having some influence at the court of Vienna, and seemed to suppose, at the same time, that Breteuil was acquainted with the wishes of the king.

But, in the first place, this is merely a letter of Dumoutier, and Dumoutier was the known agent of the princes to the foreign powers, but was not that of Louis; his opinion, therefore, cannot be of any weight here.

In the second place, even this opinion is no proof of the existence of the fact of which Dumoutier speaks; that is to say, that Breteuil really knew the wishes of the king.

And, finally, if we were even to allow that the allegation of Dumoutier should be regarded as a proof of this strange fact, where is the proof which must necessarily be brought, that this will of the king, which is not explained, was a wish of a nature to be the ground of accusation.

There has likewise been cited a letter of Toulongeon, written at the time when he was preparing to make a journey to Vienna, and where it is said he declared that "*the king had deigned to let him know* "*that he approved his conduct.*"

I might remark, in the first place, that this letter of Toulongeon appears under very suspicious circumstances, for it mentions one Valery, nephew of Toulongeon, and lieutenant-colonel, while we are assured

* Explanatory note added after the defence was finished.

The public treasury was charged with the payment of several debts of Philip D'Artois. Savalette Delange had advanced to one of the creditors a sum of 400,000 livres, and Louis was security. It is this security which has been spoken of; thus the sum in question was payed to a creditor in France, and consequently had nothing to do with the emigration.

that

that Valery is the cousin of Toulongeon, and not his nephew, and that he is not a lieutenant-colonel.

Now, could Toulongeon deceive himself so respecting his family?

But, I will admit the allegation of this letter, such as it is, what results from it?

Where is the proof that Louis had in reality approved the conduct of Toulongeon?

Can he be accused on an assertion which is foreign to him?

Will not the falsity of the assertion be plain enough of itself, when we remark that it was to the princes, brothers of Louis, that Toulongeon wrote that Louis had let him know that he approved his conduct; and that on a fact so important, since he acted according to the intentions or the wishes of Louis, he did not give to those princes any explanation, or any proof.

To what, besides, do all the accusations lead, of which these letters are the base? We may judge by a particular example.

A letter of Choiseul-Gouffier has been opposed to Louis, by which it appears that Choiseul-Gouffier was occupied in cementing the alliance of Turkey with Austria; and some have believed that, because Choiseul had been the ambassador of Louis, we ought to impute to Louis the plans of Choiseul himself!

But, to reply to this imputation, I only wish for the letter of Choiseul himself.

This letter proves, in reality, two things; the first is, that even two months before his recal, Choiseul-Gouffier had offered his services to the princes, and had not received any answer.

The first sentence commences thus:

"Though I have not received "the orders of your royal high- "nesses, *which I dared to solicit two "months since*, I hope you have "deigned to receive with kindness "the homage of my devotion, and "of my unalterable fidelity."

And the second, that three days after his recal, and in consequence even of that recal, Choiseul-Gouffier determined to repeat the offer of his services to the princes, and to form plans against the national ambassador who was appointed to replace him.

The proof of it is in this other sentence:

"I received, three days ago, my "letters of recal; they inform me "that I am to be replaced by M. "Semonville: as the views of this "national ambassador are not am- "biguous .... and your royal high- "nesses are too enlightened not to "perceive the fatal inconveniences "of the negociation with which he "is charged."

Thus, it was Choiseul who wrote, who acted, who, recalled by Louis, offered his services to the princes, who strove to keep his place in spite of his recal, and it is Louis who is accused.

Finally, there has been produced against Louis a note, without date, said to be written by Monsieur in the name of the two brothers, and which is said to have been found among his papers.

Louis has declared that he cannot speak either to the authenticity or falsehood of this note.

But, in the first place, this note is an act of his brother's, and not of him.

Secondly, this note itself proves that Louis was not in concert with them, for it does not suppose either

news

news received before, or reply expected to it.

Thirdly and finally, the last sentence clearly refers the date to the epoch of the suspension of Louis in 1791; and, as must be seen, this date alone is sufficient to prevent any deduction being drawn from it.

As for the rest, I shall not dwell on the charge of carrying on a *considerable commerce*, which has been boldly made against Louis, and the proofs of which it is pretended are furnished by the papers of Septeuil.

You have yourselves done him justice; you have not made it a part of your act, you have only put a single question on the point; but when you put this question to Louis, he could not but manifest his astonishment at it.

The circumstance which gave rise to this revolting imputation, is in truth extremely simple.

Louis had, like all the kings, his predecessors, a particular sum which was destined to acts of beneficence.

In 1790, he confided it to Septeuil, even before the time that he was treasurer of the civil list.

Septeuil, who did not wish to be suspected of having personally profited from it, for some time disposed of it in effects on Paris, and afterwards in letters of exchange on Paris and foreign parts.

In the interval he gave an account of it to Louis, and payed the sums for which Louis gave orders on him.

Here are the facts: Louis declares that they are correct, and there is not in the papers of Septeuil any thing that contradicts them.

All that these papers present, is a speculation which appears to have been made on his own account, by Septeuil, who had considerable funds of his own, in the month of March last, in merchandizes bought and resold in foreign parts.

But Septeuil, who, in a declaration which he has made public, explains this speculation, avows that it not only regards no other person than himself, but that there existed a separate register kept for the funds of Louis, which must have been found among his other papers, and which points out the use made of those funds, but which has not been communicated to us.

I shall not dwell longer on those pretended companies of counter-revolutionists, which Louis has been supposed to have maintained in Paris, and who were destined, as has been said, to produce movements capable of furthering his views.

Never has Louis descended to such proceedings!

Never, as he has himself declared to you, has he had counter-revolutionary views.

The ministers might have wished to know the state of Paris.

They might have wished to have observers.

They might have wished that these observers should give them an account of movements and opinions.

They might have wished to pay useful journals; but these were the ministers, and not Louis. And besides, the ministers themselves, in all the attention which they thought it their duty to give to those objects, have never had any other than constitutional views.

I come to the reproach of having suborned several members of the legislative assembly.

Louis has been accused of having wished, by means of corruption, to procure the passing of decrees rela-

tive to the liquidation of the charges of his houſe, and the penſions of his civil liſt.

Legiſlators, I will dare to ſay to you, that you have not yourſelves believed this.

You have not believed that there was one ſingle member of the legiſlative aſſembly who was capable of ſelling himſelf to corruption, or that Louis was capable of exerciſing it.

And what in this had been the intereſt of Louis?

The liquidation of the charges of his houſe had been rated in the Conſtituent Aſſembly, by Monteſquiou, at thirty millions.

It was rated by Cambon, in the Legiſlative Aſſembly, at the ſame ſum.

The adminiſtrator of the civil liſt on his ſide, equally rated it at thirty millions. But he had another plan: he wiſhed that thoſe officers of the king's houſe who were retained, ſhould put ten millions in the national treaſury, in the way of ſecurity, of which the intereſt ſhould be paid by the civil liſt, and the liquidation thus reduced to twenty.

This plan had been equally adopted by the liquidating commiſſioner.

They propoſed alſo to recommend it to the National Aſſembly.

But what offered itſelf here ſo uſeful, that they ſhould have recourſe to corruption to inſure their ſucceſs?

It would reduce two millions the liquidation of the charges of the houſe of Louis.

It aſſiſted the national treaſury with ten millions.

It charged the civil liſt with the intereſt of this ſum.

Where, therefore, was the great advantage to the finances of Louis?

A ſum of fifty thouſand livres has been mentioned, which was demanded, as has been ſaid, by the liquidating commiſſioner; but this ſum was not deſtined for himſelf, it was wanted to pay the eſtabliſhment of clerks, which ſo conſiderable a liquidation would require.

With reſpect to the liquidation of penſions, it appears that the plan of the decree was to divide theſe penſions in three claſſes.

The penſions for ſervices in the military department, were to be ſubmitted to liquidation.

It ſubmitted equally to liquidation the penſions granted by the kings, predeceſſors of Louis, for ſervices in the domeſtic department.

And as to thoſe granted by Louis himſelf for domeſtic ſervices, or by the deceaſed queen, thoſe were to be provided for by the civil liſt.

It is for this plan of a decree, which it has been ſaid would diſembarraſs the civil liſt of a number of penſions which belonged to it, that this corruption is ſuppoſed to have been exerciſed; and to prove this corruption, there is quoted a letter of the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt, written as it is ſaid to Septeuil, in which he tells him that this decree would coſt fifteen hundred thouſand livres, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould have that ſum for the next day.

I might in the firſt place aſk if this letter is true, if it was really written by the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt, and if he did indeed addreſs it to Septeuil?

I might aſk if, now that this adminiſtrator is no longer in exiſtence, any argument can be drawn from a letter, of which, before his death, he did not acknowledge the au-

thenticity; if we can interpret againſt his memory the ſenſe of a phraſe, which he perhaps would himſelf explain, if he yet lived; and finally, if it is really a proof that any corruption was made uſe of?

I might aſk—but why do I dwell upon things of this kind, when I might reply with one ſingle word.

The fact is, and it reſults even from the pieces which have been communicated to Louis, that it was he alone who prevented this plan of a decree being preſented to the National Aſſembly and examined *.

Can any one now believe, that if it had been him who permitted theſe culpable manœuvres to be carried on, he would alſo have hindered their being completed?

And what motive could he have had for endeavouring to obtain ſuch a decree by intrigues?

I do not ſpeak of his character, which is repugnant to all ſuch ſcandalous proceedings.

I do not ſpeak of the members of the aſſembly, who were very incapable of ſelling themſelves.

I ſpeak of his intereſt: where was it?

If he really wiſhed to get rid of the penſions which had been thrown upon the civil liſt, what hindered him? he had only not to pay them.

And can any one believe that Louis would not have liked this mode better than the other? Can any one believe that he would not rather have preferred uſing an act of his will, than recurring to a mean which would be of a nature to commit him!

The man who is capable of exerciſing a criminal corruption, which may be hurtful to himſelf, is he not ſtill more capable of an unjuſt refuſal, but which is not dangerous to him?

In a word, I can imagine that corruption which turns to perſonal profit; unhappily, the human heart furniſhes proofs; but of a corruption which would caſt on its author all the vileneſs of its nature, and of which the profit would entirely go to others, I declare that it is impoſſible for me to have an idea.

Another imputation has been urged againſt Louis, which in the firſt moment that it was known, muſt have exited in the people a great fermentation, and appeared to them of a moſt ſerious nature.

He has been accuſed of having always continued to pay his body guard at Coblentz.

In examining this imputation, I ought not to heſitate declaring that it made on myſelf the moſt painful impreſſion; before I was appointed the defender of Louis, I dared to ſuſpect his good faith; I dared to raiſe doubts on his intentions; the proofs appeared to me ſo ſtrong, the pieces ſo clear, and the inferences to be drawn from them ſo evident, that it ſeemed to me impoſſible to reconcile the opinion of which I wiſhed it poſſible to perſuade myſelf with that which I found myſelf obliged to entertain. Well, I accuſe myſelf of my error: the defence of Louis has enlightened me; and I come to make here, in the eyes of France, that reparation which I owe him.

One ſingle, but deciſive word, will do away this imputation.

None of you, ſurely, can have forgotten that all the papers which

* The pieces themſelves prove that Louis was out of humour with it.

have

have been printed, the letter of Poix to Louis, the memorial which he addreſſed to him, the letter from Coblentz, the liſt of names of the body guards; indeed, I repeat, all the pieces relate to the month of October 1791 *, and the letter from Coblentz, even, bears the ſame date.

Well, here is what was written on the 24th of the following November, by the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt to the treaſurer of it:

"Sir, it is the intention of the "king to continue to the officers "and men of the four companies of "his body guards, their preſent "pay, till the time that his majeſty "ſhall definitively ſettle their deſ-"tiny: but his majeſty intends that "the amount of this pay ſhall not "be delivered at once to the etat "major, *and that henceforth, every* "*individual, officer or private, ſhall* "*be paid at the treaſury of the civil* "*liſt, on his receipt or letter of attorney,* "*accompanied by a certificate of his* "*reſidence within the kingdom.* His "majeſty has alſo charged me to "tranſmit to you his orders, that "the ſame uſage ſhall be followed "with reſpect to thoſe officers and "others of the late regiment of "French guards to whom their pay "is continued.

"I inform you, moreover, that "his majeſty has ordered to ceaſe "reckoning, from the firſt day of "July laſt, the payment of all ex-"pences whatever relating to the "companies of body guards, except "the pay continued, and the ſub-"ſiſtence of the horſes."

I have no need, legiſlators, to dwell upon ſuch a text.

You ſee that this obliterates even the traces of that imputation of which Louis has ſo unhappily been the victim.

Yet to what cruel reflections does this circumſtance give birth!

All the documents on which the imputation is founded, have had the greateſt publicity; Louis has been denounced on this fact to all France; he has been denounced to all Europe; and this paper, which alone would have been ſufficient to juſtify him, remains unknown!

What is ſtill more, the papers of the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt have been ſeized; the original of the order which Louis gave to him, and which he himſelf tranſmitted to Septeuil, ought to be in thoſe papers; it was his authority and his voucher; he could not avoid being careful of it; and yet, by the moſt ſtrange fatality, every thing has been found in thoſe papers, except that order.

Happy was it for Louis, that he himſelf remembered the date, that he remembered the letter which he had charged the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt to write to Septeuil, that he cauſed that letter to be ſought for in his office, that he obtained an authentic copy of it, and that he can now produce it in the eyes of all Europe.

* Deſèze, on the 30th of December wrote to the Convention, to obſerve that he had committed an error with regard to a date, in ſaying that all the pieces urged againſt Louis reſpecting the body guards were of the month of October 1791; that in reality the liſt of names was ſigned the 12th of January 1792, as appeared by the copy printed under the orders of the Convention. As to the fact itſelf, he declared the date to be indifferent, and that far from deſtroying the argument which he had drawn from the letter of the adminiſtrator of the civil liſt, it on the contrary rather ſtrengthened it.

Now citizens, by the character of this imputation, judge all the others.

Judge what advantage it would have been to Louis, if his papers had not been seized and carried off in the invasion of his house; if he had himself been allowed to assist at their examination; if he could have called for those pieces which necessarily ought to have been found among those which have been given in evidence against him; if he could, above all, have brought forward all those of which his memory does not afford him any recollection.

Conceive with what force he would then have replied to all the reproaches made against him, since he has replied even without those documents; what satisfactory explanations he would have given you, what light he would have thrown on all those dark accusations which have owed their being only to the cloud with which they were covered.

Conceive, lastly, what regret we must feel, we, who are intrusted with his defence, to see ourselves deprived of that assistance which would have furnished us with the most powerful means of conviction; judge of the hope we permitted ourselves to conceive, from the very circumstance of the privation itself! think what in so memorable a cause our hearts must have felt, from the want of time, of communications, of examinations; from the impotence of our efforts, from the excess even of our zeal, and how heart-rending it must be to us, to find ourselves forced in a manner to answer to all Europe for the destiny of Louis, and to feel that the greatness of this dignified function, was the very obstacle which more prevented us from executing it to our satisfaction.

I retrace to you our affliction, citizens, and it is in giving myself up before you to the deep feeling which I experience, that I come at last to the disastrous day of the 10th of August, which would really be, as has been said, the greatest of crimes on the part of Louis, if it were true that he had had, at this astonishing epoch, the atrocious intentions which have been supposed.

Representatives of the people, I supplicate you, not to consider in this moment, the defenders of Louis as advocates.

We have our own consciences; we too, we make a part of the people; we feel all that they have felt; we experience all that they experienced; we wish all that they have wished; we are citizens, we are Frenchmen; we have wept with the people, and we yet weep like them over all the blood which was spilt on the 10th of August; and if we had thought Louis guilty of the inconceivable events which made it flow, you would not now have seen us with him at your bar, to give him, shall I dare to say it, to give him the support of our courageous veracity.

But Louis is accused; he is accused of the most frightful of crimes; it highly imports him to justify himself in your eyes, in those of France, in those of Europe; it is necessary therefore to hear him; it is necessary to lay down all opinions already formed, all prejudices, all hate; it is necessary for you to listen as if you were strangers to this scene of desolation, it is very necessary, at least, that I re-trace to you a picture of it; you owe it him,

since you have created yourselves his judges. Legislators, all the success you have had since that day, which you have yourselves called immortal, might have allowed you to be generous: I only ask you to be just.

You recal to mind the day of the 20th of June, the refusal of Louis to yield to the armed multitude who had penetrated into his castle; and his perseverance in that refusal. That perseverance soured still more the multitude, which was already exasperated. Persons took advantage of this resentment, they strengthened it, they nourished it; they inspired new prejudices; they spread rumours of plots; they imagined a party formed to get possession of the person of Louis, and to take him out of the capital; they attributed to this party immense resources; they spoke of preparations, of depositions of arms, and of military apparel; denunciations were addressed to the municipality, they multiplied; the fermentation could only increase; thus the month of July passed away in agitations and in tempests.

Nevertheless Louis occupied himself in calming them. He wisely thought at first that he ought to let these rumours of preparations and depositions of arms fall to the ground; the consistence which they acquired, let him know at last that it was dangerous to treat them with disdain. He felt the necessity of re-assuring the people on these chimerical anxieties. He therefore offered himself to examination. He wrote, on the 26th of July, to the mayor of Paris; he desired that he would come and make a search at his castle. He gave orders that the doors should be opened to the mayor: the mayor replied that he would charge the municipal officers with this search. The search was not made. Louis wrote to the National Assembly; he imparted to it his anxieties; he gave it an account of his letter to the mayor, and the reply; the assembly pronounced nothing.

In this interval, the effervescence had increased, even by the precautions which Louis had taken to stop it. The same rumours were renewed; the denunciations to the municipality re-commenced; the fermentation of minds augmented; they spoke but of the deposition of Louis: they demanded, they loudly called for it. The commissioners of the sections assembled themselves. An address was presented to the National Assembly on the 3d of August, by these commissioners, with the mayor at their head, to demand of the representatives of the nation to grant the deposition of Louis to the wish of the people; they soon solicited it more publicly; they wished to obtain or extort it; they fixed the day on which they declared it must be pronounced; they gave notice, that if it was not pronounced in the sitting of the 9th and 10th, the alarm bell should be sounded at midnight on the 10th, the drums beaten, and an insurrection of the people should take place.

From the beginning of August, Louis well knew that his situation became every day more critical: he saw the tumult of men's minds: he had an account every day of the opinions of the capital; he was informed of the progress of the agitations. He feared some error of the multitude; he feared the violation of his dwelling. He began to take some defensive precautions. He surrounded himself with the na-

tional guards; he placed the Swiss in his castle; he kept up a still more exact correspondence with the popular authorities; in a word, he neglected none of the prudent measures, that events, and the kind of danger which he believed at hand, could inspire.

The 9th of August arrives: alarms still greater are excited in the mind of Louis; he is spoken to of assemblages, preparations are announced to him; he is taught to fear for this night. Louis then redoubles his precautions: the number of national guards who are to be on guard at the castle is augmented; the Swiss are put on duty, and the constituted authorities are called upon. Louis makes the department come round him, he makes the municipal officers come also; he thus environs himself with the assistance and the presence of all the magistrates who have the greatest ascendant and power over the minds of the people. These magistrates, in the name of the law, command the national guard and the Swiss not to suffer the castle to be forced; they give such orders as circumstances make necessary; the mayor himself visits the posts.

The alarm bell is in reality soon rung, and the drums beat; the people run together. Some hours are passed in useless agitation. Towards morning, the people begin to march: they come towards the Thuilleries; they come there armed; cannon follow them, the cannon are levelled at the gates of the castle; the people is there.

The procureur-general-syndic of the department of Paris then advances; the municipal officers accompany him; they speak to the multitude; they represent to them that while assembled in such numbers, they can neither present a petition to Louis, nor to the National Assembly; they invite them to name twenty petitioners; this invitation produces no effect.

During this time the assemblage augments; an immense crowd collect on the place of the Carousel; the movement becomes more strong, the danger more imminent. The magistrates of the people, apprised of this, come again in presence of the troops; the procureur-general-syndic reads to them the 5th article of the law of the third of October; he exhorts them to defend the dwelling of Louis, who is a *constituted authority*; he gives them, doubtless with regret, the order to repulse force by force; but he gives it; the cannoniers in answer discharge their cannon before him.

The procureur-general-syndic enters the castle directly; he informs Louis of the immediate danger; he forewarns him that no succours are to be expected. Louis, who already several hours before sent his ministers to the National Assembly, to solicit the assistance of a deputation, again informs it of the situation he is in; the National Assembly pronounces nothing.

The procureur-general-syndic, with two other members of the department, then request Louis to repair to the National Assembly; they engage to escort him there with his family; they make him feel the necessity of it; Louis goes there.

An hour after our calamities commence.

Citizens, these are the facts.

Here they are, such as they are known, ascertained in all the public writings, collected in the procès-verbal of the National Assembly,

in a word, authenticated in every way.

I have nothing to add myself; I have but acted in obedience to my duty in recalling to your memories these sad details, and you see, even by the rapidity with which I run over them, how much it costs me to retrace them.

But in a word these are the facts.

Now just men forget, if it is possible, the frightful results of that bloody day; seek with me only the causes, and tell me where is the crime which you impute to Louis?

This crime must either be in that which followed or that which preceded the retreat of Louis to the National Assembly.

Now I say in the first place, that the crime could not be in that which happened after the retreat of Louis to the National Assembly; for after the time of that retreat, Louis saw nothing, said nothing, did nothing, ordered nothing; and only left the asylum which he had voluntarily chosen, to enter into a prison which from that moment he never quitted.

How did the combat begin? I am ignorant; history too perhaps will remain ignorant: but Louis at least cannot be answerable for it.

Was the crime in that which *preceded* the retreat of Louis to the National Assembly?

But in that case what are the circumstances that you charge?

You have spoken of hostile intentions on the part of Louis.

But where is the proof of such intentions? What are the facts that you produce? What are the acts?

It has been vaguely said, that there was a plot formed to get possession of the person of Louis, and convey him out of the capital.

But where was this plot? Where is there a trace of it; where is the proof of it?

You have spoken of preparations.

I clearly see, on the part of Louis, some preparations for defence; but where are the preparations for attack? What did Louis do by which he can be convicted of aggression? Where is his first movement? What is his first act?

You have reproached him with having at that epoch still retained the Swiss guards.

Citizens, I read in the procès-verbal of the National Assembly on the 4th of August, that a member proposed to decree, that while the Swiss should receive all possible testimonies of satisfaction and acknowledgment, the king should no longer have any Swiss regiment for his guard.

I there read, that several members insisted that the assembly, in determining on a recompence for the Swiss, should declare that they had merited well of the country, and decree that those who remained at Paris should only act as guards to the king on the requisition of the constituted authorities.

None of these propositions were decreed.

Louis remained, therefore, as he had been left by the terms of the decree passed by the Constituent Assembly on the 15th of September, which ordered, that till the capitulations were renewed, the Swiss should retain their destination and manner of service.

Louis then might retain the Swiss.

He has been reproached with having reviewed the troops in the morning.

But then reproach the mayor also with having himself visited the posts.

Louis was a conſtituted authority, and had the right of defending his dwelling; he was to account for his ſafety to the law: how then can he be reproached for having taken the precautions neceſſary to inſure it?

It has been puſhed ſo far as to make it a crime that he placed troops in his caſtle.

But ought he to have ſuffered it to be forced by the multitude? Ought he to have ſubmitted to force? And was not the power which he held from the conſtitution a depoſit in his hands, to which the law forbad his ſuffering any injury to be done?

Citizens, if at this moment you were to be told, that a ſeduced and armed multitude was marching towards you; that without reſpect for your ſacred character of legiſlators, they wiſhed to drag you from this ſanctuary, what would you do?

Some have imputed to Louis deſtructive deſigns of aggreſſion.

Citizens, only one word will ſuffice to juſtify him.

Is he an aggreſſor who, compelled to combat againſt the multitude, is the firſt to ſurround himſelf with the popular authorities, ſends for the department, calls upon the municipality, and even requires aſſiſtance from the aſſembly, the preſence of which would perhaps have prevented all the diſaſters that have happened?

Does he wiſh the calamity of the people, when, to reſiſt its attempts, he only oppoſes to it its own defenders?

But what do I ſpeak of aggreſſion, and why do I ſo long leave on the head of Louis the weight of this terrible accuſation?

I know it has been ſaid, that Louis himſelf excited this inſurrection of the people, to complete thoſe views which have been attributed to him.

And who then is now ignorant that a long time before the 10th of Auguſt, that day was prepared by ſome, that it was meditated upon, that it was nouriſhed in ſilence, that ſome imagined they felt the neceſſity of an inſurrection againſt Louis; that this inſurrection had its agents, its movers, its cabinet, its directory?

Who is there ignorant that plans were combined, leagues formed, and treaties ſigned?

Who is there ignorant, that all was conducted, arranged, and executed for the accompliſhment of the great deſign which was to open a way for France to the deſtiny ſhe now enjoys.

Legiſlators, here are no facts which can be diſavowed: they are public, they have echoed through all France, they have come in the midſt of you; even in this hall where I ſpeak, perſons have contended for the glory of the 10th of Auguſt. I do not conteſt this glory with thoſe who have decided it in their own favour. I do not attack the motives of the inſurrection, I do not attack its effects. I only declare, that ſince the inſurrection was in exiſtence, and long before the 10th of Auguſt, ſince this is certain, ſince it is avowed, it is impoſſible that Louis ſhould have been the aggreſſor.

You accuſe him, however.

You reproach him with the blood ſpilt.

This blood, you will have it, cries vengeance againſt him!

Againſt him, who at this very epoch confided himſelf to the National Aſſembly, only to hinder its being ſhed!

Againſt

Againſt him, who never in his whole life gave one ſanguinary order!

Againſt him, who at Verſailles, on the 6th of October, hindered his own guards from defending him!

Againſt him, who at Varennes ſooner choſe to return captive than run the riſk of occaſioning the death of a ſingle man!

Againſt him, who on the 20th of June refuſed all the ſuccours that were offered him, and would remain alone in the midſt of the people!

To him you impute the blood which has been ſpilt.

Alas, he groans no leſs than yourſelves over the fatal cataſtrophe which cauſed it to be ſhed; there is his deepeſt wound; that is his moſt terrible grief; he well knows that he was not the author of it, but that perhaps he was the ſad occaſion: he can never be conſoled for it.

And it is him whom you accuſe.

Frenchmen, what is then become of the national character, that character which diſtinguiſhed your ancient manners, that character of greatneſs and of candour?

Will you uſe your power to fill up the misfortunes of that man, who has had the courage to confide himſelf to the repreſentatives of the nation?

Have you then no reſpect for the ſacred rights of aſylum? Do not you believe that it is a duty to regard with pity exceſſive misfortune? And will not you regard a king who has ceaſed to be ſo, as ſo extraordinary a victim of fate, that it muſt appear to you impoſſible to add ſtill more to the wretchedneſs of his deſtiny.

Frenchmen, the revolution which regenerates you has developed in you great virtues, but fear leſt it may weaken in your minds that feeling of humanity, without which there can be none but falſe virtues.

Hear by anticipation what hiſtory will repeat to fame. Louis aſcended the throne at the age of twenty, and at the age of twenty he gave on the throne an example of morals; he carried thither no culpable weakneſs, no corrupting paſſion; there he was economical, juſt, and ſtrict; there he always ſhewed himſelf the conſtant friend of the people. The people deſired the deſtruction of a ruinous tax which bore heavy upon them; he deſtroyed it. The people required the abolition of ſervitude; he began by abolishing it in his own domains. The people ſolicited reforms in the criminal legiſlation, to alleviate the lot of perſons accuſed; he made thoſe reforms. The people wiſhed that the thouſands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of our uſages had till then debarred from the rights belonging to citizens, ſhould acquire thoſe rights or recover them; he conferred on them the enjoyment of thoſe rights by his laws. *The people wiſhed liberty, he gave it:* * he even anticipated its wiſhes in his ſacrifices; and yet it is in the name

* This ſentence having been ſpoken by the counſel of Louis, and ſince eraſed from his manuſcript, the National Convention ordered that it ſhould be reſtored.

Note of the counſel of Louis. "This ſentence was eraſed from the manuſcript by one of us, out of reſpect to the Convention, and becauſe it had excited murmurs in the galleries; but this retrenchment having become the ſubject of a de-

cree

name of that very people that this day is demanded. Citizens, I do not finish. I stop short in anticipating history: think that she will judge your judgment, and that her's will be the judgment of ages.

Signed,
Louis, Deseze, Lamoignon-Malesherbes, Tronchet.

After Deseze had finished, the president asked the king, if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counsel.

The king rose, and said with firmness and sensibility,

"Citizens, my means of defence "are laid before you. I shall not "repeat them. In speaking to "you, perhaps for the last time, I "declare that my conscience re-"proaches me with nothing, and "that my counsel in my defence "have spoken only the truth to "you. I have never feared the "public examination of my con-"duct; but my heart is torn to "find, in the act of accusation, the "imputation of having wished to "shed the blood of the people, and "above all that the misfortunes of "the 10th of August are attributed "to me.

"I avow that the multiplied "proofs which I have in all times "given of my love for the people, "and the manner in which I have "always conducted myself, ap-"peared to me sufficient to prove, "that I little feared exposing my-"self to spare their blood, and to "exempt me for ever from such an "imputation."

The President to the King.—The Convention has decreed that this note should be shewn to you. (A secretary presented to the king the address, supposed to be in his hand-writing, on the cover of some keys found in the possession of Thierry.) Do you know this note?

The King.—Not at all.

The President.—The Convention has decreed too, that the keys should be shewn to you. Do you know them?

The King.—I remember that I sent some keys to Thierry at the Feuillants, because that every thing was taken out of my dwelling, and I had not any occasion for them.

The President.—Do you know this?

The King.—From the time I cannot recognise them. I do not recognise the notes. I remember having seen several.

The President.—Have you any thing to add to your defence.

The King.—No.

The President.—You may retire.

The king left the bar with his counsel. He was conducted into the hall of conference to wait the decision of the Convention.

The Convention decreed soon after, that the defence of Louis Capet should be signed by himself and his counsel, and deposited on the table; and that he should immediately be sent back to the Temple.

It was then decreed, on the proposition of Couthon, after a very long and very tumultuous debate, that the discussion should be opened on the judgment of Louis Capet, and that it should be continued, all other business

cree, we think ourselves obliged to declare, that by the word *gave* we meant only to recal to mind that Louis prepared the liberty of France by his convocation of the States General: and the decree of the nation, on the 4th of August 1789, proclaiming Louis *the restorer of French liberty*, inspired us with the sentiment."

buſineſs being poſtponed, till judgment was pronounced upon him.

On the 4th of January, 1793, the counſel of Louis tranſmitted to the preſident of the National Convention, the following obſervations on a charge which had been brought againſt Louis in the Convention, but which was not contained in the act of accuſation.

Obſervations of the Defenders of Louis, on a particular charge which has been brought againſt him in the Convention.

A member of the Convention has ſaid, in giving his opinion, that Louis had conſtantly had two miniſtries, the one charged with oſtenſible orders, the other with ſecret orders, and to prove this he cited a letter of general Bouillè, in which he is ſaid to mention one Sieur Hayman, ſent into Pruſſia by the king, and paid by the king.

This imputation is, to the preſent time, the only imputation which appears to have been brought againſt Louis, in the courſe of the different opinions which have been given in the Convention.

We might, doubtleſs, diſpenſe with making any reply to it, ſince the National Convention itſelf has not thought proper to make it an article in its act, and has proved by this, that it did not conſider the document on which this charge was brought, as ſufficient ground for an accuſation againſt Louis.

Nevertheleſs, it was ſufficient for Louis that a member of the Convention manifeſted ſome doubts on his true intentions, to induce him to make it a duty to haſten to give an explanation of the fact which was the motive or the occaſion of thoſe doubts.

Here then is our reply to the imputation relative to the officer Hayman; but to make this reply clear, it is neceſſary that I ſhould recal to your recollections the circumſtances of the journey to Montmedy.

Louis ſent to general Bouillè a ſum of 993,000 livres for the expences of the journey, and not of 6,000,000, as citizen Dufriche Valazè in his report has ſaid by miſtake, in applying to this journey what Septeuil has mentioned in his declaration, dated from London, of a receipt of 6,000,000, which had an object totally different.

The journey to Montmedy not having been completed, the greateſt part of the ſum which Louis had remitted to Bouillè, and which was to have been applied to that purpoſe, remained in the hands of the general.

In this ſtate of things Bouillè quitted the kingdom, and took refuge at Luxembourg, where Monſieur at the ſame time arrived deſtitute of all reſources.

The want in which Monſieur found himſelf, determined him to take out of the hands of Bouillè a ſum of 670,000 livres, making a part of that which Bouillè had from Louis.

Bouillè alſo made uſe of a part of the ſame ſum to defray the expences of a journey made by Hayman into Pruſſia, for the ſervice of Monſieur and the other Princes.

Louis nevertheleſs wiſhed to know the uſe made by Bouillè of the ſum which had been remitted to him.

He made an account of it be demanded of him.

Bouillè then ſent indirectly from Mentz, in the month of laſt December, to the treaſurer of the civil liſt, the account which has been found among the papers of the treaſurer,

surer, and which contained the expenditure which Bouillè had made.

It is in this account, which Louis did not pass on the 16th of last April, as citizen Dufriche Valazè in his report has asserted, and which he even never did pass at any other period, that are to be found the 670,000 remitted by Bouillè to Monsieur, by the order of him, Monsieur, and the 3,400 livres for the journey of Hayman to Prussia.

Louis certainly could not approve such an expenditure, and he really never did approve it; he even, on the contrary, testified his dissatisfaction: but how could he foresee that it would be made, or hinder it after it was made?

By what means could he have got those funds to be given up which Monsieur had taken possession of, or those which were given to Hayman for his journey?

What kind of reclamation could be employed that would have been useful?

What power had he in a foreign country?

However this may be, to come to the officer Hayman, see here how the article which regards him in the account of Bouillè is expressed:

"To M. Hayman, for his journey in Prussia, where *I sent him* "for the service of the king, 3,400 "livres."

There is a very important thing to be observed on this article, the epoch of which is prior to the acceptance of the constitution; it is, that Bouillè says nothing there that can induce a belief, that it was the king who gave him orders to send the officer Hayman into Prussia, as has been asserted in the Convention; that, on the contrary, he has formally said, that it was himself who sent that officer; and yet we may conceive, that in an account which it was quite impossible that Bouillè should have feared to see fall into the hands of strangers, he must have expressed himself with all the openness, which the very detail demanded of him in its own nature required.

In the second place, with respect to the motive assigned for the sending of Hayman into Prussia, that it was for the service of the king; it is evident that this arose from the force of habit, doubtless very strange, but not less real, in which the emigrants have ever been, and among others the princes, and those who were directly under their orders, of constantly using the name of the king, and supposing that all the steps which they were obliged to take for their own interests, they only took on the contrary for his.

Thus when the princes formed regiments it was under the name of the king, when they gave brevets for rank it was under the name of the king, even when they determined to make loans it was still under the name of the king.

Louis could not hinder the princes his brothers, or the other emigrants, from improperly using his name.

All that he could do was, when this kind of abuse came to his knowledge, to denounce it himself to the National Assembly.

Thus we have seen on his part several examples of this.

Among others may be remembered, the denunciation which he caused to be made to the National Assembly on the 31st of March, by the minister Dumourier, of a treaty entered into between prince Hohenlohe, and the princes, brothers of Louis.

The

The object of this treaty, it is well known, was the levy of a regiment which prince Hohenlohe engaged to furniſh to the emigrant princes; while at the ſame time the princes engaged on their ſide to procure from the king their brother the ratification of the commiſſions of all the officers of the regiment, and even of the treaty itſelf.

It cannot be forgotten, that the miniſter, whom no one can ſuſpect of having wiſhed to impoſe on the National Aſſembly with reſpect to the intentions of Louis, ſaid, in the letter which contained the denunciation, that he was ſpecially charged by the king "to teſtify to the "aſſembly how much he was af-"flicted by this new ſtep of the "French princes, how oppoſite it "was to his ſentiments, and how "contrary to the exhortations which "he had never ceaſed to make to "them."

It may equally be remembered, that on the 5th of July, Louis again cauſed his miniſter for foreign affairs to denounce to the aſſembly, a loan of eight millions, which the princes his brothers had commiſſioned Haſel Lavertu of L'Orient to make for them in Holland, and which they alſo covered under the name of Louis; and that on this occaſion, Louis cauſed a proclamation to be addreſſed to all the powers of Europe, to notify to them that he formally diſavowed all acts, private and public, done in his name by the French princes, and by the other emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country.

Louis then took all the precautions which depended upon him, to make well known his true intentions reſpecting the emigrants, and the views they manifeſted.

For the reſt, there is one deciſive word which replies to this imputation of two pretended miniſtries, the one oſtenſible the other ſecret:

It is, that if Louis had really had a ſecret miniſtry, it would have been impoſſible that ſome trace of it ſhould not be found among his papers, when they were ſeized in the invaſion of his dwelling.

It cannot be ſuſpected, that ſuch an invaſion was foreſeen.

It may even be ſeen, by all the papers that have been found, either at the moment of that invaſion or ſince, that he was in the habit of preſerving all thoſe that he had.

And yet there has not been found the leaſt veſtige of any ſecret correſpondence with any emigrant.

How then can it be ſuppoſed that it was he who ſent the officer Hayman into Pruſſia?

Can it be believed, that if there really exiſted on his part a correſpondence of this kind with foreign powers, there would not have been ſome trace of it in his papers? And has any been diſcovered?

In a word, it is very evident, that it did not depend upon Louis to hinder Bouillé, whoſe opinions on the revolution have been public enough, and who believed it his duty to quit France to ſerve the princes, from calling the ſervice of the princes the ſervice of the king, as it was called by themſelves.

But how can this be made a crime in Louis?

Here is the explanation which we have to give on the ſingle imputation which has been thrown on Louis, in the opinions already pronounced.

It muſt be ſeen, that this imputa-

tion

tion is completely deſtroyed by the explanation given.

Signed,

Louis, Lamoignon-Maleſherbes, Tronchet, Deſèze.

From the day on which the king's defence was read at the bar, to the 14th of January, was employed by the convention in hearing the detailed opinions of its members on the conduct of the king, and the judgment to be paſſed upon him. On the 14th, the order of the queſtions to be put to the members was debated, and that propoſed by Boyer Fonfrède was adopted, as follows:

Firſt queſtion. Is Lewis guilty?

Second queſtion. Whatever the deciſion may be, ſhall it be ſubmitted to the ratification of the people?

Third queſtion. What penalty has Louis incurred?

The next day the nominal appeal began on the firſt queſtion:

Is Louis Capet guilty of conſpiracy againſt the public liberty, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate?

The reſult of this was, that eight members were abſent from indiſpoſition, and twenty on different commiſſions; that thirty-ſeven members gave in the motives of their opinions ſigned; and that ſix hundred and eighty-three others anſwered in the affirmative to the firſt queſtion.

The preſident then made known the reſult of the ſcrutiny, and proclaimed, in the name of the French people, that the National Convention declared Louis to be guilty of conſpiracy againſt the public liberty, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate.

The ſecond appeal was then proceeded to, on the following queſtion:

Shall the ſentence of the National Convention be ſubmitted to the ratification of the people?

From this ſcrutiny it reſulted, that nine members were abſent from indiſpoſition, and twenty on various commiſſions; that nine refuſed to vote, eleven gave in their opinions ſigned, two hundred and eighty-three voted for the ratification of the people, and four hundred and twenty-four againſt it.

The preſident proclaimed the reſult of the nominal appeal, and pronounced the decree in the following terms:

"The National Convention de-
"crees, that the ſentence againſt
"Louis Capet ſhall not be ſubmit-
"ted to the ratification of the
"people."

On the 16th and 17th was put the nominal appeal on the third queſtion:

What puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on Louis?

When the votes were all taken, the preſident ſaid: "Citizens, I am
"now to make known to you the
"reſult of the ſcrutiny. You are
"going to exerciſe a great act of
"juſtice. I hope that humanity
"will induce you to preſerve the
"moſt profound ſilence. When
"juſtice has ſpoken, humanity
"ought to have its turn.

"The aſſembly is compoſed of
"ſeven hundred and forty-nine
"members. Fifteen members are
"abſent by commiſſion, ſeven from
"illneſs, one without cauſe, and
"five have not voted, in all twenty-
"eight; the number remaining is
"ſeven hundred and twenty-one;
"the abſolute majority of this
"number

" number is three hundred and fix-
" ty-one.

" For confining in chains two
" have voted; for detention, and
" baniſhment at the concluſion of
" peace, or for immediate baniſh-
" ment, or for cloſe confinement,
" to which has been condition-
" ally added, the pain of death if
" our territory ſhould be invaded,
" two hundred and eighty-ſix have
" voted; and forty-ſix for the pain
" of death, but not to be inflicted
" till after the expulſion of the
" Bourbons from France, or till
" peace, or till the ratification of the
" conſtitution.

" For death three hundred and
" ſixty-one have voted, and twen-
" ty-ſix for the ſame, demanding,
" at the ſame time, that the queſ-
" tion, whether to defer the execu-
" tion would or would not be for
" the intereſt of the public, ſhould
" be diſcuſſed; but declaring their
" opinions to be independent of this
" demand. Thus, for death uncon-
" ditionally three hundred and
" eighty-ſeven; for detention, &c.
" or death conditionally, three hun-
" dred and thirty-four.

" I declare, in the name of the
" National Convention, that the
" puniſhment which it pronounces
" againſt Louis Capet is that of
" death."

The three defenders of Louis were admitted to the bar.

Deſèze made the following ſpeech: " Citizens, repreſentatives of the nation, the law, and your decrees, have confided to us the defence of Louis; we now come with grief to execute the laſt act of it. Louis has given us an expreſs miſſion; he has charged our fidelity with the duty of tranſmitting to you a writing, written and ſigned by his hand: Permit me to have the honour of reading it to you.

" I owe to my honour, I owe to
" my family, not to ſubſcribe to a
" ſentence which declares me guilty
" of a crime with which I cannot
" reproach myſelf; conſequently, I
" declare, that I appeal to the na-
" tion itſelf againſt the ſentence of
" its repreſentatives. I give, by
" theſe preſents, ſpecial power to
" my official defenders, and expreſs-
" ly charge their fidelity, to make
" known to the National Conven-
" tion this appeal, by every means
" in their power; and I demand,
" that mention ſhould be made of
" it in the *proces-verbal* of the ſit-
" tings of the Convention.

Signed, " Louis Capet."

" Citizens, we ſupplicate you, in your juſtice, to examine if there does not exiſt a great difference between the ſpontaneous reference on your part, of the ſentence of Louis to the ratification of the French people, and the exerciſe of that natural and ſacred right which belongs to all perſons accuſed, which belongs to all individuals; yes, to all, and conſequently to Louis. If we did not ourſelves bring forward theſe queſtions, in the defence of Louis, it was becauſe that it was not for us to foreſee that the National Convention would reſolve to judge him; or that, in judging, it would condemn him.

" To fulfil towards Louis this laſt duty, we now propoſe them to you; to yourſelves we have committed them, and we conjure you to weigh them with that ſacred impartiality which the law demands. Citizens, ſuch was the mournful miſſion with which we were charged by Louis. Now, that we learn that the fatal decree which condemns Louis to death, only obtained a ma-

jority

jority of five voices *, and when we also claim the suffrages of the absent members, and think that they would be perhaps in his favour, permit us, either as defenders of Louis, or as citizens, or as petitioners, to observe to you, in the name of humanity, in the name of that sacred principle, which wishes that all should be softened, that all should be mitigated in favour of the accused person; permit us to say to you, that since, among the members of the convention, such considerable doubts have been raised for the ratification of this sentence by the people, a circumstance so extraordinary, well merits that from your profound devotion to its interests, from your love for it, from your respect for its rights, you should spontaneously demand of it that ratification, although you know that principles do not command this measure.

"Citizens, we are not ignorant, that, by a decree passed this morning, you have ordained, that a majority of one voice should be sufficient to render valid the sentence which you have passed; but I here again demand it of you, in the name of justice, in the name of the country, in the name of humanity; employ your high powers, but do not astonish France with a spectacle of a judgment which will appear terrible to her, when she considers its wonderful minority.

"Citizens, we fulfil here, for the last time, a pious office, an office which we hold from yourselves; and you may judge how much, from this alone, we must be interested in it. Permit, then, that I once more adjure you, in the name of Louis the Sixteenth, that I supplicate you to consider, that almost all the members of the convention who have voted for the ratification of your judgment by the people; that all the members of the convention have grounded their opinions on the welfare of the republic. Citizens, you who labour for the welfare of the nation, for its true interests, I demand of you, do you not tremble when you consider, that the welfare of the republic, that the welfare of the whole empire, that the welfare of twenty-five millions of men, may depend upon five voices!"

Tronchet.—"Citizens, There has escaped from the notice of my colleague, in the rapid observations which circumstances have determined us to present to you, an observation which I believe to be of great importance. We should not have been only in the situation of calling upon your humanity, and your love for the welfare of the country, without the decree which you have passed this morning, and from which the calculation of the voices has been made.

"We should have been able to say to you, that it will appear inconceivable to many persons, that the greatest number of those who have pronounced the terrible penalty of death, should have taken for their base the penal code; and that all that is rigorous in the law should have been invoked against the accused, whilst there have been rejected from it every thing the humanity of that law had established in favour of the accused.

"You conceive, you understand, that

* The first scrutiny which was made of the votes having been found incorrect, a second was made, the result of which was as stated by Deleze.

that I must speak to you of that rigorous calculation by which the law requires two thirds of the voices for the purpose of condemning the accused. But I request you to observe, that the decree which you have passed this morning is not in truth a decree; that you did no more than pass to the order of the day on the very rapid observations which have been made to you, and which, from the feelings of our hearts, from the sacred obligations with which we are charged, and which we are obliged to fulfil, we believed it our duty to permit ourselves; we dare believe ourselves authorized to observe to you, that when it is the question to determine what ought to be the majority and the force of the calculation of voices, an affair so important merits to be decided by the nominal appeal; and not by a mere passing to the order of the day; and it is thus, that in the quality of citizens, of petitioners, we dare demand of you, as some have done, who believed themselves aggrieved by any of your decrees; we dare demand of you the rescinding of that decree by which you passed to the order of the day, on the manner of pronouncing on the sentence of Louis."

Lamoignon-Malesherbes.—"Citizens, I have not, like my colleagues, the habit of speaking; I have not, like them, the habit of pleading.

"We speak without preparation on a subject which requires the greatest reflection. I have not the power of speaking unpremeditatedly; I am not capable of speaking extemporaneously.....I see with grief, that I have not had a moment to present to you reflections capable of making an impression on an assembly.....Yes, Citizens, on this question, "*How ought the votes to be taken?*" I had observations to present to you;....but I have on this subject so many ideas, ...which are not suggested to me either by the individual or by the circumstance.....Citizens, pardon my perplexity.....Yes, Citizens, when I was also a magistrate, and since, I have considered speculatively on the subject which Tronchet has laid before you. I had occasion, during the time that I belonged to the legislative body, to prepare and to consider these ideas. Should I have the misfortune to lose them, if you do not allow me to present them here to-morrow?"

The speeches being finished, the President invited the three defenders of Louis to the honours of the sitting.

After several members had spoken, the Convention refused to admit the appeal of the king to the people, passed to the order of the day on the request of Malesherbes, and adjourned till the next day the discussion, if the execution of the sentence on the King should be delayed.

The next day the nominal appeal commenced on the question of delay. The result was, that of 690 members who voted, 310 answered in the affirmative, and 380 in the negative.

The President then said, "I declare, in the name of the National Convention, that it has decreed, there shall be no delay in the execution of the sentence against Louis Capet."

Execution of Louis the Sixteenth.

At half past eight, on the morning of the 21st of January, Santerre went to the Temple, and informed

the king, that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing three minutes in private with his confessor, the king went to the outer room, where Santerre had remained, and, addressing him, said, "*Marchons, je suis prêt.*" In descending to the court, he begged the commissioners to recommend certain persons who were in his service to the commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he was bidding him adieu: but the other said his attendance was not over. "What," said the king, "do you "intend to adhere to me still?" "Yes," replied the confessor, "to "the last."

The King walked through the court with a firm step, and entered the mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the national guards.

The king recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the king said, "*Nous voici donc arrivés.*" He pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold with steadiness, and surveyed for a few moments the immense multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noise, he made a motion with his hand for silence, which instantly took place—then, speaking with a raised voice, he said, "*Français, je meurs innocent. "Je pardonne à tous mes ennemis, et "je souhaite que la France———*"

Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office. The king's voice was drowned in the noise of the drums.

Three executioners then approached to seize him: at the sight of a cord with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, the king, for the first time, shewed signs of indignation, and as if he was going to resist. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied; he no sooner pronounced this, than the king became passive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and placed him on the guillotine. The confessor then kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud, "*Enfant "de Saint Louis, montez au ciel.*"—The blow was given—Mr. Edgeworth's face was sprinkled with the king's blood. The executioner walked round the scaffold, holding up the head to be seen by the people. A few, who had probably been hired for the purpose, cried, "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Republique!*"

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

"IN THE NAME of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; on the 25th day of December 1792, I, Louis XVI. king of France, having been more than four months immured with my family in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all communication whatsoever, even with my family, since the 11th of this month; involved moreover in a trial, the issue of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee, and for which there is neither pretence nor foundation in any existing law; having God only for

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the witneſs of my thoughts, and to whom I can addreſs myſelf, do hereby declare, in His Preſence, my laſt will, and the feelings of my heart.

"I render my ſoul to God, its Creator, beſeeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge it according to its own merits, but according to the merits of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who offered himſelf a ſacrifice to God his Father, for us men, unworthy of it as we were, and I above all others.

"I die in the union of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman Church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. Peter, to whom they were confided by Jeſus Chriſt.

"I firmly believe and acknowledge all that is contained in the Creed and the Commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacraments and Myſteries, ſuch as the Catholic Church teaches, and has ever taught them. I have never pretended to render myſelf a judge in the different modes of explaining the dogmas that divide the Church of Chriſt; but I have ever conformed, and ever will conform, if God grant me life, to the deciſions which the ſuperior eccleſiaſtics of the Holy Catholic Church have made, and ſhall make; according to the diſcipline of the Church adopted from the time of Jeſus Chriſt.

"I grieve with all my heart for ſuch of our brethren as may be in error: but I preſume not to judge them, and do not the leſs love them all in Chriſt Jeſus, as we are taught to do by Chriſtian charity. I pray God to forgive me all my ſins! I have endeavoured ſcrupulouſly to diſcover them, to deteſt them, and to humble myſelf in his preſence. Not having it in my power to avail myſelf of the miniſtry of a Catholic prieſt, I pray to God to receive the confeſſion I have made of them to him, and eſpecially my deep repentance for having put my name (though againſt my will) to inſtruments that may be contrary to the diſcipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which I have always remained from my heart ſincerely attached. I pray to God to accept my firm reſolution of taking the earlieſt opportunity, if he grant me life, to avail myſelf of the miniſtry of a Catholic prieſt, to confeſs all my ſins and receive the Sacrament of Penitence.

"I intreat all whom I may have offended through inadvertence (for I do not recollect having ever willingly given offence to any perſon), or to whom I may have given any bad example or ſcandal by my actions, to forgive the evil I may have done them. I intreat all charitable perſons to unite their prayers with mine, that I may obtain pardon of God for my ſins.

"I forgive with all my heart thoſe who have become my enemies without my having given them any reaſons for ſo doing; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as thoſe who, through a falſe or miſconceived zeal, have done me much evil.

"I recommend to God, my wife and my children, my ſiſter and my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to me by ties of blood, or in any other manner whatſoever: I pray God more eſpecially to look with mercy upon my wife, my children, and my ſiſter, who have been ſuffering a long time with me; to

support them by his grace, if they lose me, and as long as they remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife: I have never doubted her maternal tenderness. I particularly recommend it to her to make them good Christians, and to give them virtuous minds; to make them look upon the pomps of this world, if they are condemned to experience them, as a dangerous and transitory inheritance, and to turn their thoughts to the only solid and durable glory of eternity. I intreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother to them should they have the misfortune to lose their own.

"I intreat my wife to forgive me all the evils she suffers on my account, and whatever vexations I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured that I harbour nothing against her, should she suppose there was any thing with which she might reproach herself.

"I recommend most earnestly to my children, after their duty to God, which must always stand first, to continue united together, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all the cares and pains she takes for them, and in memory of me. I intreat them to look upon their aunt as a second mother.

"I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune of becoming King, to reflect, that he ought to devote himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment, and particularly in what relates to the misfortunes and vexations I have suffered; that he cannot promote the happiness of a nation but by reigning according to the laws; yet, at the same time, that a king cannot enforce those laws, and do the good which his heart prompts, unless he be possessed of the necessary authority; for that, otherwise, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

"I recommend to my son to take care of all who were attached to me, as far as circumstances may put it in his power: to recollect that it is a sacred debt which I have contracted with the children or relations of those who have perished for me; and, lastly, of those who are themselves unfortunate on my account.

"I know that there are several persons, formerly in my service, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and have even shown ingratitude towards me; but I forgive them (in times of tumult and effervescence we are not always masters of ourselves); and I intreat my son, if he should ever have an opportunity, that he will think only of their misfortunes.

"I wish I could here express my acknowlegments to those who have evinced a true and disinterested attachment for me: on the one hand, if I have been keenly wounded by the ingratitude and disloyalty of people who have experienced from me nothing but bounty, either themselves or in the persons of their relations or friends; on the other hand, I have had the consolation of seeing an attachment and concern manifested for me by many

on

on whom I never beſtowed a favour: I intreat them to accept my beſt thanks. In the ſituation in which things ſtill remain, I ſhould be afraid of endangering them if I were more explicit; but I recommend it particularly to my ſon to ſeek occaſions of ſhowing his acknowledgment.

"I think, however, that I ſhould do injuſtice to the ſentiments of the nation if I heſitated openly to recommend to my ſon M. *de Chamilly* and M. *Huë*, whoſe ſincere attachment to me prompted them to ſhut themſelves up with me in this melancholy habitation, and who looked to become the unhappy victims of that attachment. I alſo recommend *Cléry* to him, with whoſe ſervices ever ſince he has been with me I have had every reaſon to be entirely ſatisfied. As it is he who has remained with me to the laſt, I intreat the gentlemen of the commune, to ſee that my cloaths, books, watch, purſe, and the other ſmall articles that were lodged with the council of the commune, be delivered to him.

"I alſo moſt freely forgive thoſe who were guards over me, for the ill-treatment and conſtraint they thought it their duty to inflict upon me. Some there were whoſe ſouls were tender and compaſſionate; may their hearts enjoy that peace which ſhould be the reward of ſuch diſpoſitions.

"I requeſt M. *de Maleſherbes*, M. *Tronchet*, and M. *de Sèze*, to receive here my beſt thanks for, and acknowledgments of, the ſenſe I entertain of all the care and trouble they have taken upon themſelves for me.

"I conclude by declaring before God, in whoſe preſence I am about to appear, that my conſcience does not accuſe me with any of the crimes which are imputed to me.

"Written and ſigned by me, and a duplicate hereof made, at the tower of the Temple, on the 25th day of December 1792.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

Report of the private Interrogatories made to the QUEEN *of* FRANCE, *before one of the Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, previous to her Trial.*

WE Armand-Martial Joſeph Herman, preſident of the revolutionary tribunal, eſtabliſhed by the law of March 10, 1793, and not under the juriſdiction of the tribunal of caſhiering; inveſted by powers delegated to the tribunal, by the law of April 5th, of the year before mentioned; aſſiſted by Nicholas Joſeph Fabricius, clerk of the tribunal, in the preſence of Anthony Quentin Fouquier, public accuſer; ordered to be brought before us, from the priſon of the Conciergerie, Maria Antoinetta, widow of Capet, whom we aſked her names, age profeſſion, country, and place of abode. — She anſwered, that her name was Maria Antoinetta, of Lorraine and Auſtria, thirty-eight years of age, widow of the king of France, born at Vienna.

Which was the place of her abode at the moment of her arreſt? —*Anſwer*, That ſhe had not been arreſted, but that they came to take her in the National Aſſembly, and conducted her to the Temple.

Had you, previouſly to the revolution, any political connections with the king of Bohemia and

Hungary; and were not those connections contrary to the interests of France, which loaded you with benefits?—*A.* That the king of Bohemia and Hungary was her brother; that the connections she had with him were only those of consanguinity, but not of a political nature; those connections could only be to the advantage of France, to which she was attached by the family into which she married.

It was remarked to her, that, not contented with dilapidating, in a shocking manner, the finances of France, the fruits of the sweat of the people, for the sake of her pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous ministers, she had sent to the Emperor thousands of millions, to serve against the nation which fostered her.—*A.* Never; that she knows that this mean has frequently been made subservient against her; that she loved her husband too much to dilapidate the money of his country; that her brother did not want money from France; and that, from the same principles which attached her to this country, she would not have given him any.

Observed, that, since the revolution, she has not ceased an instant to carry on manœuvres with the foreign powers, and within this country, against liberty, even at a period when we only had the image of that liberty which the French nation absolutely wished for.—*A.* That, since the revolution, she has forborne all foreign correspondence; that she never meddled in domestic concerns.

Whether she did not employ some secret agent to correspond with the foreign powers, chiefly with her brothers; and if De Lessart was not the principal agent?—*A.* Never in her life.

Observed, that her answer does not appear exact to us; for it is notorious, that there existed in the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, secret and nocturnal privy councils, over which she herself presided, and in which were discussed, deliberated upon, and resolved, the answers to be made to the foreign powers, and those to the successive constituent and legislative assemblies.—*A.* That the preceding answer is very exact; for though the rumour of those committees has constantly existed, whenever it was intended to amuse and deceive the people; that she never knew such a committee; that it has not existed.

Observed, that it appears, however, that when there was a question to know if Louis Capet should sanction or affix his *veto* to the decree issued in the course of November 1791, concerning his brothers, the emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical priests, she, in despite of the most urgent representation of Duranthon, then minister of justice, had brought Louis Capet to the determination of affixing his *veto* to those decrees, the sanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has since suffered, and which evidently proves that she assisted at the councils and privy councils.—*A.* That, in the month of November, Duranthon was not minister; that, in other respects, her spouse did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty; that she was not of the council; and that only there, affairs of that description were transacted and decided.

Observed, that it was she who taught

taught Louis Capet that art of profound diſſimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not ſuppoſe that perfidy and villany could be carried to ſuch a degree.—*A.* Yes, the people had been deceived—cruelly deceived! but it was neither by her nor her huſband.

By whom, then, has the people been deceived?—*A.* By thoſe who felt it their intereſt: that it had never been theirs to deceive them.

Obſerved, that ſhe did not anſwer directly the queſtion.—*A.* That ſhe would anſwer it directly if ſhe knew the names of the perſons.

Obſerved, that ſhe was the principal inſtigatrix to the treaſon of Louis Capet; that it was by her advice, and perhaps by her importunities and teazing, that he reſolved to fly France, to put himſelf at the head of the furious men who wiſhed to deſtroy his country.—*A.* That her huſband did not wiſh to quit France; that ſhe followed him on his journey; that ſhe would have followed him every-where; but that if ſhe had known that he wanted to quit his country, ſhe would have employed all poſſible means to diſſuade him; but that he had no ſuch intention.

What, then, was the purpoſed end of the journey known by the name of *Varennes*?—*A.* To procure himſelf that liberty which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any perſon; and to conciliate thence all parties, for the happineſs and tranquillity of France.

Why did ſhe travel at that period by the borrowed name of a Ruſſian baroneſs?—*A.* Becauſe they could not get out of Paris without changing their names.

If, amongſt other perſons who favoured her eſcape, La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard the architect, were not of the number?—*A.* That the two former would have been the laſt they would have employed; that the third perſon was then under their orders, but that they never employed him for that purpoſe.

Repreſented, that her anſwer was contradictory to declarations of the perſons who fled with her; and it reſulted from them, that the carriage of La Fayette, at the moment when all the fugitives came down ſtairs, through the apartment of a woman in her ſervice, was in one of the court-yards; and that La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed their route.—*A.* That ſhe does does not know what declarations might have been made by the perſons who were with her; that all ſhe knows is, that ſhe met, in the Square of the Carouzel, the carriage of La Fayette; but that ſhe went on her way, and was far from ſtopping it; that, with regard to Renard, ſhe could aſſure us that he did not direct the march; that ſhe alone opened the door for every body to go out.

Obſerved, that from this confeſſion of her having opened the door, and let out every body, there remains no doubt that ſhe directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him reſolve to fly.—*A.* That ſhe did not believe that the opening of a door could prove that a perſon directs the actions of another; that her ſpouſe deſiring, and thinking himſelf obliged to go out thence with his children, it was her duty to give her aſſent; and that ſhe was to do every thing to render his going out ſafe.

Obſerved, that ſhe never concealed for a moment her deſire of deſtroying

ſtroying liberty; that ſhe wanted to reign at any rate, and re-aſcend the throne upon the corpſes of the patriots.—*A.* That they did not want to re-aſcend the throne: That they were upon it; that they never had any other deſire but the happineſs of France: Be it happy; be it but happy! they would always be contented!

Repreſented, that if ſuch had been her ſentiments, ſhe would have uſed her influence over the mind of her brother, to induce him to break the treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and Frederic William; a treaty, the ſole end of which has been, and is, to aſſociate with all the powers to annihilate that liberty which the French ſhall have, in deſpite of that coalition, and thoſe treaſons.—*A.* That ſhe only knew that treaty after it had been concluded; that it had long been of no effect; that it ought to be obſerved, that the foreign powers were not the aggreſſors againſt France.

Repreſented, that it is true that the foreign powers had not declared war; but that ſhe ought not to be ignorant, that this declaration of war has only been occaſioned by a liberticide faction, the authors of which will ſoon receive the juſt puniſhment which they deſerve.—*A.* That ſhe does not know who we mean to ſpeak of; but that ſhe knows that the Legiſlative Aſſembly had reiterated the demand of the declaration of war, and that her huſband conſented to it, with the unanimous advice of the members of his council.

You have held a correſpondence with the *ci-devant* French princes ſince their quitting France, and with the emigrants; you have conſpired with them againſt the ſafety of the ſtate.—*A.* She never held any correſpondence with any Frenchmen abroad; that, with reſpect to her brothers, ſhe might poſſibly have written them one or two inſignificant letters; but ſhe does not believe ſhe has; and recollects having often refuſed to do ſo.

Does ſhe recollect to have ſaid, on the 4th of October 1789, that ſhe was enchanted with the day of the firſt of that month, a day remarkable for the orgies of the *Gardes-du-corps*, and the regiment of Flanders, who, in a moment of ebriety, expreſſed their attachment to the throne, and their averſion for the people, trod the national cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade?—*A.* She does not recollect ſaying any ſuch thing; but that it is poſſible ſhe may have ſaid, that ſhe was touched with the firſt ſentiment that animated this feſtival; that as to the reſt of the queſtion, drunkenneſs was not neceſſary to make the *Gardes-du-corps* teſtify attachment and devotion to perſons in whoſe ſervice they were. With reſpect to the affair of the cockade, if it exiſted, it could only be the error of a few, who now diſapprove it; but that it was impoſſible that perſons ſo attached, ſhould tread under foot and wiſh to change an emblem which the king himſelf then wore.

What intereſt did ſhe take in the ſucceſs of the armies of the republic?—*A.* The happineſs of France is what ſhe deſires above all things.

Do you think that kings are neceſſary to the happineſs of the people?—*A.* An individual could not poſitively decide ſuch a matter.

You regret, without doubt, that your ſon has loſt a throne which he might have aſcended, if the people,

ſt

at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themſelves cruſhed that throne?—*A.* She ſhall never regret any thing for her ſon, ſo long as her country is happy.

What is your opinion of the 10th of Auguſt, when the Swiſs, by order of the maſter of the caſtle of the Thuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?—*A.* She was not in the caſtle when they began to fire; ſhe only knows that no order was ever given to fire.

Have you not, during your reſidence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs, and have you not kept up a correſpondence with the enemies of the republic, by means of ſome municipal officers who were in your ſervice, or by ſome perſon introduced by them into your habitation?—*A.* During the fourteen months ſhe has been confined, ſhe has had neither news nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impoſſible for her to receive; that ſince the beginning of October, pen, paper, and pencil, had been taken from her; that ſhe had never addreſſed any municipal officer, which there is reaſon to believe would have been ineffectual; and that ſhe has ſeen none other than them.

Your anſwer is contradictory to the declarations made by the perſons who dwelt in the ſame place.—*A.* Not many perſons lived in the Temple, and thoſe who declare any thing of the kind, dare not prove it.

Whilſt ſhe was at the Conciergerie, were not ſeveral perſons introduced into her apartment? Did not one of them drop a carnation in which was a writing? and was it not ſhe who took up this carnation, after repeated ſigns had been made to her by the ſame perſon?—*A.* Different perſons entered her chamber, but with the adminiſtrators of the police; ſhe did not know them at all; there was one whom ſhe thought ſhe recollected; it is true a carnation was dropped, as ſhe had before declared, but ſhe paid ſo little attention to the circumſtance, that but for the ſigns, ſhe ſhould not have taken it up; and that ſhe did ſo, fearing only that the perſon who threw it down might be expoſed if it were found.

Did you not recollect this perſon as having been at the caſtle of the Thuilleries on the 20th of June; and as having been one of thoſe who remained with you on that day?—*A.* Yes.

Did you not recollect this ſame perſon to have been at the Thuilleries on the 10th of Auguſt?—*A.* No.

Do you know his name?—*A.* No. She does not recollect having ever known it.

Obſerve; it is ſtrange that you ſhould not know his name, for the perſon ſaid, that you had rendered him great ſervices, which is ſeldom the caſe without knowing the perſon who is the object, in a manner more or leſs particular.—*A.* It is poſſible that thoſe who have rendered ſervices may forget them; and that thoſe who have received them may recollect them.

Has ſhe replied to the billet found in the carnation?—*A.* She endeavoured with a pin; not with a view to anſwer him, but to engage him not to come there in caſe he ſhould again preſent himſelf.

Does ſhe recollect the anſwer?—*A.* Yes.

Has

Has she produced the billet intended for a reply, and pricked with a pin?—*A.* She has acknowledged it.

Did she make a particular motion at the time when this person presented himself?—*A.* Not having seen any known face for thirteen months, she was a little startled at first from the idea of danger incurred by coming into her chamber; afterwards she thought he might be employed somewhere; and then was easy.

What do you mean by the two last expressions?—*A.* As several people whom she did not know came to her with the administrators, she thought that this person might be employed in some place at the sections or elsewhere; and in that case did not run any danger.

Did the administrators of the police often bring people with them?—*A.* They were almost always accompanied by one, two, or three unknown persons.

Who were the administrators that came most frequently?—*A.* Michonis, Michel, Jobert, and Marino.

Did these four administrators always bring persons unknown to you?—*A.* She believed so, but does not recollect.

Has she any thing to add upon these different answers; has she a counsel?—*A.* No; because she knows not any one.

Does she wish us to name her one or two counsellors?—*A.* She does.

After which two advocates belonging to the office were named; they are the citizens Tronson de Coudray and Chaveau De la Gards.

The present interrogatory having been read to her, she declared that it contained the truth; that she had nothing to add or to retract; that she persisted in what she had said, and has signed with us, the said public accuser and register.

(Signed) Maria Antoinetta,
Herman,
Fouquier, and
J. N. Fabricius.

TRIAL of the *QUEEN* of *FRANCE.*

October 14.

BEING interrogated as to her names, surnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, answered—That her name is Maria Antoinetta of Lorraine and Austria, aged about thirty-eight years, widow of the king of France, born at Vienna.

The greffier read the act of accusation, as follows:

Antoine Quentin Fouquier, public accuser of the criminal revolutionary tribunal, established at Paris, by a decree of the National Convention of the 10th of March 1793, second year of the republic; without any recourse to the tribunal of cassation, in virtue of the power given him by the second article of another decree of the Convention of April 5, following; stating that the public accuser of the said tribunal is authorised to arrest, pursue, and judge upon the denunciation of the constituted authorities or of citizens, states:

That, by a decree of the Convention, of the 1st of August last, Maria Antoinetta, widow of Louis Capet, has been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France; that by

by another decree of the Convention of October 3, it has been decreed, that the revolutionary tribunal should occupy itself without delay, and without interruption, on the trial: That the public accuser received the papers concerning the widow Capet, on the 19th and 20th of the first month of the second decade, commonly called the 11th and 12th of October, of the present month: That one of the judges of the tribunal immediately proceeded to the interrogatories of the widow Capet; that an examination being made of all the pieces transmitted by the public accuser, it appears that, like those Messalina's, Brunehaut, Fredigonde, and Medicis, who were formerly distinguished by the titles of queens of France, whose names, for ever odious, will never be effaced from the page of history; Maria Antoinetta, widow of Louis Capet, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and the blood-sucker of the French; that even before the happy revolution which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political connections with a man called the king of Bohemia and Hungary; that this connection was contrary to the interest of France; that, not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time minister of the finances, and squandering the finances of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people) in a dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues; it is notorious that she has at different times transmitted millions to the emperor, which served and still serve him to sustain a war against the republic; and that it was by such excessive plunder that she at length exhausted the national treasury.

That since the revolution the widow Capet has not for a moment ceased to maintain connections and correspondences criminal and prejudicial towards France, both with foreign powers and in the interior of the republic, by means of agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused to be paid by the late treasurer out of the treasury of the ci-devant civil list; that at various epochs she has employed every manœuvre that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring about a counter-revolution; first, by having, under pretext of a necessary re-union between the ci-devant gardes-du-corps, and the officers and soldiers of the regiment of Flanders, contrived a repast between these two corps on the 1st of October 1789, which, as she wished, degenerated into an absolute orgie, and during the course of which, the agents of the widow Capet, perfectly seconding her counter-revolutionary projects, brought the greater part of the guests, in the delirium of intoxication, to sing songs expressive of the most entire devotion to the throne, and the most marked aversion for the people; excited them insensibly to wear the white cockade, and to tread under their feet that of the nation; that she authorized all these counter-revolutionary excesses by her presence; and still more decidedly by encouraging the women who accompanied her, to distribute the white cockades among the guests; and by manifesting, on the 4th of the same month, the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.

Secondly; having, in concert with

with Louis Capet, directed to be printed and distributed very plentifully throughout the whole of the republic, publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, those addressed to the conspirators on the other side of the Rhine, or published in their name, such as, *Petitions to the Emigrants*; *Reply of the Emigrants*; *the Emigrants to the People*; *the shortest Follies are the best*; *the Half-penny Journal*; *the Order, the March, and the Return of the Emigrants*; of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, as to have circulated writings in which she herself is described in very unfavourable colours (though even then well enough merited) for the purpose of imposing on foreign powers, and making them believe that she was extremely ill treated by Frenchmen, and thereby to irritate them more and more against France.

That in order more speedily to bring about her counter-revolutionary designs, she, by means of her agents, caused in Paris and its environs, at the beginning of Oct. 1789, a famine, which occasioned a new insurrection, in consequence of which an innumerable crowd of citizens of both sexes set out for Versailles on the 5th of the said month; that this fact is proved beyond all contradiction, by the abundance which reigned even on the day after the arrival of her and her family at Paris; that scarcely arrived in Paris, the widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every kind, formed in her own habitation private meetings consisting of all the counter-revolutionists and intriguers of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, which held their meetings in the dead of night; that there were considered the means of destroying the rights of man, and the decrees already passed, which were to form the basis of the new constitution; that it was at these consultations, that the necessary measures were deliberated to obtain a revision of those decrees which were favourable to the people; that in them also the flight of Louis Capet and his wife and family, under fictitious names, which at length took place in June 1791, was many times decided upon but without effect; that the widow Capet has owned in her answers to her examination, that she conducted and prepared every thing for that flight, and that it was she who opened and locked the door of the apartment through which the fugitives passed; that independent of the confession of the widow Capet in this respect, it is confirmed by the testimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by his sister, that De la Fayette, favourite in every respect of the widow Capet, and Bailly, then mayor of Paris, were present at the time of that flight, and assisted it by every means in their power.

That the widow Capet, after her return from Varennes, recommenced her private consultations, that she herself presided at them; and that, aided by her favourite La Fayette, the gates of the Thuilleries were kept locked, which deprived the citizens of the power of freely passing backwards and forwards in the courts of the Thuilleries; and that those only who had cards were permitted to enter.

That this order, ostentatiously given out by the traitor La Fayette as a measure of punishment to the fugitives, was merely a trick, imagined and concerted in their nocturnal consultations, for the purpose of depriving

depriving the citizens of the means of discovering what was plotting against liberty in that infamous place: that in the same consultations was determined upon that horrible massacre of the most zealous patriots in the Field of Mars on the 17th July 1791, the preceding one of Nancy, and all those which have since taken place in different parts of the republic; and that these commotions, in which the blood of an immense crowd of patriots has been spilt, were contrived to procure more rapidly and more surely the revision of those decrees made and founded on the rights of man, and which for that reason were prejudicial to the ambitious and counter-revolutionary views of Louis Capet and Maria Antoinetta. That even after the acceptance of the constitution of 1791, the widow Capet endeavoured to undermine it by means of the artifices used by her and her agents in every part of the republic; and that all her proceedings had for their great object the destruction of liberty; and bringing back the French people to that tyrannical yoke under which they had pined but too many ages.

That for this purpose the widow Capet contrived to procure in her dark meetings, long rightly named the Austrian cabinet, the discussion of all the laws which were decreed by the Legislative Assembly. That it was her who, in consequence of the determination entered into at those consultations, decided Louis Capet to put his veto on the famous and salutary decrees passed in the Legislative Assembly against the ci-devant princes, brothers of Louis Capet; against the emigrants; and against the horde of refractory and fanatical priests spread in every part of France; a *veto* which has proved one of the principal causes of the evils which France has since suffered.

That it was the widow Capet who caused perverse ministers to be nominated, and placed in the armies and public offices, men who were known by the whole nation as conspirators against liberty; that it was by her manœuvres and those of her agents, as able as they were perfidious, that the new guard of Louis Capet was composed of officers who had quitted their corps when the oath was required, of refractory priests, of foreigners; and in short of men reprobated by the majority of the nation, and worthy of serving in the army of Coblentz, to which in reality a great number of them have passed since their being disbanded,

That it was the widow Capet, who, in conjunction with the liberticide faction which at that time domineered over the Legislative Assembly, and since for some time over the Convention, who caused war to be declared against the king of Hungary and Bohemia, her brother: that it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to France, that the French were obliged to make their first retreat from Flanders.

That it was the widow Capet who made known to the foreign courts, the plans of the campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in the council; so that, by means of this double treason, the enemies of France were always informed before-hand of the movements of the armies of the republic; from whence it follows, that the widow Capet is the authoress of all those reverses of fortune, which the armies of the republic

republic have experienced at different times.

That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents, the horrible conſpiracy which broke out on the day of the 10th of Auguſt; which failed only through the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots; that to this end, ſhe collected in her dwelling of the Thuilleries, and even in the ſubterraneous paſſages, Swiſs ſoldiers, who, by a decree then paſſed, were no longer to act as the guard of Louis Capet: that the widow of Capet kept them in a ſtate of drunkenneſs, from the 9th to the 10th in the morning, the day appointed for the execution of this horrible conſpiracy; that for the ſame purpoſe ſhe had collected on the 9th a body of thoſe beings known by the name of the knights of the dagger, who had figured away with the ſame infamous deſigns, and in the ſame place, on the 28th of February 1791, and again on the 21ſt of June 1792.

That the widow Capet, fearing, no doubt, that this conſpiracy might not have all the effect which ſhe had promiſed herſelf, went on the evening of the 9th of Auguſt, at half after nine, into the room where the Swiſs, and others in her intereſt, were buſy making cartridges; that while ſhe encouraged them to haſten the making of thoſe cartridges, to excite them ſtill more, ſhe took up the cartridges, and bit the balls, (words are wanting to expreſs a trait ſo atrocious); that the next day, the 10th of Auguſt, it is notorious, that ſhe preſſed and ſolicited Louis Capet to go to the Thuilleries at five in the morning, to review the real Swiſs guards, and thoſe other ſcoundrels who had aſſumed their uniform; and that, at his return, ſhe preſented him with a piſtol, ſaying, *This is the moment to ſhow yourſelf*; and, on his refuſal, ſhe called him a coward.—That notwithſtanding the widow Capet perſeveres in her denial of having given any orders to fire on the people, her conduct on the 9th; in the hall of the Swiſs guards; the conſultations which were held all the night long, and at which ſhe aſſiſted; the article of the piſtol, and her propoſal to Louis Capet; their ſudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people, at that very moment he and ſhe entered the hall of the Legiſlative Aſſembly; in one word, all theſe circumſtances united, leave no doubt but that, in the conſultations held during the night, it was reſolved that the people muſt be fired at; and that Louis Capet and Maria Antoinetta, the great director of that conſpiracy, themſelves gave the orders to fire.

That, to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy with that liberticidal faction which has been already ſpoken of, and with all the enemies of the republic, France is indebted for the internal war which has devoured her ſo long; but the end of which is fortunately not much more diſtant than that of its authors.

That at all times, the widow Capet, by the influence ſhe had acquired over Louis Capet, inſinuated into him that deep and dangerous art of diſſimulation and acting, and of promiſing, by public acts, the very contrary of what he thought and plotted, conjointly with her in ſecret, for the deſtruction of that liberty ſo dear to Frenchmen, which they

they will preſerve, and to recover that which they called the plenitude of the royal prerogative.

That finally, the widow Capet, in every reſpect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is ſo wicked, and ſo familiar with all crimes, that, forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits preſcribed by the law of nature, ſhe has not heſitated to give herſelf up, with Louis Charles Capet, her ſon, according to his confeſſion, to indecencies, the very idea and name of which makes every one tremble with horror.

In conſequence of the above allegations, the public accuſer brings the preſent accuſation againſt Maria Antoinetta, qualifying herſelf in her interrogatory by the title of *Lorraine and Auſtria*, widow of Louis Capet, for having wickedly and deſignedly,

1ſt, In conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous ex-miniſter Calonne, deſtroyed, in the moſt horrid manner, the French finances, ſent innumerable ſums to the emperor, and drained the national treaſury.

2d, For having, as well by herſelf, as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, kept up a correſpondence with the enemies of the republic, and informed theſe enemies, or cauſed them to be informed, of all the plans of campaigns and attacks reſolved on, and determined in the council.

3d, For having, through her intrigues and manœuvres, and thoſe of her agents, formed conſpiracies and plots againſt the interior and exterior ſafety of France; and, to that effect, kindled a civil war in divers parts of the republic; armed one citizen againſt another; and for having, by theſe means, ſpilled the blood of an incalculable number of citizens, contrary to the fourth article of the firſt ſection of the firſt title of the ſecond part of the penal code, and to the ſecond article of the ſecond ſection of the firſt title of the ſame code.

In conſequence, the public accuſer requires, that an act of the preſent accuſation be given him by the tribunal; that it be ordained, that, on his requiſition, and through the channel of a ſerjeant at arms, Maria Antoinetta, qualifying herſelf by the title of *Lorraine and Auſtria*, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the priſon called the Conciergerie of the palace, be entered on the regiſters of the ſaid priſon, there to remain in the ſame, as in a houſe of juſtice; and that the ſentence to be given ſhall be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accuſed.

Done in the chamber of the public accuſer, the firſt day of the third decade of the firſt month of the ſecond year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed)

Antoine Quentin Fouquier.

The tribunal, in compliance with the requeſt of the public accuſer, grants him an act of the accuſation by him made againſt Maria Antoinetta, called of Lorraine and Auſtria, widow of Louis Capet; and orders that, agreeable to the ſaid requeſt, and through the means of a ſerjeant at arms, bearer of this ordonance, Maria Antoinetta, widow of Louis Capet, ſhall be bodily arreſted, and entered on the regiſters of the priſon called the Conciergerie, where ſhe is actually detained, there to remain, the ſame as in a houſe of juſtice; and that the

the preſent ordonance be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accuſed.

Done and judged at the tribunal, the ſecond day of the third decade of the firſt month of the ſecond, year of the republic, by the citizens—all judges of the tribunal,

Armand-Martial-Joſeph Herman
Etienne Foucault
Gabriel Touſſaint Sellier
Pierre Andre Coffinhall
Gabriel de Liege
Pierre Louis Ragmey
Antoine Marie Maire
François-Joſeph Denizot
Etienne Maçon.

The preſident ſaid to the queen, after the act of accuſation had been read, "This is what you are accuſed of: lend an attentive ear; you are going to hear the charges laid againſt you."

He then proceeded to the examination of the witneſſes.

Laurent Lecointre, deputy to the National Convention, depoſed to his knowing the accuſed, as having formerly been the wife of the *ci-devant* king of France; and as being the perſon who, at the time of her removal to the Temple, had charged him with a memorial to the Convention, in order to obtain twelve or fourteen perſons, whom ſhe mentioned, for what ſhe called her ſervice. The Convention, on that occaſion, paſſed to the order of the day, upon the ground that he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the municipality.

The deponent then entered upon the detail of the feſtivals and orgies which took place at Verſailles, from the year 1779, to the commencement of 1789; the reſult of which had been, a dreadful dilapidation in the finances of France. The witneſs gave a detail of what preceded and followed the aſſemblies of the notables, till the epocha of the opening of the ſtates-general; the ſtate of the generous inhabitants of Verſailles; their grievous perplexities on the 23d of June 1789, whoſe artillery-men of Naſſau, whoſe artillery was placed in the ſtables belonging to the accuſed, refuſed to fire upon the people.

At length, the Pariſians having ſhaken off the yoke of tyranny, this revolutionary movement reanimated the energy of their brethren at Verſailles. They formed a very hardy and courageous project, of freeing themſelves from the oppreſſion of the deſpot, or of his agents.

On the 28th of July, the citizens of Verſailles formed a wiſh to organize themſelves into national guards, like their brethren at Paris. They nevertheleſs propoſed to conſult the king; the negociator was the *ci-devant* Prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter; but the organization having been made, the ſtaff was appointed; D'Eſtaing was named commandant general, and Gouvernet ſecond in command.

The witneſs here entered into the detail of the facts which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The accuſed, on the 29th of September, ſent for ſome officers of the national guard, and made them a preſent of two colours; a third remained, which they were told was deſtined for a battalion of pretended guards, paid for the avowed purpoſe, as it was declared, of relieving the inhabitants of Verſailles, who were thus cajoled; at the ſame time that it

was

was affected to pity them, they in reality were abhorred.

On the 29th of September 1789, the national guard gave a repaſt to its brave brethren, the ſoldiers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals gave an account, at the time, that, at the repaſt of the citizens, nothing paſſed contrary to the principles of liberty; but that the feaſt given October the 1ſt, by the body-guards, had no other aim than to provoke the national guard againſt the *ci-devant* ſoldiers of Flanders, and the *chaſſeurs des trois Evéchés*.

The witneſs obſerved, that the accuſed appeared at this latter part with her huſband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air O, Richard! O, my King! was played; that the health of the king and queen was drank, as well as that of her ſon; but that the health of the nation, which had been propoſed, was rejected. After this orgie, they removed themſelves to the caſtle of the *ci-devant* court, called Marble; and there, in order to give the King a juſt idea of the manner in which they were diſpoſed to defend the intereſts of his family, if occaſion required it, a perſon named Perceval, Aid-de-Camp to D'Eſtaing, mounted firſt to the balcony; after him, a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; a third, a dragoon, having alſo attempted to ſcale the ſaid balcony, and not being able to ſucceed, would have deſtroyed himſelf. With reſpect to the ſaid Perceval, he took the croſs with which he was decorated, in order to give it to the grenadier, who, like him, had ſcaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* king.

[Upon the requeſt of the public accuſer, the tribunal ordered, that a mandate ſhould be iſſued to bring Perceval and D'Eſtaing.]

The witneſs added, that on the 3d of the ſame month October, the body-guards gave a ſecond repaſt. It was there that the moſt violent outrages were committed upon the national cockade, which was trodden under foot.

The deponent here detailed what happened at Verſailles on the 5th and 6th of October. He obſerved, that on the day of the 3d of October, D'Eſtaing being informed of the movements which were making in Paris, went to the municipality of Verſailles, in order to obtain permiſſion to carry away the *ci-devant* King, who was then hunting, and who was entirely ignorant of what was paſſing; with a promiſe to bring him back when tranquillity ſhould be reſtored. The witneſs depoſited upon the deſk the pieces relative to the facts contained in his declaration, which were added to the proceſs.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any obſervations to make upon the witneſs's depoſition?—*Queen.* I have no knowledge of the greater part of the facts which the witneſs mentions. It is true that I gave two colours to the national guard of Verſailles; and it is alſo true, that we walked round the table on the day of the repaſt given by the body-guards; but this is all.

You acknowledge that you were in the hall of the *ci-devant* body-guards. Were you there when they played the air of O Richard! O my King?—I do not recollect.

Were you there when the health of the nation was propoſed and rejected?—I do not think that I was.

It is notorious, that the report all over France at that time was, that you had yourself visited the three armed corps at Versailles, for the purpose of engaging them to defend what you called the prerogatives of the throne.—I have nothing to answer.

Did you not, before the 14th of July, hold nocturnal consultations, at which Polignac assisted; and was it not there deliberated upon the means of sending money to the Emperor?—I never assisted at any consultations.

Have you any knowledge of the famous bed of justice, held by Louis Capet, in the midst of the representatives of the people?—I have.

Was it not D'Espremenil and Thouret, assisted by Barentin, who digested the articles that were proposed?—I am entirely ignorant of this matter.

Your answers are not accurate; for it was in your apartments that the articles were revised?—It was in the council that this affair was determined.

Did not your husband read his speech to you half an hour before he entered the hall of the representatives of the people, and did you not engage him to pronounce it with resolution?—My husband had great confidence in me, and that made him read his speech; but I did not permit myself any observations.

What were the deliberations upon surrounding the representatives of the people with bayonets, and assassinating half of them if possible?—I never heard mention of such a thing.

You cannot have been ignorant that there were troops in the Champ de Mars. You must know the cause of their being assembled.—I knew at the time that troops were assembled, but I was absolutely ignorant of the motive.

But enjoying the confidence of your husband, you must have known the cause.—It was to restore public tranquillity.

But at that epoch every body was tranquil, there was only one cry, that of liberty. Have you any knowledge of the plan of the *ci-devant* Count D'Artois for blowing up the hall of the National Assembly; that plan having appeared too violent, was not he engaged to travel, in the fear that by his presence and his blundering, he would endanger the project which had been adopted of dissimulating till the favourable moment for the perfidious views proposed should arrive?—I never heard that my brother D'Artois had such a design as you mention. He went of his own accord to travel.

At what time did you make use of the enormous sums remitted to you by different comptrollers of the finances?—No enormous sums were entrusted to me; those which were remitted I employed to pay the persons who were in my service.

Why did you heap riches upon the family of the Polignacs and many others?—They held offices at court from which they gained their riches.

As the repast could not have been given to the body guards without the permission of the king, you must necessarily know the cause of it.—It was said to be for the purpose of effecting their union with the national guard.

How did you know Perceval?—As an aid-de-camp of D'Estaing.

Do you know what orders he was decorated with?—No.

Jean Baptiſte Lapierre, adjutant-general *ad interim* of the fourth diviſion, depoſed to what paſſed at the *ci-devant* caſtle of the Thuilleries in the night of the 20th and 21ſt of June 1791. He depoſed, that he was on duty there, and that in the courſe of the night he ſaw a number of perſons unknown to him, who went and came from the caſtle to the courts, and from the courts to the caſtle, among thoſe who fixed his attention he recognized Barrè, a man of letters.

Preſident to the witneſs. Does it come within your knowledge, that after the return from Varennes, the Barrè of whom you have ſpoken went every day to the caſtle, where he appeared to be very well received; and was it not him who excited a diſturbance at the theatre of Vaudeville?—*Witneſs.* I cannot take upon me to anſwer to that fact.

Preſident to the Queen. When you fled, was it on foot or in a carriage?—*Queen.* It was on foot.

By what part?—By the Carouſal.

Were La Fayette and Bailly at the caſtle when you departed?—I believe not.

Did not you deſcend by the apartment of one of your women?—I had, indeed, under my apartments a woman of the wardrobe.

Was it not you who opened the doors?—Yes.

Did not La Fayette come to the apartment of Louis Capet?—No.

Did you ſee Baily at the caſtle that day?—No.

Rouſillon, ſurgeon and cannoneer, depoſed, that on the 10th of Auguſt, having entered into the caſtle of the Thuilleries, in the apartment of the accuſed which ſhe had quitted a few hours before, he found under her bed a great number of bottles, ſome full, others empty, which made him believe that ſhe had given liquor either to the Swiſs officers or to the knights of the dagger, who filled the caſtle.

This witneſs concluded by reproaching the accuſed with having inſtigated the maſſacres which had taken place in different parts of France, particularly thoſe at Nancy and in the Field of Mars; and alſo with having contributed to bring France within an inch of ruin by ſending immenſe ſums to her brother the king of Hungary and Bohemia, to ſupport him in his war againſt the Turks, and to facilitate to him the means of one day making war againſt France: that is to ſay, againſt a generous nation, which nouriſhed her, as well as her huſband and family.

The witneſs obſerved, that he had this fact from a good female citizen, an excellent patriot, who had ſerved at Verſailles under the old order of things, and to whom it was confided by a favourite of the *ci-devant* court.

The witneſs having named the place of abode of the female citizen mentioned by him, the tribunal, in conſequence of the requiſition of the public accuſer, ordered that there ſhould immediately be iſſued a ſummons for her to appear, that ſhe might make known to the tribunal ſuch facts as came within her knowledge.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any thing to obſerve againſt the teſtimony of the laſt witneſs?—*Queen.* I had left the caſtle, and am ignorant of what paſſed there.

Did not you give money to the Swiſs, for them to drink?—No.

Did not you say to a Swiss officer in going out, "Drink, my friend, I recommend myself to you?—No.

Where did you pass the night of the 9th and 10th of August, which has been mentioned to you?—I passed it with my sister (Elizabeth) in my apartment, and I did not go to bed.

Why did not you go to bed?—Because that at midnight we heard the alarm-bell sounded in every quarter, and were told that we should be attacked.

Was it not in your apartments that the nobles and Swiss officers who were at the castle assembled, and was it not there that the order was given to fire on the people?—Nobody came into my apartments.

Did not you, during the night, go to find the late king?—I remained in my apartment till one in the morning.

You doubtless saw the knights of the dagger, and the etat-major of the Swiss who were there?—I saw many persons.

Did not you see on the table of the *ci-devant* king something written?—No.

Were you with the king when the review took place in the garden?—No.

Were not you at your window during that time?—No.

Was Petion at the castle with Rœderer?—I do not know.

Had not you a conversation with D'Affry, in which you asked him if the Swiss might be depended upon to fire upon the people; and on his making a reply in the negative, did not you by turns employ flatteries and menaces?—I do not believe that I saw D'Affry on that day.

At what time did you see D'Affry?—It is impossible at this moment for me to remember.

But you did ask him if the Swiss might be depended upon?—I never spoke to him about it.

You deny then that you menaced him.—I never used any menaces to him.

The *Public Accuser* observed, that D'Affry, after the affair of the 10th of August, was arrested, and brought before the tribunal, on the 17th, and that he was set at liberty because that he proved, that not having wished to participate in what was plotting at the castle, he was menaced by the queen, which had obliged him to leave the castle.

Jacques René Hebert, substitute of the procureur of the commune, deposed, that as a member of the commune of the 10th of August, he was charged with different important functions, which proved to him the conspiracy of Antoinetta, particularly one day in the Temple he found a copy of the ritual belonging to her, in which was one of the counter-revolutionary emblems, representing a heart in flames, pierced with an arrow, on which was written, *Jesus miserere nobis.* Another time he found in the chamber of Elizabeth, a hat, which was known to have belonged to Louis Capet. This discovery left him no room to doubt that there were among his colleagues some men base enough to degrade themselves so far as to be the servants of tyranny. He recollected that Toulan had one day entered with his hat into the Temple, and had come out bare-headed, saying that he had lost it. He added, that Simon having apprised him that he had something important to communicate, he went to the

the Temple, accompanied with the mayor and procureur of the commune; they there received a declaration, on the part of young Capet, to this purport: That at the period of the flight of Louis Capet to Varennes, La Fayette was one of those who had most contributed to facilitate it; that he had with this view spent the night in the palace; that during their residence in the Temple, the prisoners had for a long time been informed of all public transactions; and a correspondence was transmitted to them in clothes and shoes. Young Capet named thirteen persons, as being concerned in carrying on this correspondence; that one of them having shut him up with his sister in a turret, he heard what was said to his mother, "I will procure you the means of "being informed of the news, by "sending you every day a hawker "to cry near the tower, *Le Journal "du Soir.*" In fine, young Capet, whose constitution became every day impaired, was surprised by Simon in practices destructive to his health, and at his period of life very uncommon; he was asked who had instructed him in these practices; he replied, that it was his mother and his aunt. From the declaration made by young Capet, in presence of the mayor of Paris and the procureur of the commune, it appeared, that these two women had often made him sleep between them, in which situation he had been accustomed to the most abominable indulgences; and that from what he had said, there was not even room to doubt but that there had been an incestuous commerce between the mother and the son. There was reason to believe that this criminal indulgence was not dictated by the love of pleasure, but by the political hope of enervating the constitution of the child, whom they supposed destined to sit on the throne, in order that they might acquire an ascendancy over his mind. In consequence of these practices he was attacked with a rupture, which rendered the use of a bandage necessary, and since he had been removed from his mother his constitution had become vigorous and robust.

President to the Queen. What have you to answer to the deposition of the witness?—*Queen.* I have no knowledge of the facts of which Hebert speaks; I know only that the heart he mentions was given to my son by his sister; with respect to the hat, it was a present to my sister by her brother while alive.

Did the administrators Michonis, Jobert, Marino, and Michel, when they came to you, bring any persons along with them?—Yes, they never came alone.

How many did they bring each time?—Frequently three or four.

Were not these persons administrators?—I do not know.

Did Michonis and the other administrators, when they came to you, wear their scarfs?—I do not recollect.

The witness Hebert was called upon to state whether he was acquainted with the manner in which the administrators executed their functions. He answered, that he was not exactly acquainted, but that he remarked on the occasion of the declaration made by the accused, that the family of Capet, during their residence in the Temple, were informed of every thing that occurred in the city; they knew all the municipal officers who were called

there every day by their duty, both their particular history, and the nature of their different functions. Hebert observed, that an important fact, which merited the attention of the jury, had before escaped his memory, It served to make known the politics of the accused and her sister-in-law. After the death of Capet, the two women treated the young Capet with the same deference as if he had been king. He had, when at table, the precedence of his mother and aunt; he was always served first, and occupied the upper end.

Queen. Did you see this?—*Hebert.* I did not, but all the municipality certify it.

President to the Queen. Did not you start with joy, at seeing enter with Michonis into your chamber at the Conciergerie, the person who carried a carnation?—*Queen.* Having been for thirteen months shut up without seeing any person whom I knew, I started in the fear that he might be in danger from communicating with me.

Was not that person one of your agents?—No.

Was not he at the Thuilleries on the 20th of June?—Yes.

And doubtless too on the night of the 9th and 10th of August.—I do not remember seeing him.

Had not you a conversation with Michonis on the person who brought the carnation?—No.

What was the name of that person?—I do not know his name.

Did not you say to Michonis, that you feared he was not re-elected to the new municipality?—Yes.

What was the motive of your fears on this account?—Because he was very humane to the prisoners.

Did not you say to him the same day, this is perhaps the last time I shall see you?—Yes.

Why did you say this?—It was for the general interest of the prisoners.

A Juryman. Citizen President, I invite you to observe, that the accused has not replied to the fact stated by citizen Hebert, with respect to what passed between her and her son.

The *President* put the question.

Queen. If I did not reply, it was because that nature refused to reply to such a charge brought against a mother [*Here the Queen seemed deeply affected*]. I appeal to all those mothers who are here.

Abraham Silly, notary, deposed, that being on duty at the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, on the night of the 20th of June 1791, the accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the Sieur Laroch to accompany her; that he saw La Fayette during the evening come five or six times to Gouvion; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to shut the gates, excepting that looking into the court called the court of the *ci-devant* princes; that on the morning Gouvion entered the apartment where the deponent was, and said to him, rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, "They are gone;" that he delivered to him a packet which he carried to the Constituent Assembly, for which citizen Beauharnois, the president, gave him a receipt.

President. At what hour of the night did LaFayette quit the palace?—*Witness.* At midnight, within a few minutes.

President to the Queen. At what hour

hour did you quit it?—*Queen.* I have already said at three quarters past eleven.

Did you quit it with Louis Capet?—No, he went before me.

How did he go?—On foot, by the great gate.

And your children?—They went an hour before with their governess; they waited for us in the square of the Little Carouzel.

What was the name of the governess?—De Tourzel.

Who were the persons along with you?—The three body-guards who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris.

How were they dressed?—In the same manner as at their return.

And how were you dressed?—I wore the same robe as at my return.

How many persons were there apprised of your departure?—There were only the three body-guards at Paris who were acquainted with it; but on the road Bouillé had placed troops to protect our departure.

You said that your children departed an hour before you, and that the ci-devant king departed alone; who then accompanied you?—One of the body-guards.

Did not you at your departure meet La Fayette?—I saw, as I was departing, his carriage passing along the Carouzel, but I took care not to speak to him.

Who furnished you, or caused you to be furnished with the famous carriage in which you departed with your family?—A foreigner.

Of what nation?—A Swede.

Was it not Fersen, who resided at Paris, Rue de Bacq?—Yes.

Why did you travel under the name of a Russian baroness?—Because it was impossible any other way to get out of Paris.

Who procured you the passport?—It was demanded by a foreign minister.

Why did you quit Paris?—Because the king was desirous to go from it.

Pierre Joseph Terrason, employed in the office of the minister of justice, deposed, that upon the return from Varennes, being upon the steps of the ci-devant palace of the Thuilleries, he saw the accused come out of the carriage, and throw upon the national guard who escorted her, and likewise upon the other citizens who were in her way as she passed along, a most vindictive glance; which suggested to him, the deponent, the idea that she would certainly take an opportunity of revenge; in reality, some time after the scene of the Champ de Mars took place. He added, that Duranthon, who was minister of justice, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Bourdeaux, as they had there exercised together the same profession, said to him, that the accused opposed the king's giving his sanction to different decrees, but that he had represented to her that this affair was of more importance than she thought, and that it was even of the utmost urgency that these decrees should be speedily sanctioned; that this observation made an impression upon the accused, upon which the king gave his sanction.

President to the Queen. Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the deponent?—*Queen.* I have only to say, that I never assisted at the council.

Pierre-Manuel, a man of letters,

depoſed, that he knew the accuſed, but never had any connexion with the family of Capet, except when he was procureur of the commune; that he went ſeveral times to the Temple, to carry into execution the decrees; as to the reſt, he never had any particular converſation with the wife of the ci-devant king.

Preſident to the Witneſs. You have been adminiſtrator of police?—*Witneſs.* Yes.

In this ſituation you muſt have had ſome connexion with the court.—It was the mayor who had the connexion with the court. For my own part, I was, if I may ſay ſo, always at La Force, where, from motives of humanity, I did as much good as poſſible to the priſoners.

Did Louis Capet at that time highly commend the adminiſtration of the police?—The adminiſtration of police was divided into five branches, of which there was one of ſubſiſtence; it was upon this branch that Louis Capet beſtowed ſo many commendations.

Have you any details to give with reſpect to the day of the 20th of June?—On that day I did not quit my poſt but for a ſhort time, as the people might have been alarmed at not finding one of their principal magiſtrates; I went into the garden of the palace. I there ſpoke with different citizens, and diſcharged no municipal function.

Tell what came within your knowledge, with reſpect to what paſſed in the palace in the night between the 9th and 10th of Auguſt.—I did not chooſe to quit the poſt where the people had placed me; I remained all night at the bar of the commune.

You were very intimate with Petion; he muſt have told you what paſſed?—I was his friend both from the ties of office and of eſteem; and if I had conceived him capable of deceiving the people, and of being a party in the coalition of the palace, he would have forfeited my eſteem. He had however told me, that thoſe in the palace were deſirous of the 10th of Auguſt, in order to re-eſtabliſh the royal authority.

Do you know that the maſters of the palace had given orders to fire upon the people?—I knew it from the commandant of the poſt, an excellent republican, who came to inform me of it. Upon this I immediately iſſued orders to the commandant-general of the armed force, and, as procureur of the commune, expreſsly forbade him to fire upon the people.

How happens it that you, who have juſt declared, that in the night of the 9th of Auguſt you never quitted the poſt where the people had placed you, have ſince abandoned the honourable function of legiſlator, to which their confidence had called you?—When I ſaw diſturbances excited in the boſom of the Convention, I retired; I thought that thus I ſhould act better. I adopted the principle of THOMAS PAINE, my maſter in republicaniſm; I, like him, deſired to ſee the reign of liberty and equality eſtabliſhed upon a fixed and durable baſis. I might vary in the means which I propoſed, but my intentions were always pure.

How! you call yourſelf a good republican; you ſay that you love equality, and you propoſed to pay to Petion honours equivalent to thoſe of royalty?—It was not to Petion, who was only preſident fifteen days, but to the preſident of the National Convention, that I wiſhed to pay honours; I deſired that a huiſſier

huiſſier and a gendarme ſhould go before him, and that the citizens of the tribune ſhould riſe at his entrance. It was ſuggeſted at that time, in better ſpeeches than mine, and I went into the opinion.

Do you know the names of thoſe who gave notice that Petion was in ſome danger at the palace?—No, I only believe that they were deputies who gave notice of it to the Legiſlative Aſſembly.

Why did you take it upon you to enter alone into the Temple, and particularly into the apartments called royal?—I never allowed myſelf to enter alone into the apartments of the priſoners; I, on the contrary, took care always to be accompanied by ſeveral of the commiſſioners who were on duty there.

Why did you ſhew a degree of ſolicitude for the valets of the accuſed, in preference to the other priſoners?—It is true, that at La Force the girl Tourzel believed her mother to be dead; the mother ſuppoſed the ſame of the daughter; guided by a principle of humanity, I brought them together.

Did not you hold correſpondence with Elizabeth Capet?—No.

Preſident to the Queen. Had you ever any particular converſation with the witneſs in the Temple?—*Queen.* No.

Jean Silvain Bailly, a man of letters, depoſed, that he never had any intercourſe with the family formerly called royal; he proteſted, that the facts contained in the act of accuſation, touching the declaration of Louis Capet, are abſolutely falſe; he obſerved on that head, that ſome days before the flight of Louis, when the rumour of his flight was ſpread, he communicated the intelligence to La Fayette, recommending him to take all the neceſſary meaſures on that ſubject.

Preſident to the witneſs. Were you not connected with Paſtoret and Rœderer, ex-procureur-general-ſyndics of the department?—*Witneſs.* I had no connection with them, except what related to the magiſtracy.

Was it not you who, in conjunction with La Fayette, founded the club known by the name of 1789?—I was not the founder; and I only belonged to it becauſe ſome Bretons, who were my friends, were members. I was invited, and told it would only coſt me five louis, which I gave, was admitted, and have never ſince been preſent but at two dinners.

Have you not aſſiſted at the conſultations held at the houſe of the *ci-devant* La Rochefoucault?—I never heard any mention of conſultations; ſuch may have exiſted, but I never was at them.

If you held no conſultations, why, when by the decree of the 19th of June 1790, the Conſtituent Aſſembly deſired to convey the loud teſtimony of a grateful nation, to the conquerors of the Baſtile, and reward their courage and zeal, by placing them in a diſtinguiſhed manner among their brethren in the Champ de Mars, on the day of the federation; why, I ſay, did you excite quarrels between them and their brethren in arms, the former French guards, and afterwards act the weeper before their aſſembly, and induce them to reject the decorations with which they had been honoured?—I went, at the requeſt of their leaders, for the purpoſe of reconciling the parties. It was one of them who made the motion

to return the decorations with which they had been honoured by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and not I.

Thoſe who made the motion, having been diſcovered to be your ſpies, the brave conquerors did themſelves juſtice by expelling them. —There were ſtrange miſtakes concerning that affair.

Were not you active in favour of the journey to St. Cloud, in the month of April; and did you not, in concert with La Fayette, ſolicit from the department the order to hoiſt the red flag?—No.

Were you informed that the late king concealed in the palace a conſiderable number of refractory prieſts?—Yes; I even went to the king, at the head of the municipality, to petition him to diſmiſs the prieſts that had not taken the oaths.

Can you tell the names of thoſe reſidents in the palace, who were known by the title of Knights of the Dagger?—I do not know any.

At the time of the reviſion of the conſtitution of 1791, were not you connected with the Lameths, Barnave, Deſmeunier, Chapellier, and other famous combined reviſors, or, to ſpeak more properly, men bribed by the Court to ſtrip the people of their real rights, and leave them only the ſhadow of freedom?—La Fayette was reconciled to the Lameths, but I had no reconciliation to effect, for I had never been intimate with them.

It appears you were very intimate with La Fayette, and that your opinions were much the ſame? —My intimacy with him related to his office; and, as to the reſt, my opinion was at that time that of all Paris.

You ſay you have never been preſent at any conſultation; but how did it happen that, at the moment when you appeared before the Conſtituent Aſſembly, Charles Lameth drew the anſwer he made you ready written from under his deſk? That proved the exiſtence of a criminal coalition.—The National Aſſembly, by a decree, had ſent for the conſtituted authorities. I went up with the members of the department and the public accuſers. I did no more than receive the orders of the Aſſembly, and was not the ſpeaker. It was the preſident of the department who pronounced the diſcourſe on the occaſion.

Did not you likewiſe receive the orders of Antoinetta to maſſacre the beſt patriots?—No; I did not go to the Champ de Mars till after an arret of the council-general of the commune.

The patriots aſſembled in the Champ de Mars with the permiſſion of the municipality; they had made their declaration to the regiſter, and had obtained their receipt. Why did you hoiſt againſt them the infernal red flag?—The council came to their reſolution in conſequence of two men having been murdered in the Champ de Mars. The ſucceeding accounts were more and more alarming; the council was deceived, and determined to employ an armed force.

Were not the people, on the contrary, deceived by the municipality? Was it not the municipality that provoked the aſſembling of the people, in order to collect the beſt patriots together, and have them murdered?—No, certainly.

What did you do with the dead; that is, the patriots who were aſſaſſinated?—The municipality having drawn up the proces-verbal, tranſported

ported the dead to the court of the military hospital, at Gros-Caillou, where most of them were owned.

How many were they?—The number was ascertained, and rendered public in the proces-verbal, which was published at the time by the municipality; there might be twelve or thirteen.

One of the Jury. I wish to inform the court, that being on that day at the Champ de Mars with my father, at the time the massacre began, I saw seventeen or eighteen persons, of both sexes, killed near the river where we stood. We could only escape death ourselves by wading up to the chin.—The witness was silent.

President to the Queen. What was the number of priests you had in the palace?—*Queen.* We had none about our persons but the priests who said mass.

Had they taken the oaths?—The law allowed the king to choose whom he pleased.

What was the subject of conversation with Barnave and Petion, on the return from Varennes to Paris?—A variety of indifferent things.

John Baptist Hebain, alias *Perceval,* formerly a game-keeper, and now employed at the manufactory of arms, deposed, That being at Versailles on the first of October 1789, he knew at that time of the first feast of the body guards, but was not present at the same. That, on the fifth of the same month, in his capacity of aid-de-camp of the *ci-devant* Count d'Estaing, he acquainted the latter, that some commotions had happened at Paris, of which d'Estaing took no notice; that the same afternoon, the crowd having considerably increased, he spoke to D'Estaing a second time, but that he would not so much as hear him.

The witness next entered into a detail of the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles, between eleven and twelve at night.

President. Did you not wear a decoration at that period?—*Witness.* I wore the ribbon of the order of Limbourg, of which I had, like any one that wished to have it, bought the brevet for 1500 livres.

Were not you, after the disorderly feasts of the body guards, in the Court of Marble, and were not you one of them that scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* king?—I came to the feast of the guards when it was nearly finished, and as they went to the castle I accompanied them thither.

President to witness Lecointre. Inform the tribunal what you know relating to the present witness.—*Lecointre.* I know that Perceval scaled the balcony of the apartment of the *ci-devant* king; that he was followed by a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders: and that, being arrived at the apartment of Louis Capet, Perceval embraced the said grenadier, in presence of the tyrant, then present, saying, "There is no more a regiment of Flanders, we are all of us royal guards." A dragoon from the regiment *Les Trois Evêchés,* having attempted unsuccessfully to follow them, was going to destroy himself.—The witness observed, that he did not speak to the above fact as an eye-witness, but that Perceval, the evidence present, had at the time entrusted it to him, Lecointre, in confidence, and he found it afterwards to be strictly true. He, in consequence, desired the president to require Perceval to declare, whether

ther or not he remembers having related at the time the above circumstances to him, the witness.

Perceval. I remember having seen citizen Lecointre; I even believe that I acquainted him with the history of the balcony. I know he was, on the 5th and 6th of October, commander of the national guards in the absence of D'Estaing, who had absconded.

Lecointre maintained his deposition as strictly true.

Rene Millot, a servant-maid, deposed, that having in 1788 lived as servant at Versailles, she asked one day the *ci-devant* Count de Coigny, in a moment of good humour, "Will the Emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks? Surely that must ruin France, on account of the immense sums the Queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must at least amount to 200 millions."—"Thou art right enough," answered the Count, "it has cost already more than 200 millions, and we are not at the end of it yet." "I know further," says the witness, "that happening to be, after the 23d of June 1789, in a place where some guards of Artois, and some officers of hussars, were present, I heard the former say, at the time the massacre of the French guards was in agitation, "Every one must be at his post, and do his duty:" But that the French guards, having been informed of the business intended against them, cried out, *To arms!* which defeated the project entirely.

I further observe (continued the witness), that I have been informed by divers persons, that the prisoner had formed a plan to assassinate the Duke of Orleans. The king, being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be instantly searched; on which two pistols were found upon her. The king, in consequence, had her confined a prisoner in her own room during a fortnight. —*Queen.* It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for such a cause.

Witness. I know farther, that in the first days of October 1789, some ladies of the court distributed white cockades to different persons at Versailles.—*Queen.* I remember having heard, that one or two days after the feast of the body-guards, some women distributed these cockades, but neither I nor my husband were the authors of similar disorders.

President. What steps did you pursue to punish these women, after you were acquainted with this circumstance?—*Queen.* None.

Jean Baptiste Labenette deposed, that he was perfectly acquainted with a number of facts contained in the act of accusation; and he added, that three private men came to assassinate him, in the name of the prisoner.

President to the Queen. Did you ever read *The Orator of the People?* —*Queen.* No, never.

François du Fresne, gendarme, deposed, that having been in the room of the prisoner, at the time a carnation was brought to her, he knew that on the billet therein concealed the following words were written: "What are you doing here? we have men and money at your service."

Magdelaine Rosay, wife of Richard, ci-devant keeper of the house of arrest called the Conciergerie of the palace, deposed, that a gendarme, named Gilbert, had told her that the

prisoner

priſoner had received a hint from a perſon brought there by Michonis, adminiſtrator of the police, which perſon had given her a carnation, in which a billet was concealed; that, conſidering that it might bring her, the witneſs, into trouble, ſhe acquainted Michonis thereof, who anſwered that he would not introduce any further perſons to the widow Capet.

Touſſant Richard declared, that he well knew the priſoner, ſhe having been put under his guard ſiuce the 2d of October laſt.

Marie Devaux, wife of Arel, depoſed, that ſhe had been with the priſoner during forty-one days, at the Conciergerie; and had neither ſeen nor heard any thing, except a perſon coming one day with Michonis, who gave the priſoner a billet folded up in a carnation; that ſhe, the witneſs, was then working, and ſhe ſaw the ſame perſon call again in the courſe of that day.—*Queen.* He came twice in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour.

Preſident to the Witneſs. Who placed you near the perſon of the widow Capet?—*Witneſs.* Michonis and Jobert.

Jean Gilbert, gendarme, depoſed to the fact of the carnation. He added, that the accuſed complained to them the guards of the victuals brought her, but that ſhe did not wiſh to complain herſelf to the adminiſtrators; that in conſequence he called Michonis, who was in the court of the women along with the perſon who brought the carnation; that Michonis having come up, he heard the accuſed ſay to him, "I ſhall not ſee you any more then." "O pardon me," replied he, "I ſhall always at leaſt be a municipal officer, and in that quality I ſhall have a right to ſee you again." The deponent obſerved, that the accuſed had told him, ſhe was under obligations to the bearer of the note.

Queen. I have no other obligation to him than that of his being near me on the 20th of June.

Charles Henry Deſtaing, formerly naval and military officer in the ſervice of France, declares, that he has known the accuſed ever ſince ſhe has been in France; that he has even reaſon to complain of her; but that he muſt nevertheleſs declare the truth, which is, that he has nothing to ſay with reſpect to the act of accuſation.

Preſident to the Witneſs. Did you know that Louis Capet and his family were to leave Verſailles on the 5th of October?—*Witneſs.* No.

Did you know that the horſes were put too and taken off ſeveral times?—Yes, according to the advice which the court received; but I obſerve that the national guard would not ſuffer this departure.

Did not you yourſelf cauſe the horſes to be brought out that day, for the flight of the royal family?—No.

Do you know that the carriages were ſtopped at the gate of the orangerie?—Yes.

Was you at the Caſtle that day?—Yes.

Did you ſee the accuſed there?—Yes.

What did you hear at the Caſtle?—I heard the adviſers of the court ſay to the accuſed, that the people of Paris were coming to maſſacre her, and that it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould leave the place; to which ſhe replied with great dignity and firmneſs, "if the Pariſians come here

here to assassinate me, it is at the feet of my husband that it shall be done, but I will not fly."

Queen. That is correct. It was wished that I alone should go, because it was said that there was only myself who was in any danger. I made the reply of which the witness has spoken.

President to the Witness. Have you any knowledge of the entertainment given by the ci-devant body guards?—*Witness.* Yes.

Do you know that long live the king, long live the royal family, was cried there?—Yes; I know too that the accused went round the table holding her son by the hand.

Did not you make this known to the national guard of Versailles at its return from Ville-Parisis, where it had been to seek for musquets?—Yes.

Were you on the 5th of October in your quality of commandant general at the head of the national guard?—Is it with respect to the morning or afternoon that you wish me to reply?

From twelve till two.—I was then at the municipality.

Was it not for the purpose of obtaining an order to accompany Louis Capet in his flight, and to bring him back afterwards, as you said, to Versailles?—When I saw the king determined to accede to the wish of the Parisian national guard, and that the queen presented herself on the balcony of the king's apartment with her son, to announce to the people that she was going to accompany the king and his family to Paris, I demanded of the municipality the permission to go along with them.

The Queen declared, that she did appear on the balcony for the purpose of making known to the people that she was going to Paris.

President to the Queen. You have maintained that you did not lead your son by the hand at the entertainment of the body guards.—*Queen.* I did not say that; but only that I did not believe that I had heard the air of "O Richard, O my King."

President to the witness Lecointre. Citizen, did not you say in the deposition which you made yesterday, that the present witness was not on the 5th of October, at the head of the national guards, where his duty required him to be?—I not only affirmed that Destaing was not, from twelve till two, at the meeting of the national guards which took place that day (5th October) but that he did not appear there the whole day; that during all the time, he was in truth at the municipality, that is to say, with that part of the municipal officers which was sold to the court; that he then obtained from them an order or power to accompany the king in his flight, under a promise of bringing him back to Versailles as soon as possible. I observe besides, that the municipality of that period doubly betrayed their duty.

In the first place, because they ought not have lent themselves to a criminal manœuvre in favouring the flight of the *ci-devant* king.

In the second, because, that to be prepared against all events, they took great care not to leave on the registers any indexes which might formally attest that this permission or power had been designedly delivered.—*Witness.* I must observe to citizen Lecointre, that he deceives

ceives himself, seeing that the permission in question is dated the 6th, and that it was only by virtue of that permission that I left Versailles at eleven in the morning to accompany the ci-devant king to Paris.

Lecointre. I persist in declaring, that I am not in an error in this respect. I remember very well that the original piece which I deposited yesterday in the hands of the register, contains in substance, that D'Estaing is authorised to use means of conciliation with the Parisians, and in case of not succeeding, to repel force by force: the citizen jurors will easily comprehend, that these last dispositions could not be applicable to the day of the 6th, since then the court was in the power of the Parisian army. I request, in respect to this matter, that the public accuser and the tribunal, do order the letter of D'Estaing, which I gave in yesterday, to be read, because that it contains the proof of the facts mentioned by me.

The letter was read, and in it was the following paragraph:

"The last article of the instructions given to me by our municipality on the 5th of this month, charged me to neglect nothing to bring back the king to Versailles as soon as possible."

President. Do you persist in saying, that this permission was not delivered to you on the 5th of October?—*Witness.* I was under a mistake about the date; I thought it was the 6th.

You remember that the permission which you obtained, authorised you to repel force by force, after having tried means of conciliation?—Yes, I do remember it.

Antoine Simon, late *shoemaker,* now employed as teacher to Louis Charles Capet, son of the accused, declares, that he has known Antoinetta since the 30th of August last, when he first came on a guard at the Temple.

The deponent observed, that during the time Louis Capet and his family had the liberty of walking in the garden of the Temple, they were instructed of all that passed both in Paris and the interior of the republic.

President to the Witness. Have you any knowledge of the intrigues that were carried on at the Temple, while the accused was there.—*Witness.* Yes.

What administrators were in correspondence?—The little Capet told me that *Toulan, Petion, La Fayette, Lepitre, Bouguet, Michonis, Vincent, Manuel, Lebœuf, Jobert,* and *Dangé,* were those for whom his mother had the greatest regard; that the last had taken him in his arms, and said to him, I much wish that thou wert in the place of thy father.

Queen. I have seen my son play at quoits in the garden with Dangé, but I never saw the latter take him in his arms.

President. Do you know that while the administrators were with the accused and her sister-in-law, the little Capet and his sister were shut up in a turret?—*Witness.* Yes.

Do you know that the little Capet was treated as king principally when at table?—I know that when at table his mother and aunt gave him the precedence.

President to the Queen. Have you written to Polignac since your detention?—*Queen,* No.

Have not you signed orders to procure funds from the treasurer of the civil list?—No.

Public

Public Accuſer. I obſerve to you, that your denial will become in a moment uſeleſs, becauſe there have been found in the papers of Septeuil two orders ſigned by you: in truth, theſe pieces which were depoſited with the commiſſion of twenty-four, are at preſent not to be found, that commiſſion having been diſſolved, but you will hear witneſſes who have ſeen them.

François Tiſſet, ſhopkeeper, *Rue de Barillerie*, employed without ſalary, at the epoch of the 10th of Auguſt, at the committee of inſpection of the municipality, depoſed, that having been charged with a miſſion to the houſe of Septeuil, the treaſurer of the *ci-devant* civil liſt, he was accompanied by the armed force of the ſection of the place Vendome, now that of the pikes, that he could not ſeize his perſon becauſe he was abſent, but that he found in the houſe Boucher, treaſurer of the civil liſt, as well as Morillon and his wife; that they were conducted to the houſe of the mayor; that among the papers of Septeuil was found two orders, making together the ſum of 80,000 livres, ſigned *Maria Antoinetta*, as well as a ſecurity for two millions, ſigned *Louis*, payable at the rate of 110,000 livres a month, on the houſe of Laporte, at Hamburgh; that there was alſo found equally a great number of notes, of ſeveral payments made to Favras and others, a receipt for a ſum of 900,000, ſigned Bouillé, another of 200,000, &c. &c. all which pieces were depoſited with the commiſſion of twenty-four, which is now diſſolved.

Queen. I deſire that the witneſs will declare what were the dates of the orders which he mentions.

Witneſs. One was dated the 10th of Auguſt; as to the other, I cannot remember.

Queen. I never gave any orders, and, above all, how could I poſſibly have done ſo on the 10th of Auguſt, when, by eight o'clock in the morning, we were all gone to the National Aſſembly?

Preſident to the Queen. Did not you, that day, while you was at the Legiſlative Aſſembly, in the box of the Logographe, receive money from thoſe who were round you?—*Queen.* It was not in the lodge of the Logographe, but during the three days that we remained at the Feuillants, that we found ourſelves without money, as we had not brought any away with us, we therefore accepted that which was offered us?

How much did you receive?—Twenty-five ſingle louis d'ors; they are the ſame that were found in my pockets when I was conducted from the Temple to the Conciergerie; regarding the debt as ſacred, I preſerved them untouched, that I might return them to the perſon who lent them me, if I ſaw her.

What is the name of that perſon?—It is the woman Auguel.

Jean François Lepitre, ſchoolmaſter, depoſed to his having ſeen the accuſed in the Temple, when he was there on ſervice, as the principal commiſſioner of the proviſional municipality; but that he never had any particular converſation with her, not having ever ſpoken to her but in preſence of his colleagues.

Preſident. You did not ſometimes talk politics to her?—*Witneſs*, Never.

Did not you procure her the means of knowing the news, by ſending

sending every day an hawker to cry the Journal du Soir, near the tower of the Temple?—No.

Président to the Queen. Have you any observations to make on the testimony of this witness?—*Queen.* I never had any conversation with the witness; and, on the other part, there was no occasion to hire hawkers to come near the tower, as I could hear them well enough every day, when they passed the street of the Corderie.

The queen being asked respecting a small packet which was shown her, she acknowledged it was the same as that on which she put her seal, when she was transferred from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

The packet being opened, one of the officers of the court took an inventory of it, and called over its contents.

The first were some locks of hair, of different colours.—*Queen.* They are the hairs of my children, living and dead, and of my husband.

Another packet of hair.—*Queen.* That hair belonged to the same individuals as the former.

The next was a paper marked with cyphers.—*Queen.* This is only a table to teach my child to reckon.

Several papers were then read, containing memorandums of washing-bills, &c.

A port-feuille of parchments and other papers was then produced, on which were written the names of different people.

The President demanded that the Queen should explain them.

Président. Who is the woman called *Salentin?*—*Queen.* She was for a long time charged with my affairs.

Who is the Demoiselle *Vion?*—She was employed in the care of my children's clothes.

And who is Madame *Chaumette?*—She succeeded Madamoiselle *Vion.*

What is the name of the woman who took care of your laces?—I do not know her name; Salentin and Chaumette employed her.

Who is *Le Bernier*, whose name is written here?—It is the name of the physician who attended my children.

The Public Accuser here demanded that mandates of arrest should be issued against the above-named ladies; and that *Le Bernier* should be simply ordered to attend.

The Tribunal complied with this requisition.

The Register then continued the inventory of the effects in the packet found on Maria Antoinetta.

A small pocket-book, containing scissars, needles, thread, silk, &c.: A small looking-glass: A golden ring with hair-work: A paper, on which are two hearts in gold, with some initial letters: Another paper, on which is written, *Prayers to the sacred heart of Jesus, prayers to the immaculate conception:* A portrait of a lady.

Président. Whose portrait is this?—*Queen.* That of Madame de Lamballe.

Two other portraits of ladies.

Président. Who are the persons these portraits represent?—*Queen.* Two ladies with whom I was brought up at Vienna.

What are their names?—The ladies of Mecklenburgh and of Hesse.

A paper containing twenty-five single louis d'ors.

Queen. They are some that were lent me while we were at the Feuillans.

A ſmall canvaſs, with a heart in flames painted on it, pierced by a dart.

The Public Accuſer deſired the witneſs Hebert to examine this heart, and to declare if he knew it to be ſame he found in the temple.

Hebert. This heart is not the ſame I found, but very much like it.

The Public Accuſer remarked, that, in the number of priſoners accuſed of conſpiracy, and brought before the tribunal as ſuch, and who had ſuffered under the ſword of the law, moſt of them wore that counter-revolutionary ſign.

Hebert obſerved, that he did not know any thing of the women Salentin, Vion, and Chaumette, having ever been employed in the ſervice of the priſoners in the Temple.

Queen. They were ſo at the beginning.

Preſident. Did you not, a few days after your evaſion, on the 20th of June, order ſome apparel of the Grey Siſters, (a deſcription of nuns)?—*Queen,* I never gave any ſuch order.

Philip François Gabriel Latour Dupin Gouvernet, an ancient officer in the French ſervice, declared, that he had known the priſoner ever ſince ſhe came to France, but had no knowledge of any of the facts contained in the act of accuſation.

Preſident to the witneſs. Have you not been preſent at the feaſts in the caſtle?—*Witneſs.* I never went to court.

Were you not at the feaſt of the body guards?—I could not be there, as I was at that time commander in Burgundy.

What! were you not miniſter at that time?—I never was miniſter; nor would I have accepted it, if thoſe in office had made me an offer of ſuch an appointment.

Preſident to the witneſs Lecointre. Do you know the witneſs preſent to have been miniſter at war in 1789?—*Lecointre.* I know this witneſs was never miniſter: he that was miniſter at that time, is here now, and going to be examined.

The witneſs was ordered in.

Jean-Frederic Latour Dupin, officer and ex-miniſter of war, depoſed, that he knew the priſoner, but nothing of the charges in her indictment.

Preſident to the witneſs. Were you miniſter on the 1ſt of October 1789?—*Witneſs.* Yes, I was.

You, no doubt, at that time, heard of the feaſt of the *ci-devant* body guards?—Yes.

Were you not miniſter in the month of June 1789, when the troops arrived at Verſailles?—No, I was then deputy of the Aſſembly.

The court apparently laid you under obligations, in naming you miniſter at war?—I do not think the court did.

Where were you on the 23d of June, when the *ci-devant* king came to hold that famous bed of juſtice, in the midſt of the repreſentatives of the people?—I was in my place as deputy to the National Aſſembly.

Do you know then who were the authors who framed the declaration of the king, then read to the Aſſembly?—No, I do not.

Did you not hear ſay they were Linguet, Eſpremenil, Barentin, Lally-Tollendal, Deſmeuniers, Bergaſſe, or Thouret?—No.

Was you at the *ci-devant* king's council on the 5th of October 1789?—Yes.

Was

Was D'Eſtaing there?—I did not ſee him there.

D'Eſtaing ſaid, "Well then, my "ſight at that day was better than "your's, for I remember perfectly "well having ſeen you there."

Preſident to Latour Dupin, Exminiſter. Did you know that on that very day, the 5th of October, the royal family were going to Rambouillet, and from thence to Metz?—*Witneſs.* I remember the queſtion being deliberated that day in the council, whether the king ſhould go or not.

Do you know the names of thoſe that were for his departure?—I do not know them.

What could be their motive for that departure?—The concourſe of people arriving at Verſailles, which gave reaſon to think, that the priſoner was then going to be murdered.

What was the reſult of the deliberation of the council?—That they ſhould not go.

Where were they going?—To Rambouillet.

Did you at that time ſee the priſoner in the caſtle?—Yes, I did.

Did ſhe not aſſiſt at the council?—I did not ſee her in the council, but only ſaw her enter the cabinet of Louis XVI.

You ſay the court was going to Rambouillet, but was it not rather to Metz?—No.

In your capacity as miniſter, did you not order coaches to be in readineſs, and troops to be on the road, to protect the departure of Louis Capet?—No.

We know, however, to a certainty, that apartments were fitted up, and every thing got ready at Metz for the reception of the Capet family?—This I know nothing of.

Was it by the order of Antoinetta that you ſent your ſon to Nancy, there to direct the maſſacre of thoſe brave ſoldiers, who had incurred the hatred of the court, by ſhowing themſelves patriots?—I only ſent my ſon to Nancy to ſee the decrees of the National Aſſembly executed there; of courſe, I acted not by the orders of the court, but agreeable to the wiſhes of the people. Even the Jacobins, at whoſe aſſembly M. Camus went to read the particulars of this affair, applauded it loudly.

A juryman. Citizen Preſident, I deſire you will obſerve to the witneſs, that he muſt either be in error, or ſpeak inſincerely; becauſe Camus never was a member of the Jacobins; and that ſociety was far from approving the rigorous meaſures which a liberticidal faction had procured to be decreed againſt the beſt citizens of Nancy.—*Witneſs.* That is what I heard ſay at the time.

Preſident. Was it by Antoinetta's orders you left the army in the ſtate in which it was found?—*Witneſs.* I certainly do not expect a reproach on that head, as the French army, at the time of my reſignation, was on a very reſpectable footing.

Was it to render it reſpectable, that you diſbanded more than 30,000 patriots, to whom you ordered yellow cartridges to be diſtributed, with a view therewith to intimidate the defenders of their country, and prevent them from proving their patriotiſm and love of liberty?—This has nothing to do with the miniſter; the diſbanding of ſoldiers is not his buſineſs; the colonels of regiments have the ordering of that.

But you, as miniſter, ought to

make those commanders of regiments render you an account of similar operations, in order to judge who was right or wrong.—I do not believe there is one soldier who has any reason of complaint against me.

Labenette desired leave to mention a fact. He declared himself to be one of those that were honoured by the minister with a yellow cartridge, signed by his hand, because, that in the regiment in which he served, he had unmasked the aristocracy of the Muscadins, a number of whom were in the staff. He observed, that he, the deponent, was a subaltern officer, and that, very likely, Du Pin may remember his name to be Clairvoyant, corporal of the regiment of ———

La Tour Du Pin. Sir! I never heard of you!

President. Did not the prisoner, during your administration, desire you to deliver to her the exact state of the French army? — *Witness.* Yes.

Did she tell you what use she meant to make of it?—No.

Where is your son now?—He is either in the country near Bourdeaux, or at Bourdeaux.

President to the Queen. At the time you asked the witness the state of the armies, was it not with the view to send it to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?—*Queen.* As that list was quite public, I had no occasion to send it him; the public papers were sufficient to make him acquainted therewith.

What were your reasons then for demanding it?—As there was a rumour that the Assembly was going to make considerable alterations in the army, I was curious to have the list of the regiments intended to be suppressed.

Did you not abuse the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for drafts on the public treasury?—Never.

Where did you then get the money to build and fit out the *Petit Trianon*, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the goddess?—There was a fund destined for that purpose.

This fund was then very considerable! for the *Petit Trianon* has cost enormous sums.—It is possible that the *Petit Trianon* may have cost immense sums; may be more than I wished. This expence was incurred by little and little; in fact, I desire more than any one that every person may be informed what hath been done there.

Was it not at the *Petit Trianon* that you saw, for the first time, the wife of La Motte?—I never saw her.

Was she not your victim in the affair of the famous necklace?—How could she be so, as I did not know her?

So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?—My plan is not that of denying; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

Was it not you that caused the ministers and other civil and military officers to be named?—No.

Had you not a list of the persons you wished to get places for, with notes framed in glass?—No.

Did you not force divers ministers to name, to the vacant places, those whom you had given them a list of?—No.

Did you not force the ministers of finances to give you money, and, some

ſome of them refuſing to do ſo, did you not threaten them with all your indignation?—No, never.

Did you not ſolicit Vergennes to ſend ſix millions to the king of Bohemia and Hungary?—No.

Jean François Mathey, keeper of the tower in the Temple, depoſed, that, on the occaſion of a ſong, the burden of which is, "*Ah! il t'en ſouviendra du retour de Varrennes,*" he ſaid to Louis Charles Capet, "Doſt thou remember the returning from Varennes?" to which the latter anſwered, "O, yes! I remember it well." That the witneſs having aſked him further, how they did to carry him away? he anſwered, "That they took him out of his bed when aſleep, and dreſſed him in girl's clothes, ſaying, *Come, you are going to Montmedy.*"

Preſident to the witneſs. Did you not obſerve, during your reſidence in the Temple, a familiarity between ſome members of the commune and the priſoners?—*Witneſs.* Yes; I even heard Toulan ſay one day to the priſoner, at the time of the new elections made for the organization of the definitive municipality, "Madam, I am not in repute, becauſe I am a *Gaſcon.*" I obſerved that L'Epitre and Toulan came frequently together; that they went up ſtairs directly, ſaying, "Let us go up, we ſhall there wait for our colleagues." Another day he ſaw Joubert hand ſome medallions to the priſoner. That the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground, and broke it. [After which the deponent entered into the details of the hiſtory of the hat found in Elizabeth's box.]

Queen. I have to obſerve, that the medallions mentioned by the witneſs were three in number; that that which fell on the floor and was broken was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one repreſented Medea, and the other ſome flowers.

Preſident to the Queen. Did you not give to Toulan a gold ſnuff-box?—No, neither to Toulan nor any body elſe.

The witneſs *Hebert* obſerved, that a juſtice of the peace brought him to the town-houſe a denunciation, ſigned by two town-clerks of the committee of taxation, of which Toulan was the chief, proving this fact in the cleareſt manner, and that Toulan had prided himſelf upon it in the office.

Jean Baptiſte Olivier Garnerin, ci-devant ſecretary to the commiſſion of twenty-four, depoſed, that having been commiſſioned to examine and enumerate the papers found in the houſe of Septeuil, he found in thoſe papers a check for eighty-thouſand livres, ſigned Antoinetta, to the profit of the *ci-devant* Polignac, with a note relating to one Lazaille; another paper, proving that the priſoner had ſold her diamonds, to ſend their produce to the emigrants.

The deponent obſerved, that he delivered all theſe papers at the time to one Valazé, member of the commiſſion, to frame the indictment againſt Louis Capet; but that he, the deponent, was very much ſurprized to find, that Valazé, in the report he made to the National Convention, never mentioned any thing of theſe papers ſigned Maria Antoinetta.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any obſervations to make on the evidence of the witneſs?—*Queen.* I perſiſt in ſaying, that I never gave nor ſigned any checks.

Do you know Lazaille?—Yes, I do.

How did you know him?—I know him to be a naval officer, and to have seen him at court, as well as others.

Witneſs. I have to obſerve, that the papers I ſpoke of were after the diſſolution of the committee of twenty-four, carried to the committee of general ſafety, where they muſt be ſtill; becauſe having met within theſe few days, two of my colleagues, employed with me in the commiſſion of twenty-four, we ſpoke of the proceſs that was going to be inſtituted againſt Maria Antoinetta. I aſked them what became of the papers in queſtion? they ſaid, they were depoſited with the committee of general ſafety, where they are themſelves employed.

The witneſs Tillet deſired the Preſident to interrogate citizen Garnerin, to declare if he does not equally remember having ſeen, among the papers found at Septeuil's, accounts of purchaſes of ſugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. &c. having been made, to the amount of two millions; out of which fifteen thouſand livres were already paid; and whether he does not recollect that, a few days after, theſe vouchers could not be found.

Preſident to Garnerin. You have heard the interrogatory; be ſo good as to anſwer it.—*Garnerin.* I know nothing of this buſineſs; at the ſame time it is notorious, that there were plenty of foreſtallers all over France, to buy up any article, in order to enhance the price of it, and thereby to diſguſt the people with the revolution and liberty, and force them, by this means, to demand their former chains.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any knowledge of the immenſe foreſtalling of commodities of the firſt neceſſity, made by order of the court, to ſtarve the people, and compel them to demand again the former government, ſo favourable to tyrants, and their infamous agents, who had held them under the yoke during fourteen hundred years.—*Queen.* I have no knowledge whatever of any foreſtallings.

Charles Eleonore Dufriché Valazé, formerly deputy to the National Aſſembly, depoſed, that among the papers found at M. Septeuil's, and which, with others, ſerved to frame the indictment againſt Louis Capet, deceaſed, and at the making out of which he himſelf co-operated, as a member of the commiſſion of twenty-four, he obſerved two of them relating to the priſoner. The firſt was a check, or rather a receipt by her, ſigned for a ſum of 15 or 20,000 livres, as near as he remembers; the other was a letter, in which the miniſter begs of the king to communicate to Maria Antoinetta the plan of the campaign which he had the honour to preſent to him.

Preſident to the witneſs. Why did you not ſpeak of theſe pieces when you made your report to the Convention?—*Witneſs.* I did not mention them, becauſe I thought it uſeleſs to ſpeak, in the proceſs of Louis Capet, of a quittance of Antoinetta.

Have you been a member of the commiſſion of twenty-four?—Yes, I have.

Do you know what became of theſe two pieces?—The pieces which ſerved to form the indictment againſt Louis Capet, were claimed by the commune of Paris, becauſe they contained charges againſt ſundry

dry individuals, ſuſpected to have had an intention of compromiſing with ſeveral members of the National Convention, in order to obtain decrees favourable to Louis Capet. I believe that all the pieces have now been returned to the committee of general ſafety.

Preſident to the Queen. What have you to anſwer to the depoſitions of this witneſs?—*Queen.* I know nothing, either of the check or the letter he mentions.

Public Accuſer. It ſeems to be proved, notwithſtanding your denials, that, through your influence over the *ci-devant* king, your conſort, you made him do what you pleaſed.—*Queen.* There is a wide difference between adviſing an action, and executing it.

You ſee, that from the declaration of the witneſs it reſults, that the miniſters ſo well knew your influence over Louis Capet, that one of them deſired him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign he a few days before had preſented to him. The conſequence of which is, that you had entirely become maſter over his feeble character, and made him do any thing *bad*; for ſuppoſing, even, that of all your advices he followed the very beſt, you muſt be convinced within yourſelf, that he never could have made uſe of worſe means to conduct France to the brink of deſtruction.—I never knew him to have that character you are ſpeaking of.

Nicholas Le Boeuf, heretofore a municipal officer, proteſted againſt having any knowledge of the facts relating to the indictment; for, ſaid he, "if I had obſerved any thing, I ſhould have made you acquainted therewith."

Preſident to the witneſs. Did you ever converſe with Louis Capet?—*Witneſs.* No.

Did you not, when you was on duty in the temple, enter into converſation on political affairs with your colleagues and the priſoner?—I frequently converſed with my colleagues, but we did not ſpeak of politics.

Did you frequently addreſs Louis Charles Capet?—Never.

Did you not offer him the New Telemachus to read?—No.

Have you not manifeſted a deſire to be his governor?—No, never.

Did not you teſtify regret to ſee that infant a priſoner?—No.

The priſoner being interrogated to declare if ſhe ever had any private converſation with the witneſs, declared, that ſhe never ſpoke to him.

Auguſtin Germain Jobert, a municipal officer, and adminiſtrator of the police, declared, that he had no knowledge whatever of any of the facts contained in the indictment againſt the priſoner.

Préſident to the witneſs. Have you not, during your time of ſervice in the Temple, had ſome conference with the priſoner?—No, never.

Did you not ſhew her one day ſomething curious?—I did, in fact, ſhew to the widow Capet and her daughter, medallions in wax, allegorical of the revolution.

Was there not a man's portrait among them?—I do not believe there was.

For inſtance, the portrait of Voltaire?—Yes; but I have in my houſe 4 or 5000 of theſe ſort of medallions.

Why was the picture of Medea among the number? Did you mean it as an alluſion to the priſoner?—It was all chance, I have ſo

many of them. They are an article from England which I trade in, and sell them to the merchants.

Have you any knowledge that from time to time young Capet was shut up, during the time you and other administrators had private conferences with the prisoner?—I know nothing of it.

And you persist in saying, that you never had any private conference with the prisoner?—Yes.

President to the Queen. Do you persist in saying, that you had no conversation in the Temple with the two last witnesses?—*Queen.* Yes.

Do you also maintain, that Bailly and La Fayette were not co-operators in your flight, on the night of the 20th of June 1791?—Yes.

I must observe, that on these facts you are in contradiction with the testimony of your son.—It is very easy to make a child of eight years old say any thing that is wished.

But it has not been taken upon one declaration alone; he has been made to repeat it at several and different times, and he has always said the same.—Very well; I deny the fact.

During your detention in the Temple, did not you sit for your picture?—Yes; it was done in crayons.

Were not you shut up with the painter? and did not you make use of this means to receive the news of what passed in the Legislative and Conventional Assemblies?—No.

What is the name of the painter?—Coëffier, a Polish painter, who has been settled in Paris for more than twenty years.

Where does he live?—In the street St. Coq Honore.

Antoine François Moisse, ci-devant assistant to the procureur of the commune, at the tribunals of municipal and correctional police, deposed, that, of the three times that he was on duty at the Temple, he was once placed near Louis Capet, and twice near the women; that he remarked nothing but the custom common to women, of looking earnestly at a man whom they saw for the first time; that he went there again in March last. There was different games played there, which the prisoners sometimes came to look at, but they never spoke; and lastly, he protested that he never had any intimacy with the accused, during his service at the Temple.

President to the Queen. Have you any observation to make on the testimony of the witness?—*Queen.* The only observation I have to make is, that I never conversed with him.

Renée Sevin, wife of Chaumette, deposed to her having known the accused for six years, in consequence of having been in her service, as under-woman of the bed-chamber; but that she knew nothing of any of the facts stated in the act of accusation, except that she saw the king review the Swiss guards on the 10th of August.

President to the witness. Were you in the castle at the time of the flight to Varennes?—*Witness.* Yes, but I knew nothing of it.

In what part of the castle did you sleep?—At the end of the pavilion of Flora.

Did you hear the drum beat, and the alarm bell ring, on the night of the 9th and 10th?—No, I slept at the top of the castle.

How, you slept at the top of the castle, and yet did not hear the alarm bell ring?—No, I was ill.

And

And by what chance were you preſent at the royal review?—I was up at ſix in the morning.

How! you was ill, and yet you got up at ſix o'clock in the morning?—It was becauſe I heard the noiſe.

During the review, did you hear any cries of Long live the King, Long live the Queen?—On the one ſide I heard cries of Long live the King, and, on the other, of Long live the Nation.

Did you ſee, on the eve of that day, the extraordinary aſſembling of Swiſs guards, and of the ſcoundrels who had taken their uniform?—I did not deſcend into the court that day.

Yet, to take your meals, it was neceſſary that you ſhould go down?—I did not go out, a domeſtic brought me what I wanted to eat.

But at leaſt that domeſtic muſt have told you what was paſſing?—I never converſed with him.

It ſeems that you have paſſed your life at court, and have learned there the art of diſſimulation. What is the name of the woman who took care of the laces belonging to the accuſed?—I do not know her, I have only heard ſpeak of a Madame Couet, who mended the laces, and took care of the children's things.

On the information given by the witneſs, of the place of abode of the ſaid Couet, the public accuſer required, and the tribunal ordered, that there ſhould immediately be iſſued an order to bring her before the tribunal.

Jean Baptiſte Vincent, maſon, depoſed, that he had been on duty at the Temple, in his quality of member of the council general of the commune; but that he had never had any conference with the accuſed.

Nicolas Marie Jean Beugnot, architect, and member of the commune, depoſed, that having been nominated by his colleagues to watch over the priſoners in the Temple, he never ſo far forgot himſelf as to have conferences with the priſoners, much leſs with the accuſed.

Preſident to the witneſs. Did not you ſhut the little Capet and his ſiſter in a turret, while you and ſome of your colleagues had a converſation with the accuſed?—No.

Did not you procure them the means of knowing the news, through the hawkers?—No.

Did you hear ſay that the accuſed had made a preſent to Toulan of a gold box?—No.

Queen. I never had any converſation with the witneſs.

François Daugé, adminiſtrator of the police, depoſed, that he had been often on duty at the Temple, but that he had never had, at any time, any conferences, or particular converſations, with the priſoner.

Preſident. Did not you take the young Capet on your knees? Did not you ſay to him, "I wiſh to ſee "you in the place of your father?"—*Witneſs.* No.

While the accuſed was at the Conciergerie, did not you procure ſeveral of your friends admittance into the priſon?—No.

Did not you hear ſay, that many perſons had been introduced into the Conciergerie?—No.

What is your opinion of the accuſed?—If ſhe is guilty ſhe ought to be condemned.

Do you believe her to be a patriot?—No.

Do

Do you believe that she wishes a republic?—No.

Jean Baptiste Michonis, vender of lemonade, member of the commune of the 10th of August, and administrator of the police, deposed to his knowledge of the accused, in consequence of having, with his colleagues, transferred her, on the 2d of last August, from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

President to the witness. Did not you procure entrance for some person into the chamber of the accused, while she was at that prison?—*Witness.* Pardon me, I procured it for a person named Giroux, of the suburb of St. Denis; to another of my friends, a painter; to a citizen administrator of domains; and to another friend.

And, doubtless, to others?—Here is the fact, for I ought and I wish to say here all the truth. On St. Peter's day, I was at the house of one Sieur Fontaine, where there was very good company, particularly three or four deputies of the Convention; among the guests there was one Citizeness Tilleul, who invited Citizen Fontaine to come to see her at Vaugirard; she added, "Citizen Michonis must come too." Having asked her how she knew me, she replied, that she had seen me at the house of the mayor, when she had been there upon business. The day appointed being come, I went to Vaugirard. I found a large company. After our meal, the conversation turning upon the prisons, the Conciergerie was mentioned; and some one said, "the widow "Capet is there; it is said that she "is much altered, that her hair is "become quite white." I replied, that in reality her hair began to grow grey, but that she was very well. A citizen who was present manifested a desire to see her; I promised to oblige him, which I did. On the morrow Richard said to me, "Do you know the person "you brought yesterday?" Having replied that I only knew him from having seen him at the house of one of my friends; "Well, said she, it "is said that he is a *ci-devant* "chevalier of St. Louis." At the same time, she gave me a little bit of paper, written, or rather pricked, with the point of a pin. Then I replied to her, I swear to you that I will never bring any person here again.

President to the witness. Did not you inform the accused, that your functions at the commune were terminated?—*Witness.* Yes; I had such a discourse with her.

What did the accused reply to you?—She said to me, "We shall "not see you any more then;" I replied, "Madam, I shall still be a "municipal officer, and may see "you from time to time."

How could you, you who were an administrator of the police, in contempt of all the laws, introduce an unknown person to the accused? were you ignorant, that a great number of intriguers used all means to seduce the administrators?—It was not he who asked to see the widow Capet, it was I that offered it.

How often have you dined with him?—Twice.

What is his name?—I do not know.

What did he promise, or give you, for the satisfaction of seeing Antoinetta?—I have never received any reward.

While he was in the chamber of the accused, did you see him make any gestures?—No.

Have

Have not you ſeen him ſince?—I have ſeen him but once.

Why did not you cauſe him to be arreſted?—I own that, with regard to this, I have committed a double fault.

A Juror. Citizen Preſident I ought to obſerve to you, that the woman Tilleul has been arreſted as a ſuſpected perſon, and counter-revolutioniſt.

Pierre Edouard Bernier, phyſician, declared, that he had known the accuſed for fourteen or fifteen years, having been, during that time, phyſician to her children.

Preſident to the witneſs. Was not you, in 1789, phyſician to the children of Louis Capet, and, in that quality, did not you hear mentioned, at the court, what was the cauſe, at that period, of the extraordinary collecting of troops, which took place as well at Verſailles as at Paris?—*Witneſs.* No.

The witneſs *Hebert* obſerved, on the queſtions put to him, that, in the days which followed the 10th of Auguſt, the republican commune was paralyſed by the cunning of Manuel and Petion, who oppoſed the rendering more frugal the table of the priſoners, and the driving away the troop of lackeys, under the falſe pretext that it was for the dignity of the people that the priſoners ſhould want nothing. The deponent added, that Bernier, the witneſs preſent, was frequently at the Temple, at the commencement of the detention of the Capet family, but that his frequent viſits cauſed him to be ſuſpected, eſpecially when it was perceived, that he never approached the children of the accuſed, but with all the meanneſſes of the ancient order of things.

The witneſs *(Bernier)* declared, on his part, that he had only behaved in a becoming manner, and not with meanneſs.

Claude Denis Tavernier, ci-devant lieutenant, attached to the ſtaff, depoſed, that being on guard in the night of the 20th and 21ſt of June, he ſaw La Fayette come in the evening, and ſpeak ſeveral times to La Jarre and La Colombe. About two in the morning he ſaw the carriage of La Fayette paſs the Pont Royal; and, finally, that he ſaw La Fayette change colour, when he was told that the Capet family was ſtopped at Varennes.

Jean Maurice François Lebraſſe, lieutenant of the gendarmerie, attached to the tribunals, declared, that he had known the accuſed for four years; but has no knowledge of the facts contained in the act of accuſation, except that being on duty near the Conciergerie, the eve of the day on which the deputies Amar and Seveſtre came to interrogate the widow Capet, a gendarme having informed him of the affair of the carnation, he was urgent to procure an immediate inveſtigation of it, which was obtained.

Joſeph Boze, a painter, declared, he had known the accuſed for eight years, as he then took the portrait of the king; but he had never ſpoken to her. He then gave an account of the project of reconciliation between the people and the *ci-devant* king, by the intervention of Thierry, valet de chambre of Louis Capet.

The queen drew from her pocket a paper, which ſhe gave to one of her defenders.

The Public Accuſer demanded of Antoinetta to declare, what was the paper ſhe had given.

Queen. Hebert ſaid this morning, that

that correſpondence was carried on by means of our clothes and ſhoes. I wrote, for fear of forgetting, that all our clothes and effects were examined when they came near us, which was done by the adminiſtrators of the police.

Hebert obſerved, that there was no foundation for this declaration, but becauſe the number of ſhoes was very conſiderable, fourteen or fifteen pairs a month.

Dedier Jourdheuil, ſerjeant, declared, that, in the month of September 1792, he found a ſtring of papers in the houſe of Affry, in which was a letter from Antoinetta, that contained theſe words: "Can "we truſt the Swiſs? will they be "firm when it may be neceſſary?"

Queen. I never wrote to Affry.

The Public Accuſer obſerved, that laſt year, being director of the jury of accuſation, near the tribunal of the 17th of Auguſt, he was entruſted with the drawing up of the proceſs againſt Affry and Cazotte; that he perfectly well recollects having ſeen the letter of which the witneſs ſpeaks; but the faction of Roland having cauſed this tribunal to be ſuppreſſed, got the papers removed, by means of a decree which they procured, notwithſtanding the objections of all good republicans.

Preſident. What were the papers which were burnt at the manufactory of Sêve?—*Queen.* I believe it was a libel; as for the reſt, I was not conſulted about it; I was told of it afterwards.

How can you be ignorant of this fact? Was it Riſton who was charged with the negociation of this affair?—I never heard any thing of Riſton; and I perſiſt in ſaying, that I did not know La Motte; if I had been conſulted, I would have oppoſed the burning of writings againſt me.

Pierre Fontaine, wood-merchant, declared himſelf ignorant of every part of the accuſation, knowing the priſoner only by reputation, and having no connection with the late court.

Preſident to the witneſs. How long have you known Michonis?—*Witneſs.* About fourteen years.

How often has he dined at your houſe?—Three times.

What is the name of the individual who dined at your houſe with Michonis?—His name is Rougy; neither his manners nor his ſtyle pleaſed me; he was introduced by Madame Dutilleul.

How came you to know Dutilleul? I once met her, with another woman, on the Bouvelardes; we entered into converſation, and drank coffee together; ſince that time ſhe has been often at my houſe.

Has ſhe not communicated to you ſome ſecrets?—Never.

What are the names of the deputies who were with Rougy and Michonis?—There was only one.

His name?—Santerreau, deputy from Nievre to the Convention, and two other commiſſioners, ſent by the primary aſſemblies of the ſame department to carry their act of the acceptance of the conſtitution.

What are their names?—Balendrot, curé of Beaumont, and Paulmier, alſo of that department.

Do you know what is become of Rougy?—No.

Michael Gointre, employed in the war-office, ſaid, he had read attentively the act of accuſation, and was much ſurpriſed not to find in it the articles of the forged aſſignats of

of Paſſy. As Polverel, who had been ordered to inquire into this affair, anſwered, it was impoſſible for him to proceed, unleſs the Aſſembly decreed, that no perſon but the king was inviolable; this made him imagine, that it was no other perſon than the accuſed, about whom Polverel wiſhed to ſpeak, as ſhe alone could furniſh the funds neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe.

The witneſs *Tiſſet*. Citizen Preſident, I wiſh the priſoner may be aſked to declare, if ſhe did not give the croſs of St. Louis, and a captain's brevet, to a perſon named Lareguie?

Queen. I know no perſon of that name?

Preſident. Did you not procure the nomination of Collot de Verriere to a captaincy in the *ci-devant* guard of the late king?—*Queen*, Yes.

Did you not procure Pariſeau a ſimilar appointment?—No.

You ſo influenced the organization of the late royal guard, that it was compoſed only of individuals againſt whom the public opinion was directed; and, indeed, could the patriots behold without pain the chief of the nation ſurrounded with guards, compoſed of nonjuring prieſts and knights of the dagger? Happily your politics were wrong: Their anti-civic conduct, their counter-revolutionary ſentiments, forced the Legiſlative Aſſembly to diſband them; and Louis Capet, after that operation, kept them in pay till the tenth of Auguſt, when he was overturned in his turn.

On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Auſtria?—No.

You bear its name?—Becauſe we ought to bear the name of one's country.

After the affair of Nancy, did you not write to Bouillé, to congratulate him on his having maſſacred ſeven or eight thouſand patriots in that town?—I never wrote to him.

Did you not employ yourſelf in ſounding the opinion of the departments, diſtricts, and municipalities?—No.

The Public Accuſer obſerved to the priſoner, that there was found upon her ſecretary a paper, which atteſts that fact in the moſt preciſe manner, and in which were found inſcribed the names of Vaublanc and Jaucourt.

The ſaid paper being read, the queen perſiſted in ſaying, that ſhe did not recollect that ſhe had ever written any thing of the kind.

Witneſs. I requeſt, Citizen Preſident, that the accuſed may be obliged to declare, whether, on the day the people did her huſband the honour of decorating him with the red bonnet, there was not held a nocturnal conſultation in the palace, where the deſtruction of Paris was reſolved, and where it was decided, that royaliſt placards ſhould be compoſed by Eſmenard, *Rue Platrière*?

Queen. I do not know that name.

Preſident. Did you not, on the 9th of Auguſt 1792, give your hand to Taſſin de l'Etang to kiſs, who was captain of the armed force of the Filles Saint Thomas, ſaying to his battalion, "You are brave fellows, "and of good principles; I will ever "count on your fidelity?"—*Queen*. No.

Why did you, who had promiſed to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, teach them nothing but errors; in treating, for inſtance, your ſon with a reſpect

which

which might make it be believed, that you thought of one day seeing him the successor of the *ci-devant* king, his father? — He was too young to speak to on that subject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

Have you any thing to add to your defence? — Yesterday I did not know the witnesses; I knew not what they were to depose against me; and nobody has produced against me any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis XVI. and it was requisite in me to conform myself to his will.

The President announced, that the interrogatories were closed.

Fouquier, the Public Accuser, then spoke. He reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its constant machinations against liberty, with which it was displeased, and the destruction of which it sought to encompass at any rate—its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn the result to its own advantage, by appropriating to itself this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide and reign!*—its criminal and culpable connexions with the foreign powers with whom the republic is at open war—its habits of intimacy with a villanous faction, which was devoted to it, and seconded its designs, by exciting, in the bosom of the Convention, animosities and dissensions, by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, by arming the departments against that city, and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of liberty—the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nismes, Arles, Nancy, in the Field of Mars, &c. &c. He considered Maria Antoinetta as the avowed enemy of the French nation, as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and to which thousands of Frenchmen had fallen victims.

Chauveau and Tronson du Coudray, officially appointed by the tribunal to defend Antoinetta, acquitted themselves of that duty, and solicited the clemency of the tribunal. They were heard with the most profound silence.

The queen was then taken out of the hall.

Herman, President of the Tribunal, summed up the evidence in the following manner:

"Citizens of the jury! The French nation, by its organ, the Public Accuser, has accused before the national jury, Maria Antoinetta of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather the instigatrix, of most of the crimes of which the last tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign nations, especially with the king of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother—with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and traiterous generals—with having furnished the enemies of the republic with supplies of money, and with having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the state.

"A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will doubtless not be lost upon the nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and equality is triumphant.

ant! A woman, who lately poſſeſſed all the moſt brilliant appendages which the pride of kings, and the baſeneſs of ſlaves could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another woman; and this equality ſecures impartial juſtice.

"This trial, citizens of the jury, is not one of thoſe where a ſingle fact, a ſingle crime, is ſubmitted to your conſcience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accuſed, ever ſince ſhe came to ſit by the ſide of the laſt king of the French; but you muſt, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which ſhe never ceaſed to employ for the deſtruction of riſing liberty, either within the kingdom, by her cloſe connexion with infamous miniſters, perfidious generals, and faithleſs repreſentatives of the people, or without the kingdom, by cauſing to be negociated that monſtrous coalition of the deſpots of Europe, for the impotence of which hiſtory reſerves its ridicule. In ſhort, by her correſpondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and their worthy agents.

"Had we wiſhed for an oral proof of all thoſe deeds, the priſoner ought to have been made to appear before the whole French nation. The material proof reſts in the papers ſeized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the National Convention, by Gohier, one of its members, in the collection of the juſtificatory pieces of the act of accuſation paſſed againſt Louis Capet by the Convention. Laſtly, and chiefly, citizens of the jury, the proof lies in the political events of which you have all been witneſſes and judges.

"If it had been permitted, in fulfilling a limited office, to have yielded to the emotions inſpired by humanity, we ſhould have invoked before the jury the manes of our brothers ſlain at Nancy, at the Field of Mars, on the frontiers, in La Vendee, at Marſeilles, at Lyons, at Toulon, in conſequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: we ſhould have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives, the infants of thoſe unhappy patriots! —What do I ſay? Unhappy! They have died for liberty, and faithful to their country. All thoſe families, in tears and deſpair, would have accuſed Antoinetta of having ſnatched from them every thing that was moſt dear to them in the world, and the deprivation of which renders life inſupportable. In effect, if the ſatellites of Auſtrian deſpotiſm have broken in for a moment on our frontiers, and if they have there committed atrocities to which the hiſtory even of barbarous nations does not furniſh a parallel; if our ports, our plains, and our cities, are ſold or given up, is it not evidently the reſult of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Maria Antoinetta was at once the inſtigatrix and the moving principle? Theſe, citizen jurors, are the public events which form the maſs of proof that overwhelms Maria Antoinetta.

"With regard to the declarations which were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates which have taken place, there reſult from them certain facts, which come directly in proof of the principal accuſation brought againſt the widow Capet. All the other details, given either

either as a history of the revolution, or in the proceedings against certain notorious personages, and some treacherous public functionaries, vanish before the charge of high treason, which weighs heavily upon Antoinetta of Austria, widow of the *ci-devant* king.

"There is one general observation to make, which is, that the accused is acknowledged to have had the confidence of Louis Capet.

"It results also from the declaration of Valazè, that Antoinetta was consulted in political matters; since the king wished that she should be consulted on a plan, of which the witness could not, or would not, say the object.

"One of the witnesses, whose precision and ingenuity are very remarkable, has declared to you, that the *ci-devant* duc de Coigny told her in 1788, that Antoinetta had sent to the emperor, her brother, the sum of two hundred millions, to assist him in the war in which he was then engaged.

"Since the revolution, an order for 60 or 80,000 livres, signed Antoinetta, and drawn on Septeuil, has been given to Polignac, at the time an emigrant, and a letter of Laporte's recommended to Septeuil not to leave the least trace of this gift.

"Lecointre, of Versailles, has deposed to you, as an eye-witness, that since the year 1779 enormous sums have been squandered by the court in fêtes, of which Maria Antoinetta was always the goddess.

"The first of October a feast, or rather an orgie, was brought about between the body guards and the officers of the regiment of Flanders, which the court had called to Versailles to assist its projects. Antoinetta appeared there with the *ci-devant* king and the dauphin, she walked round the tables, the guests exclaiming "Long live the "king, long live the queen, long live "the dauphin, the devil take the na-"tion." The result of this orgie was, that the national cockade was trodden under foot, and the white cockade hoisted. The same witness, in the beginning of October, went to the castle; he there saw, in the gallery, women belonging to the accused, distribute white cockades; at the same time saying to each of those who had the baseness to receive them, "Take good care of it;" and these slaves, kneeling on one knee, kissed the odious token which was to make the blood of the people flow.

"At the time of the flight, known by the name of Varennes, it was the accused who, by her own confession, opened the doors to leave the castle, and made the family go out.

"On the return from that flight, and at her getting out of the carriage, it was observed, that the countenance and motions of Antoinetta expressed the most marked desire of vengeance.

"On the 10th of August, when the Swiss at the castle dared to fire on the people, there was seen under the bed of Antoinetta, bottles, some empty and some full. Another witness has said, that he knows, that on the days preceding the 10th of August, the Swiss were, to make use of his own words, *feasted*: this witness lived at the castle.

"Some of the Swiss who expired on that day declared, that they had received money of a woman; and many persons have attested, that on the trial of D'Affry it was proved, that Antoinetta had demanded of him, at the epoch of the 10th of August, if he could answer for his Swiss,

"Can

"Can we," wrote Antoinetta to him, "reckon upon the Swiſs. Will "they be firm when it ſhall be ne-"ceſſary?" One of the witneſſes atteſts his having read the letter, and remembers theſe expreſſions.

"The perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to ſuperintend at the Temple, always remarked in Antoinetta an air of rebellion againſt the ſovereignty of the people. They ſeized an image repreſenting an heart; which is a ſign to rally by, and was worn by almoſt all the counter-revolutioniſts who came within the graſp of national vengeance. After the tyrant's death, Antoinetta obſerved in the Temple, with regard to her ſon, all the etiquette of the ancient court. The ſon of Capet was treated as a king. In all domeſtic occurrences he had the precedence before his mother. At table he ſat at the upper end, and was ſerved firſt.

"I ſhall forbear, citizens of the jury, to mention here the interview with the Chevalier of St. Louis—the carnation flower left in the apartment of the accuſed—and the pricked paper given, or rather prepared for an anſwer. This incident is a mere gaol intrigue, and only a trivial object in ſuch a grand act of accuſation. I ſhall finiſh by a general reflexion, which I have already had occaſion to make to you: It is the French nation which accuſes Antoinetta; and all the political events of the laſt five years give evidence againſt her.

"Theſe are the queſtions which the tribunal has determined to ſubmit to you:

"1ſt, Is it proved, that there exiſted machinations and private intelligence with powerful foreign ſtates, and other external enemies of the republic; ſuch machinations and intelligences tending to furniſh ſuccours in money, to give them ingreſs into the French territory, and to facilitate there the progreſs of their arms.

"2d, Is Maria Antoinetta, widow of Louis Capet, convicted of having co-operated in the machinations, and of having entertained thoſe intelligences?

"3d, Is it proved, that there exiſted a plot or conſpiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic.

"4th, Is Maria Antoinetta convicted of having had a ſhare in that plot and conſpiracy?"

The jury, after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict—*Guilty of all the charges laid in the indictment.*

The preſident then addreſſed the people as follows:

"If the citizens who compoſe this audience were not free men, and, conſequently, capable of feeling all the dignity of their ſtate, I ought perhaps to recal to their memory, that at the moment when the national juſtice is about to declare the law, reaſon and morality impoſe upon them the greateſt ſilence, and forbid every mark of approbation; and that a perſon, with whatever crimes he may be covered, when once convicted by the law, is then entitled to pity and humanity."

The queen being again brought in, the preſident ſaid, "Antoinetta! hear the ſentence of the jury." The ſentence was then read.

Fouquier then ſpoke, and demanded that the accuſed ſhould be condemned to die, conformably to the firſt article of the firſt ſection of the

first head of the second part of the penal code, which is thus expressed:

"Every manœuvre or intelligence with the enemies of France, tending to facilitate their entrance into any part of the empire, whether it be to deliver up to them towns or fortresses, ports, ships, magazines, or arsenals, belonging to France, or by furnishing them with succours, either of men, money, provision, or ammunition, or by favouring, in any matter whatever, the progress of their arms on the French territory, or against our forces by sea or land, whether by corrupting the fidelity of the officers, soldiers, or other citizens, to the French nation, shall be punished with death."

And the second article of the first section of the first title of the second part of the same code is thus expressed:

"Every conspiracy and plot, tending to trouble the state by a civil war, in arming citizens against citizens, or the exercise of the legitimate authority, shall be punished with death."

The president called upon the accused to declare, whether she had any objection to make to the sentence of the laws demanded by the public accuser?

The Queen bowed her head negatively.

Upon the same demand being made of her defenders, *Tronson* spoke, and said, "Citizen President, the declaration of the jury being precise, and the law formal in this respect, I announce, that my professional duty, with regard to the widow Capet, is terminated."

The president then pronounced the following sentence:

"The tribunal, on the unanimous declaration of the jury, doing justice on the requisition of the public accuser, in conformity to the laws by him cited, condemns the aforesaid *Maria Antoinetta*, named of *Lorrain* and *Austria*, the widow of *Louis Capet*, to death; declares, conformably to the law of the 10th of last March, her property, if she has any in the French territory, to belong to, and be confiscated for the use of the republic; ordains, that, on the representation of the public accuser, the present sentence shall be executed on the square of the revolution, and shall be printed and posted up through the whole extent of the republic."

EXECUTION of the *QUEEN* of *FRANCE*.

[This account is from the Moniteur.]

AT five in the morning of the 16th of October, the drums beat to arms in all the sections; at seven the whole of the armed force was in motion, and cannon were placed at the extremities of the bridges, in the squares, and at the different cross-ways from the palace to the *Place de la Revolution*; at ten numerous detachments patroled the streets, and at eleven, Maria Antoinetta the widow of Capet, in a white undress, accompanied by a constitutional priest in a lay habit, was conducted to execution in the same manner as other criminals, and escorted by numerous detachments of *gendarmes* both horse and foot.

Antoinetta during the whole of the route appeared to view with indifference the armed force, which to the number of thirty thousand men formed a double line in the streets.

ſtreets through which ſhe paſſed. Her countenance diſplayed neither dejection nor haughtineſs, and ſhe appeared inſenſible to the cries of *long live the Republic, down with tyranny*, which ſhe never ceaſed to hear during her paſſage. She ſpoke little to the confeſſor. In the ſtreets of the Roule and of St. Honorè, the tri-coloured ſtreamers caught her attention; ſhe remarked alſo the inſcriptions placed on the fronts of the houſes. Arrived at the place of execution, her looks were directed to the ſide of the National Garden (the Thuilleries) her countenance then ſhowed ſigns of great emotion; ſhe then mounted the ſcaffold with a ſufficient degrèe of courage, and at a quarter paſt twelve, her head fell, and the executioner ſhewed it to the people in the midſt of long protracted cries of long live the Republic.

NEW FRENCH CALENDAR.

For the preſent Year, commencing 22d September.

New French Names of the Months.	Engliſh.	Term.	Duration days.
AUTUMN.			
Vindémaire	Vintage Month	fr. Sept. 22 to Oct. 21. incl.	30
Brumaire	Fog Month	—Oct. 22 to Nov. 20	30
Frimaire	Sleet Month	—Nov. 21 to Dec. 20	30
WINTER.			
Nivoſe	Snow Month	—Dec. 21 to Jan. 19	30
Pluvioſe	Rain Month	—Jan. 20 to Feb. 18	30
Ventoſe	Wind Month	—Feb. 19 to March 20	30
SPRING.			
Germinal	Budding Month	—Mar. 21 to April 19	30
Floreal	Flower Month	—April 20 to May 19	30
Prairial	Paſture Month	—May 20 to June 18	30
SUMMER.			
Meſſidor	Harveſt Month	—June 19 to July 18	30
Thermidor	Hot Month	—July 19 to Aug. 17	30
Fructidor	Fruit Month	—Aug. 18 to Sep. 16	30
SANS CULOTIDES *, *as Feaſts dedicated to*			
Les Vertus	The Virtues	Sept. 17	1
Le Genie	Genius	Sept. 18	1
Le Travail	Labour	Sept. 19	1
L' Opinion	Opinion	Sept. 20	1
Les Recompenſes	Rewards	Sept. 21	1
			365

[*continued*] The

* They have been ſince re-named, JOURS COMPLEMENTAIRES (complementary days.)

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called LA SANS CULOTTIDE, on which there is to be a national renovation of their oath, *To live Free or Die.*

The month is divided into three DECADES, the days of which are called, from the Latin numerals,

1. Primidi,	4. Quartidi,	7. Septidi,
2. Duodi,	5. Quintidi,	8. Octodi,
3. Tridi,	6. Sextidi,	9. Nonodi, and

10. Decadi, which is to be the day of rest.

Intercepted CORRESPONDENCE *relating to the* SUPPLIES *furnished by* AMERICA *to* FRANCE.

To Citizen Le Brun, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, at Paris, Legation of France, at the United States.

Copy of the official Demand of the French *Minister to the* American *Government.*

Philadelphia, 8th Feb. 1793, 4th year of the French Liberty.

The Envoy of France, to the Secretary of State of the United States.

I AM ordered by the Minister of France to acquaint the Government of the United States, with the necessity which we are under of procuring from abroad subsistence of the first necessity, and of the desire which our government has to receive those supplies from hence in abatement of the debt of the United States towards France.

This mode of discharge, at the same time that it is advantageous to commerce and the American agriculture, offers also to our government an opportunity that will certainly not be forgot, of maintaining mutual offices of friendship between two nations, which the defence of liberty at first united, and whom an equal public spirit and like principles of government, ought this day to inspire with a mutual interest, stronger than ever.

These considerations make me hope, that your government will not refuse to put at my disposal a sum of piastres, equivalent to three millions Tournois, which I am charged to demand, for the purpose of securing here the purchase and early dispatch of those supplies, of which France seems to be in the greatest need.

I desire you will lay this demand before the president, and solicit a quick decision, so that the consignments expected from me may arrive at their destination at the time when, probably, there will be the most pressing want to receive them.

(Signed) TERNANT.

Letter from the French *Envoy to Citizen* Le Brun, *Minister for Foreign Affairs of the* French *Republic.*

Philadelphia, 13th February, 1793, 2d year of the French Republic.

Jean Ternant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic.

THE French packet-boat, Le Suffrein, which sailed from L'Orient the 26th of November last, renewed

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my deep affliction when she arrived at New York, without a dispatch, or any letter addressed to me, at the time when the post of Norfolk, in Virginia, on the 7th instant, brought me four ministerial dispatches, which an American vessel, whose name I do not yet know, deposited there, when she put into that port.

One of the dispatches, dated the 30th of August, informs me of the suspension of the executive power, and also of the new formation of the ministry, of which you are one; and contains a copy of the decree of the 10th August, as also a summary account of the facts relating to that day.

Another, dated the 13th of September, prescribes to me the taking a new civic oath, agreeable to a decree, a copy whereof is annexed to the dispatch.

A third, dated as the foregoing, and stamped No. 1, informs me of your conferences with Mr. Morris, and transmits me copies of sundry letters on that subject, enjoining me to make known to Mr. Jefferson the grounded complaints to which the conduct of that American minister had given cause.

Lastly, the fourth, dated the 19th of September, and stamped as the other with No. 1, charges me to demand grain and flour of the United States, to the amount of two millions Tournois, as also one million in salted beef; and to send these provisions as soon as possible to France, agreeable to the clauses contained in two letters of the minister of the Interior, a copy whereof is subjoined to the dispatch.

A part of the same dispatch, and its supplement, which also relate to the ulterior conduct of Mr. Morris, prescribe me moreover to demand satisfaction of the American government, upon a proceeding of Mr. Short, particularly described in a letter of our minister at the Hague, a copy of which is in like manner subjoined to the dispatch.

From the confusion in which I was left in the midst of affairs the most interesting, nothing could grieve me more than to see dispatches of so serious a nature arrive with a prejudicial delay to public business, by an indirect way of commerce, whilst two of our packet boats, under government orders, which sailed from L'Orient, the one in October and the other in November, brought me no letters whatever. After these observations, made from sentiments of duty, I proceed to answer your four dispatches.

I did not wait that of the 30th of August to repel here the calumny, and make the American government view the events of the 10th of August, as also the measures that have been the consequences, under a point of view favourable to the interest and to the dignity of my nation. You will have seen by my former dispatches, not only that my post never suffered interruption, but that I have, even in the midst of our agitations, treated with the United States, and obtained from their government considerable supplies, which, according to our national commissaries, deputed at St. Domingo, operated twice to the salvation of that colony. The Americans in general have taken a part in our success. These successes have been celebrated here and in the most part of the towns of the Continent, by festivals and public dinners. The French, established here, have, upon this occasion,

formed a ſociety, of which I was elected preſident, and which I do my endeavours to render uſeful by acts of civiſm and beneficence. You will alſo find in the ſame former diſpatches, that I have always endeavoured to put myſelf to the height of our grand national intereſt with the American government; though you never enabled me to produce an official notification, proper to ſecond the civic zeal with which I was animated, and I dare to believe, that in every point of view, my conduct will appear to you ſuch as the executive council would wiſh. I alſo owe to the government of the United States, the juſtice of declaring, that I have but to praiſe the conduct which it has uniformly held towards me.

My diſpatches, No. 59, and 60, will have ſhewn you that I have neither waited your's of the 13th of September, to make an open profeſſion of my ſentiments, in the ſerious circumſtances in which my country was; and that I have there expreſſed more than what the decree, relating to a new oath, requires; wiſhing, however, to conform myſelf to the law notified to me, I annex here the oath taken, as required.

I was extremely grieved not to meet in your diſpatch, No. 1, of the 13th of September, any approbation or inſtruction whatever, concerning our colonial affairs, though you expreſs therein your ſurpriſe at your having found that ſome of my letters remained without anſwer; particularly you ſay thoſe relating to the debt of the Americans, and the proviſioning of St. Domingo: this laſt object was in fact of a nature to be treated here, and which it was neceſſary, for its execution, to be aſſured of the pecuniary means. One word of order on that ſubject from miniſters would have enabled me to ſupply the moſt important of our colonies, in a manner the moſt efficacious, as it would have been œconomic, and might have prevented the ruinous expedient of bills, imprudently adopted and obſtinately purſued by the adminiſtration of St. Domingo, notwithſtanding my efforts to prevent it. My preceding diſpatches will have informed you, that a requiſition of our national commiſſaries, grounded on the extreme urgency of wants of the colony, required a new negotiation on my part with the government of the United States, and that I have been fortunate enough to obtain, what you have to no purpoſe required of Mr. Morris. I hope that the executive council will approve my having dared to take upon myſelf thus to co-operate to the ſalvation of St. Domingo, and that it will authorize me in teſtifying its ſatisfaction to the United States, for their having in this circumſtance ſhewn themſelves our frank and loyal friends, by placing themſelves above all forms, and by braving the inconveniencies which the inſtability of matters in France then gave riſe to.

As to the grievances againſt Meſſrs. Morris and Short, I have thought that I ought to purſue the prudent ſtep you pointed out, and not to inform Mr. Jefferſon; but, after being aſſured of the ſucceſs of the demand of three millions, which, conformable to your diſpatch, No. 1, of the 19th of September, I have haſtened to make to the government of the United States. I have enough to complain of the tardy

tardy arrival of that diſpatch; its importance ought to have required the ſending of an expreſs; and if it had only been addreſſed to me by our packet-boat of October, I ſhould have received it ſix weeks ſooner, which would have obviated great inconveniences that cannot now be avoided.

Independent of the diſadvantages of the preſent ſeaſon being againſt the ſending ready conſignments, and of the riſe of commodities, owing to the information which the houſe of Bourdieu and Cholet, of London, gave here about a month ago, reſpecting purchaſes which France wanted to make there, you will have ſeen by my diſpatch, No. 63, of the 12th of January, that at that period there aroſe in congreſs difficulties relating to the finances of the United States, which deprived the ſecretary of the treaſury of the means whereon he greatly depended; theſe difficulties, which are not yet done away, may even hurt the ſucceſs of my demand; by reaſon that the pecuniary reſources of the United States are extremely circumſcribed, and that their government cannot advance the funds on my demand of the 8th, but in proportion to the overplus of the probable receipts on the ſuppoſed expences; but the neceſſary calculations, to come at ſatisfactory reſults on that ſubject, have till now employed Mr. Hamilton, and I can ſcarcely expect to have a final anſwer, but when his work is finiſhed; knowing, however, by certain informations, that there ſtill remained in the treaſury a grant of about one hundred thouſand piaſtres on the laſt loan of Europe, on the 10th I demanded that this ſum be proviſionally put to my diſpoſal, in order that I might, as ſoon as poſſible, ſend a parcel of grain and flour, of which you announce the greateſt want. From the manner in which this propoſition hath been received, I was in hopes that I might have informed you of the ſucceſs, by the return of the packet-boat Le Suffrein, but the anſwer of Mr. Jefferſon not being forth coming, I am compelled to end this diſpatch to-day, and ſend it away to-morrow morning, ſo that it may get to New York before the packet-boat ſets ſail. I however think that I may be ſo certain of my credit here, as to aſſure you that the proviſional advance of the one hundred thouſand piaſtres will not be refuſed, the purchaſe ſhall then take place directly, agreeable to your order, and according to the diſpoſitions of the miniſter of the Interior. With reſpect to the three millions, I ſhall continue my efforts to have it granted; and if delays, which I cannot at preſent foreſee, ſhould hinder its being uſefully employed in conſignments of grain to Europe, it will always ſerve, if the executive council approves of it, for the ſupply of our colonies. With reſpect to the ſalted beef, it will be impoſſible to ſend to the amount of one million, as you require, as the ſalted proviſions were ſo inconſiderable laſt year, and ſuch a great quantity has been exported to the Antilles, that it would be difficult, I am told, at preſent to find two hundred thouſand livres worth in the whole Continent.

I have beſide to obſerve to you, that there has been probably a miſtake in valuing the price of this commodity at three ſols per pound, delivered in France, ſince the managers of the marine at Paris have

themſelves contracted, the 2d November laſt, with Swan and company, to furniſh ſalted proviſions from hence to the Antilles, at the rate of 7*l.* 6 deniers Tournois per pound. You will thereby judge that the ſame object rendered in France, ought to amount at leaſt to the ſame price. Finally, I ſhall add a certain quantity to the firſt cargoes of flour that will be ſent from hence, and ſhall wait afterwards your orders to give to the ulterior purchaſers all the extent which the preſent ſcarcity of this commodity will allow of.

I cannot conclude without earneſtly requeſting you will not any more ſend me your diſpatches, eſpecially thoſe which greatly concern the public ſervice, by trading veſſels, unleſs they come direct to Philadelphia or to New York, as the negligence of captains is as much beyond all calculation, as it is impoſſible to prevent; and you ſee in this preſent caſe that this negligence may eſſentially hurt the views of adminiſtration. Our packet-boats, though they are not yet current, as I have demanded, upon a footing ſtrictly uſeful, are nevertheleſs the moſt ſure and expeditious way. All that comes to me from the ſouth parts of Baltimore, or the north of New-York, is uſually delayed more than a month; and when packets do not deviate in the courſe, which often happens, they coſt enormouſly, tho' ever ſo ſmall in bulk. The diſpatches to which I anſwer (for inſtance) coſt thirty-ſeven piaſtres poſtage, that is to ſay, more than two hundred livres Tournois. With reſpect to diſpatches which I myſelf have been obliged to ſend away by trading ſhips, my correſpondence has been ſo little attended to by your predeceſſors, that I have not yet been able to know if they have been regularly received, though I have reaſon to believe otherwiſe, having always had the precaution to ſend duplicates of every thing.

TERNANT.

P. S. The moment I was going to cloſe and ſend this diſpatch away, I received the anſwer which I expected from the ſecretary of ſtate, and alſo a letter from the ſecretary of the treaſury. I haſte to incloſe here a copy, and to aſſure you that to-morrow immediate purchaſes ſhall be made, and that I ſhall inform you of the particulars by the firſt ſhip that is ſent from hence. The news of war brought to us this day (the 14th) by the Engliſh packet-boat, makes me more than ever deſirous of receiving ſomething from you to authorize me here officially to notify the changes that have taken place in our government, and to be here accredited *de novo*.

Copy of a proviſional Anſwer on the Demand of the 8th of February 1793.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1793.

Sir,

WE yet want a few days to form a ſatisfactory obſervation of the wants and of the reſources of our treaſury; and until that work is terminated, it will be impoſſible to give a deciſive anſwer to your demand of three millions Tournois; but that you may in the mean time commence the purchaſing of proviſions, the ſecretary of the treaſury will arrange matters ſo as to put immediately to your diſpoſal one hundred thouſand piaſters on account of our debt with France. I can aſſure you that we have all the deſire

desire and all the disposition possible to be able to satisfy the remainder of your demand the soonest in our power. I have the honour to be respectfully, &c.

(Signed) JEFFERSON.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, on the same subject.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1793

Sir,

AGREEABLE to the orders of the president, and to the information which you have this day received on the part of the secretary of state, I will put at your disposal one hundred thousand piastres. This sum will be ready to be paid the first of April next; which, according to the course of affairs of the place, is equivalent to an immediate payment.

I have the honour to be,
with respect and esteem,
Sir, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. HAMILTON.

The Envoy of France *to the Secretary of State of the* United States.

Philadelphia, 17th February, 1793, the 2d year of the French Republic.

AGREEABLE to the orders which I have just received, I hasten to notify to the government of the United States, in the name of the Provisional Executive Council, charged with the administration of our government, that the French nation has constituted itself a Republic. This notification would have been accompanied with new letters of credence, if the basis on which they are busy to establish that subject had been finally regulated; and if the Executive Council had not been desirous to manifest, as soon as possible, the resolution taken by the whole nation, and by its delegates re-united in National Convention, to declare the abolition of royalty, and the creation of the republic in France. Independent of the interest which ought to be inspired here by this grand determination of a people, who have themselves concurred to the defence of liberty, and the foundation of the American independence, it will no doubt be viewed by the United States as a new guarantee of the intimate friendship which subsists between our two nations.

It is under this persuasion that the Executive Council of the French Republic have charged me to assure your government of its disposition, which is also that of my whole nation, to strengthen our bonds of friendship with you, and increase reciprocally commercial concerns between the two nations. I congratulate myself in having the honour of transmitting to you the expressions of sentiments which I share in their full extent, and of which my conduct here shall not fail to make a firm impression.

(Signed) TERNANT.

Answer of the American *Secretary of State to the preceding.*

Philadelphia, February 23, 1793.

Sir,

I Have laid under the inspection of the President of the United States the official account you gave me, the 17th of this month, in the name of the Provisional Executive Council charged with the administration of your government, notifying that the French nation had constituted itself a republic.

The

The Prefident receives with great fatisfaction this attention of the Executive Council of France, in letting us know the determination taken by the National Convention, even before the new official arrangements were finally fettled. Be aſſured, ſir, that the government and the citizens of the United States ſee with the moſt ſincere pleaſure every progreſs of your nation towards its happineſs, which is eſſentially leagued to her liberty. And they conſider the union of principles and of proſpect between our two countries, as a tie to join more ſtrictly their intereſt and affection. The effuſion of pure and general joy that took place in our country, on ſeeing the liberty of yours prevail over a foreign invaſion, and domeſtic troubles, muſt convince you that our ſympathies are as firm as they are ſincere; and we do on our part earneſtly wiſh that thoſe mutual diſpoſitions may operate a common advantage, ſo as to determine us to eſtabliſh our commercial concerns upon principles as favourable to natural rights and to liberty as to thoſe of our government. I am, with upright ſentiments of eſteem and reſpect,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) JEFFERSON.

Final Anſwer of the American *Secretary of State to the Miniſter of* France.

Philadelphia, February 25, 1793.

I Have had the honour to inform you, by my letter of the 14th of this month, that a few days were ſtill wanting to determine the probable wants of the treaſury of the United States, and to judge if your demand of three millions, intended for the purchaſing of proviſions for France could be complied with, but that in the mean time one hundred thouſand piaſters ſhould be advanced to enable you to commence your operation. I have now to add, that the remainder of the three million may be ſupplied on account, if you will arrange with the ſecretary of the treaſury the periods of payment that may be ſuitable to the circumſtances of the treaſury, as well as to your operations. We feel a real pleaſure in ſhowing on every occaſion our lively wiſh to ſerve your nation, and to teſtify the intereſt we take in her preſent ſituation.

I have the honour to be, with ſentiments of perfect eſteem, &c.

Jean Ternant *to the Citizen Miniſter for Foreign Affairs of the* French *Republic.*

Philadelphia, 26th February, 1793, the 2d year of the French Republic.

AGREEABLE to what I am ordered by your diſpatch, No. 3, of the 12th of October laſt, only received the 17th of this month, I applied to the government office of the United States, and tranſmit you incloſed the copy. All my zeal has been employed to obtain an anſwer both ſoon and favourable; and you will alſo find a copy herewith. I hope that the executive council of the republic will have reaſon to be ſatisfied with both theſe copies; their views would have been ſooner complied with, if your diſpatches had been ſent to me with more punctuality. That to which I anſwer, treats of a circular letter of the 6th of October, which I have not yet received, and which I preſume to be the No. 2 wanting in your cor-

correſpondence; the diſpatch No. 3, and another without number of the 21ſt of October, ſolely relating to the affairs of citizen Cazeau, were delivered to me the 17th of this month by the poſt of Charles Town, South Carolina, where they were brought by a French veſſel, L'Expedetif, coming from Havre, which arrived at this port the 15th of January. It is as grievous as it is inexplicable to me, that theſe diſpatches, as well as thoſe not leſs intereſting, of which I acknowledged the reception in my preceding number, inſtead of their being ſent to me by veſſels ſailing from Havre in October for Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, or elſe by one of the two French packet-boats that ſailed from L'Orient in October and November, all arrived here more than two months ſince, ſhould on the contrary be ſent by ſhips deſtined for the port of this country the moſt diſtant from my reſidence. Charleſton lays more than three hundred leagues; and the poſt for American letters, in its preſent ſtate of imperfection, takes near a month to perform it. The conſequence has been, from the difference of the maritime paſſages between the ports of the ſouth and thoſe of the north, and of the circuitous limits of country poſts, that I received your packets ſix weeks or two months later, and they have coſt me an enormous expence. I even obſerve from my correſpondence with Norfolk, that if captain Ingraham, of the ſhip Ceres, had not been obliged to put into this port, in conſequence of a ſtorm, I ſhould not have had now even the diſpatch of the 19th of September relative to the negotiation of proviſions. Such a neglect or treachery, whichever it is, whether it originated at Paris or at Havre, deſerves a ſevere reprimand; the more ſo, as it has eſſentially prejudiced the ſervice of the ſtate, and might have provoked unjuſt ſuſpicions on the agents of government abroad.

I have charged our conſuls to take a certificate of each of theſe captains, and I will forthwith tranſmit to you the copy, reſerving to myſelf the original to make uſe of if neceſſary. After this explanation, in which it has been painful to me to be obliged to enter, I proceed to inform you of the meaſures taken relating to the proviſions you charged me to procure you from hence. I have had the honour to render you an account, in my preceding diſpatch, of the advance of one hundred thouſand piaſtres proviſionally granted on my demand. *After unſucceſsful attempts to obtain a term of payment ſooner than the firſt of April*, I was induced to make an arrangement, the moſt frugal in my power, for the immediate inveſtment of this ſum.

The houſe of Conyngham and Niſbet of this town, already known to the miniſters by their former operations for France, (having ſhewn itſelf the leaſt exacting of all thoſe which I immediately took care to ſound) is charged by me to procure, without delay, a conſignment of about twenty-two thouſand buſhels of wheat, eight thouſand barrels of fine flour, and nine hundred barrels of beſt ſalted beef from New England. The conditions ſtipulated are the ſame as thoſe of the contract made the ſecond of November laſt, between the department of the marine and the American citizens, Swan and company, for a like ſupply to be made to the Antilles, namely, that

that the grain, flour, and salted beef are to be paid at the current price of the markets, at the time of their being shipped; that the freights shall also be at the lowest course in the ports; that an insurance will be made here on the whole; and that a commission of five *per cent.* will be allowed for all the merchants expences and fees. It has been moreover agreed, considering the present reports of war, that the whole shall be sent as American property to Havre and to Nantes, with power to our government to send the ships to other ports conditionally with the usual additional freight. As you have not signified to me to whom these cargoes ought to be delivered in our ports, I shall provide each captain with a letter to the mayor of the place, agreeable to the copy herewith.

At the same time that I was busy in the immediate investment of the one hundred thousand piastres provisionally obtained, I renewed my zeal and activity to determine the American government readily to grant the remainder of the three millions, and I have at last been so fortunate as to succeed. I herewith inclose a copy of the letter which the secretary of state wrote to me on the subject, and I am immediately going to regulate with the secretary of the treasury the best arrangement in my power respecting the periods of payment. In consequence of conferences which I have already had on this subject, and from what I know of the real embarrassments of the American treasury relative to the bank of the United States, I can scarcely expect more than partial payments, successively to take place in the months of April, May, June, and perhaps in July; these delays, which I think inevitable, will necessarily render commerce less supple, and the monopoly that took place about a month since, without my being able to discover the true authors, will still cruelly thwart my views of œconomy and speed; but I shall have the resource of wholesale markets, and have even taken measures dexterously to urge proposals at a meeting of merchants. If, as I am inclined to believe, this mode succeeds, it will confine my operation to the most plain incident, the quickest and the most œconomical. At all events you may depend, that the service expected from my zeal, shall be performed, and that you shall receive in the spring about *fifty thousand bushels* of wheat, *fifty thousand barrels* of excellent flour, and *six thousand barrels* of salted beef, including the amount of the first investment of funds. You will receive this dispatch by the ship Hope, which the house of Conyngham and Nesbit sent from Chesapeak's Bay for Havre with a cargo of grain. I shall take care to inform you by every vessel of the ulterior progress of our operation.

TERNANT.

P. S. All the precautions recommended in the dispatch No. 3, of the twelfth of October, relating to the preservation of grain, shall be attended to, and a person of confidence shall be entrusted to the care.

First Answer of the Secretary of the Treasury, to the Envoy of France.

Treasury Department, February 28, 1793.

I Received the letter which you did me the honour to write, and which addressed me that of the Secretary

cretary of State, relating to the arrangement ordered by the President. I shall be ready to pay, on account of what is due to France, besides the funds already stipulated of one hundred thousand piastres, the further sum of four hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred piastres, by six equal payments, commencing on the fifteenth of April next, and continue every fortnight to the first of July following, on which the last payment is to be made.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

ALEX. HAMILTON.

Second Answer of the Secretary of the Treasury, to the Envoy of France.

Treasury Department,
March 1, 1793.

IN answer to your letter on the twenty-sixth of February, I have to assure you, that fully understanding how much it imports to your object to have the ready advances, I have endeavoured to shorten the epochs of those that ought to take place, in as much as the general arrangements and the resources of the treasury would permit, considering other objects of disbursement that are indispensable.

In consequence of your last representation, I have examined the matter anew, with a most sanguine wish to find a possibility to shorten the terms of payment that have been communicated, but the result of that examination confirms me in the conviction, that I ought to promise nothing beyond the first engagements. If the success of any premeditated arrangements shall hereafter enable me to shorten the epochs most remote, I will do it with pleasure, and you shall be informed of it at the time.

I have the honour to be with respect and esteem, yours, &c.

(Signed)

ALEX. HAMILTON.

Jean Ternant *to the Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs of the* French *Republic.*

Philadelphia, 28th February, 1793, the 2d year of the French Republic.

I HAVE at last discovered the contriver of the monopoly which so much counteracted my zeal and my views of œconomy, in the execution of your orders for the supply of provisions. It is Colonel Smith, whom the Executive Council of the Republic has authorized to liquidate here the total of our credit on America, and to invest the funds, or the credit resulting from that operation, for the purpose of providing France with sundry objects relating to her present wants. It is now eight days ago since colonel Smith arrived here, *carefully shunning* me, and speaking of me to a number of friends I have in this country, with an air so mysterious and puzzling, as gave them suspicion. His immediate and secret proceedings with the secretary of the treasury, and with the president, to whom he delivered letters, in which my name is not even made mention of, immediately made the American government suggest measures of prudence respecting me, but which I was far from imputing to such a cause. Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, even took upon himself to demand of me an interview, and to have extracts of the dispatch that authorized me to treat of the affair

of

of the three millions. Feeling as I ought, that such a proceeding towards a French citizen, formally acknowledged by the American government, and who had even treated, some time since, as a minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, offended the dignity of my nation, and might injure its interest here, I thought it was right to reject the secretary of state's demand. The solid reasons in support of my refusal, and the firmness with which I expressed myself, were not without effect, as in the evening of the same day (the 25th) I received the final answer, a copy of which is inclosed in my preceding dispatch. When he came to the point of agreeing with the treasury for the terms of payment, the same embarrassment, and the same difficulties arose; and it was then only that I knew of the letters brought by Mr. Smith, and of the assurance by him given, that I was going to be succeeded by citizen Genet. I observed, on that respect, that the French government had a right to give its confidence to whom it pleased; that I had no official account of that reposed in colonel Smith, but that it was not less my duty to support the interest of my nation, and faithfully to execute the orders of my constituents, until the arrival of the successor destined me; that it was essentially important to send to France the necessary supply of provisions; and, in short, that it would be laying these provisions at the mercy of trade, as well as reducing the quantity, and retarding the expedition, to fix the terms of payment too disproportionate to the usual credit amongst the merchants. All my efforts were to no purpose; and it was settled that the payments should be made by equal portions on the six following epochs, 15th of April, 1st and 15th of May, 1st and 15th of June, and 1st of July next. I have demanded of the treasury's secretary an answer in writing, of which I will send you a copy as soon as I shall receive it: this passed on the 26th and 27th. This day, the 28th, colonel Smith, after vain attempts made with the American government, came to me, and himself informed me of all that concerns his power respecting our credit with the United States. To-morrow he is to give it to me in writing, and requires me to approve of the purchases that were made by his orders. I shall not refuse it, if those purchases were carefully made, and the prices are those of the then current course, as in that case the operation will turn out to the advantage of the service with which I am charged; but if, contrary to my expectation, the invoices or manifests that are to be presented to me, should bear the prices equal to those of the present course, I shall endeavour to counteract this iniquitous speculation, and my last resource will then be to bargain by the wholesale, or on commission on its fall, to which I shall give all my assistance down to the time of my being replaced. Immediately after the arrival of my successor, I will zealously give him all the information tending to serve and improve here our national interests; and after having regulated the best I can my domestic affairs at Philadelphia, I will return to France, where I hope the National Convention and the Executive Council will permit me to render a public account of my conduct; the reading of the dispatches which I have wrote, and those which I received, will alone suffice to confound my detractors.

I

tractors. Born in an obſcure but irreproachable poverty, I only owe my advancement to real ſervices in the army, and in the diplomatic; have recourſe to the records of the ancient departments of the war and of foreign affairs, and you will find that thoſe ſervices do me honour. I have not courted the great under the royal government, neither will I do it to the powers under a republican adminiſtration. I will hold to theſe laſt the ſame language I always held to the firſt, that of truth and honeſt independence; they ſhall not have to reproach me with holding a diplomatic place, as my diſpatch of the 17th of June laſt will prove how much I then wiſhed to go to fight for the country; but I ſhall have a great deal to lament of the abandonment in which the old and new miniſters have left me, in the moſt ſerious circumſtances of my vain efforts, to urge their attention on the affairs of St. Domingo, of the incoherent meaſures adopted towards a foreigner, to the prejudice of our intereſt, and of a ſervice that was enjoined to me; and, in ſhort, of my blunt replacement without being recalled, or previous advice had, which will compel me to make a precipitate ſale, the amount of which may not be ſufficient to pay my preſent debts and the expences of my return to Europe; I will, however, endeavour to do honour to my affairs, and am going, without delay, to take meaſures to break up my houſe, and ſet off as ſoon as poſſible after the arrival of citizen Genet.

This diſpatch will be brought to France by a ſecond veſſel, ſent from Baltimore, with a cargo of flour, for Havre. I ſhall addreſs you at the ſame time, as uſual, a duplicate of my preceding diſpatch.

TERNANT.

P. S. The little ſafety and conſiderable expences attendant on ſending parcels by the country poſts, compel me, for want of a particular opportunity, to wait the departure of a ſhip from Baltimore, to ſend you the laſt ſeries of American gazettes.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 11, 1792, to DECEMBER 10, 1793.

Christened	Males 9750	TOTAL. 19108.	Buried	Males 11132	TOTAL. 21749.
	Females 9358			Females 10617	

Increaſed in the Burials this Year, 1536.

Died under Two Years	6987	—Thirty and Forty	1947	—Eighty and Ninety	433
Between Two and Five	2549	—Forty and Fifty	2172	—Ninety and a Hundred	63
—Five and Ten	920	—Fifty and Sixty	1827	A Hundred	2
—Ten and Twenty	668	—Sixty and Seventy	1630	A Hundred and Three	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1448	—Seventy and Eighty	1101	A Hundred and Four	1

DISEASES.					
Abortive and Still-born	778	Diabetes	1	Meaſles	248
Abſceſs	33	Dropſy	970	Miſcarriage	0
Aged	1309	Evil	7	Mortification	323
Ague	5	Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2426	Palſy	119
Apoplexy	87	Fiſtula	2	Pleuriſy	24
Aſthma and Phthiſic	449	Flux	9	Quinſy	8
Bed-ridden	15	French Pox	30	Raſh	0
Bleeding	11	Gout	96	Rheumatiſm	4
Bloody Flux	1	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	28	Rickets	0
Burſten and Rupture	13	Grief	5	Riſing of the Lights	0
Cancer	60	Head-Ach	0	Scurvy	3
Canker	1	Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	77	Small Pox	2382
Chicke	1	Jaundice	60	Sore Throat	26
Childbed	190	Impoſthume	1	Sores and Ulcers	16
Cold	5	Inflammation	364	St. Anthony's Fire	2
Cholic, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	14	Itch	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	14
Conſumption	5474	Leproſy	3	Suddenly	147
Convulſions	4788	Lethargy	2	Surfeit	0
Cough and Hooping-Cough	352	Livergrown	1	Swelling	0
Croup	12	Lunatick	67	Teeth	447
				Thruſh	48
				Tympany	0
				Vomiting and Looſeneſs	1
				Worms	5

CASUALTIES.	
Broken Limbs	4
Bruiſed	4
Burnt	9
Choaked	2
Dropped down dead	2
Drowned	115
Exceſſive Drinking	6
Executed *	7
Extracting a Bone from the throat	1
Found Dead	10
Fractured	2
Frighted	1
Killed by Falls and ſeveral other Accidents	67
Killed themſelves	35
Murdered	1
Poiſoned	2
Scalded	5
Smothered	1
Stabbed	1
Starved	3
Suffocated	6
Total	284

* There have been executed, in Middleſex and Surrey, 25; of which number 7 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the Bills of Mortality.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January 1794.

EXPORTED.

1793.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	12,039	34,064	
		cwt.	
Do Flour	20,519	40,322	
		qrs.	
Rye	13	498	
Barley	2,210	172	
Malt	1,933	—	
Oats	13,422	2,429	5,226 13 0 Bo.
		Bolls.	
Oatmeal	734	438	Drawbacks Nil.
		qrs.	
Beans	8,791	48	
Peaſe	4,325	183	
Groats	41	—	
	Cwt.		
Biſcuit	24,572	—	
SCOTLAND.			
	cwt.	qrs.	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour	654	—	
	qrs.		
Barley	14	—	
Do, hulled	15	—	
Malt	—	117	
Oats	385	—	
	cwt.		
Oatmeal	241	—	385 2 1½ Bo.
	qrs.		
Beans	47	—	Drawbacks Nil.
Do ſplit	14	—	
Peaſe	17	—	
Do ſplit	1	—	
Peaſe	—	54	
Groats	3	—	
	cwt.		
Biſcuit	1,131	—	

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	400,458 cwt.	
Do Flour	213,671 qrs.	
Rye	55,118	
Barley	117,439	
Oats	587,042	19,892 11 5
Oatmeal	1 Bolls.	
Do	7,523 qrs.	
Beans	29,270	
Peaſe	15,847	
Indian Corn	2	

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	5,723 cwt.	
Do Flour	49 qrs.	
Rye	5	
Barley	29,730	
Bear	148	1,821 15 8¾
Oats	112,416 Bolls.	
Oatmeal	21,474 qrs.	
Beans	450	
Peaſe	2,705	

The following is an Account of the Average Price of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1793.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
6 6½	4 4¾	3 11½	2 8¾	4 8

N. B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCKS, FOR THE YEAR 1793.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduc.	3 per Ct. Consol.	4 per Ct. Consol.	5 per Cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	177 1/4	79	79 7/8	92 1/2	106 1/2	23 1/8	10 5/8	187	7+1/8	15	—	78	74 7/8	7 1/2	31	16 10 0
	168 1/4	74 3/4	73 1/4	88 7/8	103 1/2	21 1/16	10 1/16	178	71 1/2	5	—	77	—	5 3/4	25	15 3 0
Feb.	172	75 5/8	75 1/4	90 7/8	104 1/8	21 1/16	10 7/16	198	69	12	81 1/2	75 3/8	74 1/2	8 1/2	25	15 7 0
	161 1/2	71 1/4	77 1/2	85 5/8	100	20 1/16	9 7/8	178 1/4	67	1	—	71 3/4	73 1/2	6 3/4	15	15 0 0
Mar.	176	78	78 1/2	89	111 1/2	21 5/8	10 1/2	207 1/2	—	16 pre	85 3/4	74 1/2	77 1/2	8 1/4	15	
	163 1/4	73 3/8	72 3/8	88	103 1/2	21 1/16	10 1/16	194 1/4	—	2 dif.	81 1/2	73 1/4	72 3/8	6 1/4	5	
Apr.	180	—	81	90 1/2	111 1/2	22 1/16	10 1/16	218	—	Par.	88	77	77 1/8	9 1/2	14	
	166 1/2	—	75 1/2	89 1/8	106 1/4	21 1/8	10	203 1/2	—	11 dif.	82 1/2	76 1/8	76 5/8	7	4	
May	168 3/4	76 3/4	77 1/4	90 1/4	109 1/8	22 1/16	10 1/16	214	75	17	83 1/2	76 1/2	77	10 1/8	25	
	161 1/2	73 1/2	74 3/8	87 1/2	106 5/8	21 7/16	9 13/16	208 1/4	73 1/2	4	80 1/2	74 5/8	75 1/4	9	2	
June	171 1/2	77 3/8	77 3/4	91 1/2	109 7/8	22 1/16	10 1/16	213	—	15	—	77 7/8	—	9 7/8	40	13 18 0
	167 3/4	76 3/8	76 1/2	89 3/4	109 3/8	21 13/16	9 15/16	207 3/4	—	10	—	76 3/8	—	8 3/4	25	13 17 0
July	177 5/8	78 3/8	79 3/8	94 1/2	110 7/8	22 1/16	10 3/16	217	77 1/2	2 pre.	84 1/2	78 1/2	77 1/4	9	Par.	14 6 0
	171 1/2	77 1/4	76 1/4	91 3/8	108 3/8	22 1/16	10	207 3/4	77 3/8	16 dif.	82 1/4	77 5/8	77	5	15 dif.	13 17 6
Auguſt	180	79	78 3/8	95	110	22 3/4	10 5/16	211 1/2	—	17	85	79	78 1/4	10	3 pre.	14 3 0
	173 7/8	76 1/4	75 5/8	92 3/4	107	22 1/16	10 1/8	207 3/4	—	6	83	76 3/4	76 3/8	7	Par.	14 0 6
Sept.	174 1/2	75 1/2	75 7/8	93	107 1/4	22 1/4	10 1/4	208 1/4	—	17	80 3/4	76	74 1/8	10 3/8	2 pre.	14 8 0
	170 5/8	75 3/8	73 5/8	93 5/8	105 5/8	21 1/8	10 1/16	203	—	6	79	75	—	8	1 dif.	13 7 0
Oct.	172 7/8	75 3/4	75 1/4	89 5/8	106 1/2	21 3/16	10 3/16	208 1/4	—	25	80 1/4	73 7/8	74 7/8	10	5 pre.	14 10 6
	166 3/8	73	73 1/4	89 1/8	106	21 1/8	9 1/2	204 1/4	—	11	80	73	74 3/8	9 1/8	Par.	14 6 6
Nov.	176 1/4	74 1/8	75 1/2	90 1/4	109 1/2	21 9/16	9 11/16	211 1/4	—	25	80	74 1/2	75	9 3/8	3 pre.	15 11 6
	165	72 7/8	73 1/4	88	106 1/8	20 15/16	9 7/16	206 1/2	—	20	78 3/4	73 1/8	74 5/8	8 7/8	3	14 7 6
Dec.	169 7/8	74 3/4	75 1/4	90 1/8	109 1/2	21 9/16	9 11/16	210 3/4	—	29	80 1/2	74 1/2	75 1/4	9 1/4	21	16 5 6
	165 1/2	73	73 1/2	87 7/8	108 1/2	21 1/16	9 1/2	208 1/2	—	19	79 1/2	73 3/8	75 1/8	7 1/2	6	15 11 0

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, and DEPTH of RAIN, for the Year 1793.

N. B.—*The higheſt and loweſt Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer ſtood in each Month is ſet down.*

	Days.	Barometer.	Days.	Thermometer.	Rain.
					Inches.
January -	12 - 28—98.	—	4 - 28	-	1,565
	19 - 30—52.	—	28 - 48		
February -	3 - 29—29.	—	19 - 30	-	1,581
	24 - 30—22.	—	24 - 52		
March -	8 - 30—21.	—	14 - 52	-	1,162
	18 - 29— 7.	—	29 - 33		
April -	5 - 29—22.	—	20 - 33	-	1,095
	8 - 30—27.	—	23 - 60		
May -	1 - 29—24.	—	12 - 69	-	0,865
	26 - 30—29.	—	29 - 44		
June -	14 - 30—20.	—	1 - 47	-	0,427
	26 - 29—68.	—	3 - 72		
July -	6 - 30—30.	—	1 - 54	-	0,616
	19 - 29—74.	—	7 - 89		
Auguſt -	17 - 29—34.	—	3 - 80	-	1,315
	21 - 30—28.	—	26 - 52		
September -	15 - 29—41.	—	14 - 66	-	2,452
	26 - 30—45.	—	22 - 42		
October -	15 - 30—48.	—	13 - 65	-	1,137
	31 - 29—22.	—	31 - 35		
November -	13 - 29— 5.	—	8 - 31	-	2,104
	30 - 30—36.	—	19 - 56		
December -	1 - 30—38.	—	4 - 30	-	1,809
	11 - 28—72.	—	18 - 53		
Mean height whole year	29—93		50,8	Total Depth of Rain.	17,128

Public

Public Acts passed in the third Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

JAN. 8.

An act for eſtabliſhing regulations reſpecting aliens.

An act to prohibit the circulation of promiſſory notes, &c. iſſued in the name of any public authority in France.

An act for indemnifying all perſons who have been concerned in adviſing or carrying into execution an order of council reſpecting the exportation of wheat, &c.

An act to enable his majeſty to reſtrain the exportation of naval ſtores, &c.

An act for the further relief of debtors, &c.

FEB. 28.

Land tax act.

Malt duty act.

Marine mutiny bill.

MARCH 6.

Mutiny bill.

Act to provide for the families of militia men.

MARCH 28.

Act to indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices, &c.

American commercial intercourſe bill.

Act to prevent certain acts of parliament from taking effect from a time prior to the paſſing thereof.

APRIL 30.

Act for raiſing a ſum of money by way of annuities, to be charged on the conſolidated fund, and to perpetuate certain duties.

Two acts for raiſing a ſum of money by exchequer bills.

The militia cloathing bill.

Act for the better ſupply of ſeamen on board his majeſty's ſhips of war, merchant ſhips, &c.

Act for granting 200,000l. towards the reduction of the national debt.

Act for the better preventing of forgeries and frauds in the transfer of the ſeveral funds transferable at the bank of England.

MAY 7.

Act more effectually to prevent during the preſent war all traitorous correſpondence.

Act to eſtabliſh certain regulations reſpecting officers ſerving in the fencible regiments in North Britain.

MAY 10.

Act for relief of the captors of prizes.

JUNE 3.

Act requiring a certain form of oath of abjuration from the Roman Catholics of Scotland.

JUNE 11.

Act for continuing in the Eaſt India company for a further time, the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh territories in India, &c.

JUNE 17.

Act to raiſe a certain ſum by way of lottery.

Act for further ſettling the annuity granted to the late lord Rodney unto his male iſſue, unto whom the barony of Rodney ſhall deſcend.

Act for repealing the duties on

coals, &c. carried coaſtwiſe to Scotland, &c.

Act for the encouragement of ſeamen, and the better manning of the navy.

Act to enable the poſt-maſter general to ſend the mail to the dominions of his Catholic majeſty, on board any veſſel authorized by his Catholic majeſty to carry the ſame.

Act to permit commodities of the growth or manufacture of Aſia Africa, or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be exported thence into Great Britain.

Act to continue the act for regulating the ſlave trade.

JUNE 21.

Act for the encouragement and relief of friendly ſocieties.

Act to enable juſtices of the peace to impoſe fines upon conſtables, &c. for neglect of duty.

Abſtract of an Act for eſtabliſhing Regulations reſpecting Aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or reſident, in certain caſes.

1. It is enacted, that the maſter of a veſſel arriving in any port of this kingdom ſhall immediately ſpecify in writing, to the collector of ſuch port, the number, names, rank, and occupation, of any foreigners which ſhall be on board his veſſel.

2. Under the penalty of 10l. for every foreigner on board the veſſel whom he ſhall have neglected or refuſed to declare.

3. That every alien arriving in any port in this kingdom, on or after the 10th day of January 1793, ſhall immediately declare in writing, to the collector of ſuch port, his or her name, rank, and occupation, or, if ſervants, the name, &c. of their maſters or miſtreſſes, or ſhall verbally make ſuch declaration to ſuch officer to be reduced by him into writing; and ſhall alſo declare the country where they have principally reſided for ſix months preceding their arrival; and every alien neglecting to make ſuch declaration, or making a falſe declaration thereof, ſhall be adjudged to depart out of this realm, and, if afterwards found in this realm, ſhall be tranſported for life.

4. That every alien, arriving as aforeſaid, ſhall obtain from the collector of ſuch port a certificate of ſuch declaration in writing.

5. Exception of foreign mariners employed in ſuch ſhips certified by the maſter to the collector.

6. No alien to import any weapons, arms, gunpowder, or ammunition whatever, other than as merchandize according to law; and any officer of the cuſtoms may ſeize ſuch weapons, &c. taking an account thereof.

7. In caſe his majeſty ſhall, by proclamation or order, direct that aliens ſhall not be landed in this kingdom, or ſhall only be landed at particular places, then the maſter of every ſhip, having aliens on board, ſhall not ſuffer them to land contrary to ſuch proclamation or order (unleſs by expreſs permiſſion of his majeſty), under the penalty of 50l. for every alien ſo landing, and forfeiture of the ſhip.

8. No alien ſhall depart from the place of his arrival (except to make the declaration aforeſaid) without obtaining a paſſport from the mayor or other chief magiſtrate of ſuch place, or from one juſtice of peace for the diſtrict, containing the

the name, rank, and occupation of such alien, and the town to which he purposes to go.

9. Aliens except servants of British subjects attendant on their masters), arrived in this kingdom since the first of January 1792, or arriving in future, desirous of changing their residence, or of quitting the town at which they have arrived by virtue of their first passport, shall obtain from the mayor, or a justice of peace for the district, a passport expressing the name and description of such alien, and also the name of the town to which such alien proposes to remove.

10. Magistrates may grant passports to alien merchants to pass to and from all parts of the kingdom.

11. The mayor of any town, or a justice of peace of any district, may require of any alien arrived after the 1st of January, 1792, or arriving in future (except servants as aforesaid), who shall be passing through or found in such town or district, to exhibit his passport; and in default thereof, or if he is not in the way to the town therein expressed, or if such mayor, &c. shall see cause to suspect that he is not, *bona fide*, proceeding to such town, or has landed contrary to such proclamation as aforesaid, such mayor, &c. may commit such alien to gaol until notice be sent to his majesty's secretary of state; and, unless his majesty shall signify his pleasure for the discharge of such alien, he shall be detained in gaol without bail until delivered by course of law.

12. Every alien who shall refuse to shew his passport, or who shall be found not proceeding to the town therein expressed, or who shall land contrary to his majesty's order, shall be imprisoned for any time not exceeding one month, and afterwards shall depart the realm.

13. Any person forging or altering a passport, or obtaining such passport under any other name than that which he shall have declared to such custom-house officer, &c, or falsely pretending to be the person mentioned in such passport, shall be punished as in the preceding section.

14. Notice of these regulations to be printed in different languages, and affixed in the different ports, and delivered to all foreigners; but proof of such delivery not to be necessary to the conviction of any alien offending against this act.

15. Any alien neglecting to depart the realm when ordered by his majesty so to do, to be committed to the county gaol.

16. Any alien, disobeying such proclamation or order of his majesty, shall be imprisoned for a month, and then to depart the realm within a time to be limited; and if found within the realm after such time, to be transported for life.

17. Any secretary of state, who shall apprehend that immediate obedience will not be paid to such proclamation, may give any alien in charge to one of his majesty's messengers, to be conducted out of the kingdom.

18. His majesty, by order in council, or order under the royal sign manual, may order any alien arrived since the 1st of January 1792, or arriving hereafter (except alien merchants and servants of British subjects), to reside in such districts as his majesty shall think necessary; and aliens disobeying

such order, to be committed to the county gaol.

19. Every alien who has arrived in England since the 1st of January 1792, shall, within ten days from the 10th of January 1793, and every alien arriving in future shall, within ten days after his arrival at the place expressed in his passport, deliver to the chief magistrate where he shall be, or, if no chief magistrate, to a justice of peace of the district, an account in writing of his name, rank, occupation, and place of abode, and the place of his residence for six months preceding, and take a certificate thereof; and in case of neglect or refusal to make such declaration, or of delivering a false account, to be imprisoned.

20. Magistrates may summon aliens, suspected of not having delivered such accounts, before them, and cause them to be arrested.

21. Any justice of the peace, mayor, or chief magistrate, may, by notice in writing, require of any housekeeper within their district an account in writing of the names, rank, and occupation, of all aliens resident in their houses.

22. Copies of accounts delivered to custom-house officers, &c. and of passports and certificates granted by magistrates, to be transmitted to one of the secretaries of state.

23. The justices of the courts of Westminster may admit aliens to bail.

24. As may also any justice of peace, by authority of the secretary of state.

25. All aliens, arrived in this kingdom since the 1st of January 1792, shall, if within the limits of the bills of mortality, or the parishes of Marybone, Pancras, and Chelsea, on the 10th of January 1793, or if out of those limits, within ten days from the said 10th of January, and every alien arriving in future shall, within ten days after his arrival, give to some neighbouring magistrate an account of all weapons, arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, in their possession, and shall, within three days from such notice, deliver up to such magistrate all such weapons, &c. except such only which they shall have license to keep from one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And it shall not be lawful for any such alien, after such delivery, to buy, or to have in his possession, or in the possession of others for his use, any weapons, &c. And any person, neglecting or refusing to obey the above directions, shall, on conviction, be judged to depart this realm, and, if found therein after such time, shall be transported.

26. Magistrates may require aliens resident in their jurisdictions, or passing through the same, to deliver up all weapons, &c. in their possession, under pain of being ordered to depart the realm.

27. Any of his majesty's secretaries of state, or any two justices of peace, or any mayor or chief magistrate, may cause any house, rented or occupied by any aliens, (except alien merchants), and any house in which any alien shall be a lodger or inmate, to be searched in the day-time, in the presence of a peace-officer, in order to discover any weapons, &c. and to seize the same.

28. And may require, from housekeepers where aliens may lodge, an account in writing of all weapons, &c. in their houses.

29. His majesty may send out of the

the realm any alien who ſhall have been committed to any gaol as aforeſaid for any offence againſt this act.

30. If any alien ſo ſent out of the realm ſhall return, he ſhall, on conviction thereof, be tranſported for life.

31. In all queſtions reſpecting offences againſt this act, the proof to lie on the party accuſed.

32. No perſon to be deemed an alien merchant, except he ſhall be *bona fide* engaged in carrying on trade, and ſeeking his living thereby.

33. Foreign ambaſſadors and their ſervants duly regiſtered, and perſons naturalized, excepted out of this act.

34. Aliens not fourteen years old excepted.

35. Certificates and paſſports to be given *gratis*.

36. Freſh paſſports or certificates may be granted where the former ones are loſt or miſlaid.

37. Perſons adjudged to be tranſported, to be ſent to ſuch places as his majeſty ſhall direct.

38. If any perſon, ordered or adjudged to be tranſported, ſhall be found at large within the realm, or, after ſentence of tranſportation pronounced, he ſhall be guilty of felony, and ſhall ſuffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1793.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 20, 1792.			
FOR 25,000 men, including 5000 marines -	1,300,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 11, 1793.			
For an addition of 20,000 men - - -	1,040,000	0	0
MARCH 5.			
Ordinary, including half pay - - -	669,205	5	10
Extraordinaries - - - - -	387,710	0	0
MARCH 12.			
Towards paying off the navy debt - -	575,000	0	0
	£. 3,971,915	5	10

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 26, 1792.			
For 17,344 men, as guards and garrisons - -	579,174	18	1½
Forces in the Plantations, Gibraltar, and New South Wales - - - - - -	351,385	1	10
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhments	11,559	17	11
Forces in the East Indies - - -	8,323	17	10½
Recruiting contingencies of land forces - -	117,500	0	0
General and ſtaff officers - - - -	6,409	8	0
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers - -	13,940	8	11
Allowances to the paymaſter general, &c. - -	52,964	6	7
Reduced officers of land forces and marines -	156,797	18	4
Reduced horſe-guards - - - -	202	1	8
Officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates-general -	3,000	0	0
Reduced officers of Britiſh American forces - -	55,092	10	0
Allowances to ſeveral reduced officers of ditto -	4,907	10	0
Widows penſions - - - - -	9,313	6	3
Chelſea penſioners - - - - -	177,995	2	1 Scotch

	£.	s.	d.
Scotch roads and bridges	4,500	0	0
Embodied militia	278,122	14	2
Contingencies for ditto on account	72,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 21, 1793.

For 9,945 men, additional guards and garrisons	437,837	1	11
For 100 independent companies	130,950	0	0
Additional general and ſtaff officers	32,520	0	0
Embodied militia	285,458	2	6
Contingencies for ditto	65,000	0	0
A corps of light dragoons for Jamaica, &c.	15,639	5	11

MARCH 18.

Hanoverian troops	238,253	14	8
Levy money for ditto	238,253	14	8
Fencible regiments	109,682	16	9
Cloathing of militia, on account	140,000	0	0
Army extraordinaries	337,865	1	2
Augmentation to dragoon-guards, &c.	59,066	3	7
	£. 3,993,715	2	11

ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 26, 1792.

	£.	s.	d.
Land ſervice, previous to December 31, 1783, not provided for	320	6	9
Ditto, not provided for in 1791	15,095	16	3
Ditto 1792	6,826	15	4
Sea ſervice, not provided for in 1791	32,068	15	4
Land ſervice for 1793	448,374	19	9

MARCH 18, 1793.

Further charge for land ſervice	281,079	18	8
	£. 783,766	12	1

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUARY 28, 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
To diſcharge exchequer bills	5,500,000	0	0

MARCH 5.

Civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	6,700	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia	5,315	0	0

Civil

	£.	s.	d.
Civil eſtabliſhment of New Brunſwick	4,400	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Iſland	1,900	0	0
Ditto of Cape Breton	1,800	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	1,182	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama Iſlands	4,250	0	0
Chief Juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales	4,657	18	0½
Addreſs money	37,657	17	3
Charges of inquiring into the emoluments of officers of the cuſtoms	500	0	0
Board of land revenue	1,600	0	0
America and Eaſt Florida ſufferers	276,542	4	10
Proviſions, &c. to New South Wales	56,370	15	8
Proſecution of Mr. Haſtings	3,727	12	0
Convicts on the Thames	11,021	4	5
Ditto at Langſtone and Portſmouth	12,407	1	4½
MARCH 12.			
Toward the reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
MARCH 18.			
Relief of American civil officers, &c. loyaliſts	26,000	0	0
Removing black people to Sierra Leone	15,643	4	6
Proviſion for the highland emigrants at Nova Scotia	386	15	6
Aſſeſſments on the ſalaries of the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts	1,068	4	0
To ſatisfy a bill drawn for the uſe of the duke of York at Berlin	5,897	5	0
Expences of the commiſſioners to inquire into the ſtate of the Iſle of Man	1,146	8	0
American loyaliſts, ſettlers in Upper Canada	13,800	15	0
African forts	13,000	0	0
Britiſh muſeum	3,000	0	0
MARCH 20.			
For works done for better ventilating and warming the houſe of commons	1,453	16	4½
To reimburſe loſſes ſuſtained by perſons concerned in the Nova Scotia whale fiſhery	1,420	3	0
For repairing damages done to the Cobb at Lyme by a ſtorm	9,802	5	0
APRIL 11.			
Exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0
	£. 7,723,830	19	11½

DEFICIENCY.

DEFICIENCY.

March 18.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1792 - - -				225,325	2	4
Navy - - - -	3,971,915	5	10			
Army - - -	3,993,715	2	11			
Ordnance - - -	783,766	12	1			
Miscellaneous services	7,723,830	19	11½			
Deficiency - -	225,315	2	4			
£.	16,698,553	3	1½			

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE ABOVE SUPPLIES, GRANTED TO HIS MAJESTY FOR THE YEAR 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
January 8.			
Surplus of consolidated fund on January 5 - -	435,696	1	7¼
January 31.			
Land tax and malt duty - - -	2,750,000	0	0
March 12.			
Consolidated fund - - - -	3,209,000	0	0
March 18.			
Exchequer bills - - - -	4,000,000	0	0
Annuities 100l. 3 per cents. for every 72l. subscribed	4,500,000	0	0
May 24.			
Profit of a lottery, 50,000 tickets, at 13l. 10s. - -	175,000	0	0
Consolidated fund - - - -	255,000	0	0
Duties of 1791 continued - - -	832,760	15	0¾
£.	16,157,456	16	7½

An

An ACCOUNT of the Produce of the TAXES for one Year, to the 5th Day of January 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
Customs	3,857,743	7	10
Excise	7,361,617	8	8¾
Stamps	1,206,842	0	10
Total of Customs, Excise, and Stamps £.	12,426,202	17	4¼

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated letter money, 1787	156,000	0	0
Ditto salt	365,993	4	0½
Seizures since October 25, 1760	23,097	5	2
Proffers - - - ditto	637	19	8
Letter money - ditto	203,484	3	9½
Allum mines, - October 25, 1760	960	0	0
Compositions, - - - ditto	1	6	8
Fines and forfeitures, - ditto	500	0	0
Rent of a light house, - ditto	6	13	4
Alienation duty, - - ditto	2,272	15	4
Sixpence deducted on pensions, 24th June, 1721	41,290	0	0
One shilling ditto salaries, &c. April 5th, 1758	32,117	1	4
Houses and Windows, Oct. 10, 1766	331,276	3	4¾
Inhabited houses, 1779	148,328	18	4¾
Hawkers and pedlars, 1710	3,130	0	0
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1st August, 1711	9,100	0	0
Ditto, 1784	1,210	0	0
Male servants, 1785	98,372	9	5
Female ditto, ditto	28,426	2	8½
Horses, - - ditto	125,932	14	8½
Four-wheel carriages, 1785	153,896	14	2¾
Two-wheel ditto, - ditto	34,259	15	4¼
Waggons, - - - ditto	13,589	1	10
Carts, - - - ditto	8,015	13	1¾
Shops, - - - ditto	955	14	3¾
First fruits of the clergy	4,339	10	1¾
Tenths ditto	9,902	14	3¾
Men servants, 1777 (arrears)	4	13	0
Houses and windows, 1747, 1762, and 1764 (arrears)	1	2	0
Total of Incidents £.	1,857,991	16	3

DUTIES Anno 1791.

Sugars, customs	182,880	17	8¼
British spirits, excise	112,294	0	0
Foreign ditto	142,286	0	0
Malt	90,956	0	0
Bills and receipts	196,552	12	5
Game duty	17,171	16	7
Ten per cent. on assessed taxes	90,619	8	3¼
£.	832,760	15	0¼

Total of Customs, Excise, and Stamps	12,426,202	17	4¼
Total of Incidents	1,857,991	16	3
Total of Duties Anno 1791	832,760	15	0¼
Grand Total £.	15,116,955	8	8

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the third Seſſion of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain, on the 13th December, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING judged it neceſſary to embody a part of the militia of this kingdom, I have, in purſuance of the proviſions of the law, called you together within the time limited for that purpoſe, and it is, on every account, a great ſatisfaction to me to meet you in parliament at this conjuncture.

I ſhould have been happy if I could have announced to you the ſecure and undiſturbed continuance of all the bleſſings which my ſubjects have derived from a ſtate of tranquillity; but events have recently occurred which require our united vigilance and exertion, in order to preſerve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

The ſeditious practices which had been in a great meaſure checked by your firm and explicit declaration in the laſt ſeſſion, and by the general concurrence of my people in the ſame ſentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increaſed activity. A ſpirit of tumult and diſorder (the natural conſequence of ſuch practices) has ſhewn itſelf in acts of riot and inſurrection, which required the interpoſition of a military force in ſupport of the civil magiſtrate. The induſtry employed to excite diſcontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a deſign to attempt the deſtruction of our happy conſtitution, and the ſubverſion of all order and government; and this deſign has evidently been purſued in connection and concert with perſons in foreign countries.

I have carefully obſerved a ſtrict neutrality in the preſent war on the continent, and have uniformly abſtained from any interference with reſpect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impoſſible for me to ſee, without the moſt ſerious uneaſineſs, the ſtrong and increaſing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite diſturbances in other countries, to diſregard the rights of neutral nations, and to purſue views of conqueſt and aggrandiſement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States General, (who have obſerved the ſame neutrality with myſelf) meaſures which are neither conformable

to

to the law of nations, nor to the positive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties. Under all theſe circumſtances, I have felt it my indiſpenſable duty to have recourſe to thoſe means of prevention and internal defence with which I am entruſted by law; and I have alſo thought it right to take ſteps for making ſome augmentation of my naval and military force, being perſuaded that theſe exertions are neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of affairs, and are beſt calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preſerving the bleſſings of peace.

Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object, conſiſtently with the ſecurity of my kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by intereſt and honour to fulfil.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and I have no doubt that you will be ready to make a due proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

You will certainly join with me in lamenting any neceſſity for extraordinary expences, which may for a time prevent the application of additional ſums, beyond thoſe which are already annually appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the relief which my ſubjects might have derived from a further diminution of taxes: but I am confident you will feel that thoſe great ends will ultimately be beſt promoted by ſuch exertions as are neceſſary for our preſent and future ſafety and tranquillity; and it is a great conſolation to me to reflect, that you will find ample reſources for effectually defraying the expence of vigorous preparations, from the exceſs of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have great pleaſure in acquainting you, that the brilliant ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, have led to the termination of the war by an advantageous and honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly ſatisfactory to me, from their tendency to ſecure the future tranquillity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the world.

Your attention will now naturally be directed to ſuch meaſures for the future government of thoſe valuable poſſeſſions, as ſhall appear, from experience and full conſideration, moſt likely to provide for their internal proſperity, and to ſecure the important advantages which may be derived from thence to the commerce and revenue of this country.

I am perſuaded that it will be the object of your immediate conſideration to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary, under the preſent circumſtances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repreſſing every attempt to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of theſe kingdoms.

You will be ſenſible how much depends on the reſult of your deliberations, and your uniform conduct is the beſt pledge that nothing will be wanting on your part which

can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the country.

I retain a deep and unalterable sense of the repeated proofs which I have received of your cordial and affectionate attachment to me; and I place an entire reliance on the continuance of those sentiments, as well as on your firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution which has so long protected the liberties and promoted the happiness of every class of my subjects.

In endeavouring to preserve and transmit to posterity the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourselves experienced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and your joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual by the decided support of a free and loyal people.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, to his Majesty, for the preceding Speech from the Throne.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble and dutiful acknowledgments for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that, under circumstances which require the united vigilance and exertion of all the branches of the legislature, to preserve to your Majesty's subjects the continuance of those advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed; it is a great satisfaction to us, that your Majesty, by meeting us in parliament at this conjuncture, has afforded us an opportunity of manifesting our loyalty to your Majesty, and our zeal for the dearest interests of our country.

We have seen, with the greatest concern, that the seditious practices which were the objects of your Majesty's late proclamation, and which were so strongly condemned by the declaration of both Houses of Parliament, and by the general sentiments of the people, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. We deeply lament that spirit of tumult and disorder, the natural consequence of such practices, which has shewn itself in different acts of riot and insurrection, requiring the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. We are sensible that the industry employed to excite discontent, on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has proceeded from a settled design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and we learn with the utmost indignation that this design has been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

We highly applaud the wise and generous conduct adopted by your majesty in observing a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and in abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France: but we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we fully participate in that serious uneasiness so justly felt by your Majesty on account of the strong and

increasing indications which have appeared in France of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards your Majesty's allies the States General, who have observed the same neutrality with your Majesty, measures neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties.

We acknowledge with the deepest gratitude your Majesty's paternal care for the security and happiness of your people, which has led your Majesty, on the present occasion, to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which your Majesty is intrusted by law; and also to augment your Majesty's naval and military force; and we concur with your Majesty in the persuasion that these exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are the best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace; an object which, however important in itself, is no otherwise desirable than as it can be attained consistently with the security of these kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by interest and honour to fulfil.

We congratulate your Majesty on the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the marquis Cornwallis, and more especially on the termination of the war in that country by an advantageous and honourable peace, to the terms of which we look with peculiar satisfaction, from their tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions. We shall now apply our attention to the forming such arrangements for the future government of those valuable possessions, as experience and deliberation may recommend to us, with a view to the prosperity of that country, and to the advantages which it may afford to the British commerce and revenue.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we feel it to be our bounden duty, and that it shall be the object of our most immediate consideration, to adopt all proper measures for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom. We are not ignorant that on the result of our deliberations, at this moment, depend the present security and permanent prosperity of our country. We well know that we can in no manner better provide for these important and interesting objects, than by manifesting in all our conduct that affectionate attachment which is so justly due to your Majesty from every one of your subjects, and which is deeply impressed upon our hearts; and by directing all our counsels to the defence and maintenance of the constitution, so dear to a people whose liberties it has long protected, and whose happiness it has essentially promoted. In endeavouring to preserve and transmit to our posterity these inestimable blessings, we know from uniform experience that we may be assured of your Majesty's co-operation and assistance; and we are confident that the united efforts of your Majesty and your parliament, for this purpose, will be rendered completely effectual

effectual by the decided support of a free and loyal people.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful address. Your expressions of affectionate attachment to my person, and of zeal for the maintenance of the constitution, are peculiarly acceptable to me at this conjuncture; and I am satisfied, that, whatever may be the course of future events, the spirit and loyalty which you have manifested on this occasion will be productive of the happiest consequences to my people.

The humble Address of the House of Commons for the preceding Speech from the Throne.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our hearty thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It would have afforded us the most sincere satisfaction if your Majesty could have announced to us the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which your Majesty's subjects have derived from a state of tranquillity; but we are fully sensible that events have recently occurred, which must require our united vigilance and exertion to preserve to this country the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed.

It has been impossible for us not to perceive, from our own observation in different parts of the country, the increased activity with which seditious practices have of late been openly renewed; and we learn with concern, that not only a spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate, but that the industry employed to excite discontent has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt, in concert with persons in foreign countries, the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government.

We entertain a just sense of the temper and prudence which have induced your Majesty to observe a strict neutrality with respect to the war on the continent, and uniformly to abstain from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but, at the same time, we cannot but participate in the just uneasiness with which your Majesty must observe any indications of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, and particularly to adopt measures towards your Majesty's allies, the States General, inconsistent with the law of nations, and the positive stipulations of existing treaties.

The circumstances which your Majesty has been pleased to communicate to us, appear to have rendered it highly important, for the safety and interest of this country, that your Majesty should have recourse to those measures of prevention, and internal defence, with which your Majesty is entrusted by law.

We sincerely hope that these exertions, and the steps which your Majesty has taken for augmenting your naval and military force, will have the happy tendency both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

Your Majesty may, at the same time, rely on our zealous concurrence in such measures as may prove to be necessary for the security of these kingdoms, and for the faithful performance of our engagements.

We shall proceed to make such provisions as shall be requisite for the several branches of the public service.

We must indeed see, with the deepest regret, any necessity for extraordinary expences, which may prevent the application of additional sums, beyond those already annually appropriated, to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the farther relief which your Majesty's subjects might derive from a diminution of taxes; but we are fully aware that those great ends (to which our views must anxiously be directed) will themselves ultimately be best promoted by such vigorous and timely exertions as may be necessary for our present and future safety and tranquillity; and it will, undoubtedly, be a great consolation to us, to find that the excess of the actual revenue, beyond the ordinary expenditure, is such as to furnish ample resources for effectually defraying the expences of vigorous preparations, if the circumstances of the time should render such preparations requisite.

We beg leave to offer to your Majesty our cordial congratulations on the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the marquis Cornwallis, and on the termination of the war in that country by an advantageous and honourable peace, which can, in no respect, be more satisfactory than in its tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in that part of the world: we shall not fail to employ our utmost attention, with a view to taking such measures for the future government of those valuable possessions, as shall appear, from experience and full consideration, most likely to provide for their interna prosperity, and to secure the important advantages which may be derived from thence to the commerce and revenue of this country.

Your Majesty may depend upon the zeal and readiness with which we shall enter on the consideration of any measures which may appear to be necessary, under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms; and we beseech your Majesty to believe, that no endeavours will be wanting, on our part, which can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the country.

We shall, on every occasion, be anxious to manifest the continuance of our dutiful and affectionate attachment to your Majesty, as well as our firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution, which has so long protected the liberties, and promoted the happiness, of every class of your Majesty's subjects; feeling it to be our first and most essential duty to preserve and transmit to posterity the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence,

Providence, we have ourſelves experienced.

We receive, with the warmeſt emotions of gratitude, the gracious aſſurances of your Majeſty's zealous and cordial co-operation; and we rely with confidence on the decided ſupport of a free and loyal people.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my warmeſt thanks for this loyal and affectionate addreſs; and I receive, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the aſſurances of your attachment to me, and your determination zealouſly to concur in ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, and for the faithful performance of our engagements.

Your public declaration of theſe ſentiments cannot fail to produce the happieſt effects in the preſent important conjuncture.

Meſſage from the King to both Houſes of Parliament. Monday, 28th January.

George R.

HIS Majeſty has given directions for laying before the Houſe of Commons, copies of ſeveral papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late miniſter plenipotentiary from the Moſt Chriſtian King, by his Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, and of the anſwers returned thereto; and likewiſe a copy of an order made by his Majeſty in council, and tranſmitted by his Majeſty's commands to the ſaid M. Chauvelin, in conſequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

In the preſent ſituation of affairs, his Majeſty thinks it indiſpenſably neceſſary to make a further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land; and relies on the known affection and zeal of the Houſe of Commons, to enable his Majeſty to take the moſt effectual meaſures, in the preſent important conjuncture, for maintaining the ſecurity and rights of his own dominions; for ſupporting his allies; and for oppoſing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, but are peculiarly ſo when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety.

G. R.

Addreſs of Thanks from the Houſe of Lords, on the preceding Communication. February 1.

THAT an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for his moſt gracious meſſage, and for the communication of the papers which, by his Majeſty's command, have been laid before us: To offer to his Majeſty our heartfelt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which muſt be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, juſtice, and humanity, and as a ſtriking and dreadful example of the effect of principles which lead to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety.

To assure his Majesty, that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition which, in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been openly manifested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government: That, under the present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to those views and principles, as essential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries:

That, impressed with these sentiments, we shall, with the utmost zeal and alacrity, afford his Majesty the most effectual assistance, to enable his Majesty to make a farther augmentation of his forces by sea and land, and to act as circumstances may require in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and honour of his crown, for supporting the just rights of his allies, and for preserving to his people the undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings which, under the Divine providence, they derive from the British constitution.

Address from the House of Commons.

THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message, and for the communication of the papers which, by his Majesty's command, have been laid before us.

To offer to his Majesty our heartfelt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which must be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, and humanity, and as a striking and dreadful example of the effect of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

To assure his Majesty, that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandisement and ambition, which, in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been openly manifested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government; that, under the present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to these views as essential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries.

That, impressed with these sentiments, we shall, with the utmost zeal and alacrity, afford his Majesty the most effectual assistance, to enable his Majesty to make a farther augmentation of his forces by sea and land, and to act as circumstances may require, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and honour of his crown, for supporting the just rights of his allies, and for preserving to his people the undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings which, under the Divine Providence, they derive from the British constitution.

Meſſage from his Majeſty, read in both Houſes of Parliament. Monday, 11th February.

George R.

HIS Majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that the Aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his Majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war againſt his Majeſty and the United Provinces. Under the circumſtances of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, his Majeſty has taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his Majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual ſupport of the Houſe of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war; and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the farther progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice.

In a cauſe of ſuch general concern, his Majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with his Majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of anarchy and confuſion, and in contributing to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

G. R.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords, 12th February.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that we have learnt, with a juſt ſentiment of indignation, that the aſſembly who now exerciſe the powers of government in France have directed, without previous notice, the commiſſion of acts of hoſtility againſt the perſons and property of your Majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and that they have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war againſt your Majeſty and the United Provinces. That, under the circumſtances of this perfidious and unprovoked aggreſſion, we are grateful to your Majeſty for the ſteps which your Majeſty has taken to maintain the honour of your crown, and to vindicate the rights of your people: That nothing will be wanting on our part than can contribute to that firm and effectual ſupport, which your Majeſty has ſo much reaſon to expect from a brave and loyal people, in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the further progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faiih, humanity, and juſtice.

We aſſure your Majeſty, that, deeply as we feel the happineſs of

our country interested in the result of this contest, it must afford us the greatest satisfaction to learn, that in a cause of such general concern, your Majesty has reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with your Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and affectionate address.

I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances of your firm and effectual support in the prosecution of this just and necessary war in which I am engaged, in consequence of the unprovoked aggression of France; and I trust that, by the blessing of providence, my efforts will be rendered successful, for maintaining the rights of my people, preventing the extension of anarchy, and contributing to the future security of Europe.

Address from the House of Commons.

THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message, informing us, that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces: to assure his Majesty that, under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, we most gratefully acknowledge his Majesty's care and vigilance in taking the necessary steps for maintaining the honour of his crown, and vindicating the rights of his people: that his Majesty may rely on the firm and effectual support of the representatives of a brave and loyal people, in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the blessing of providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued, in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

That, in a cause of such general concern, it must afford us great satisfaction to learn, that his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.

That we are persuaded, that whatever his Majesty's faithful subjects must consider as most dear and sacred, the stability of our happy constitution, the security and honour of his Majesty's crown, and the preservation of our laws, our liberty, and our religion, are all involved in the issue of the present contest; and that our zeal and exertions shall be proportioned to the importance of the conjuncture, and to the magnitude

nitude and value of the objects for which we have to contend.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my warmest thanks for this affectionate and loyal address, and for the cordial assurances of your firm and effectual support in the measures which may be necessary for maintaining the honour of my crown, and for prosecuting with vigour a just and necessary war, in defence of the dearest interests of my people.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the Close of the Session, 21st June 1793.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE firmness, wisdom, and public spirit by which your conduct has been eminently distinguished on the many important occasions which have arisen during the present session, demand my peculiar acknowledgments.

Your firm determination to support the established constitution, and the zealous and general concurrence in that sentiment, which my subjects have so strongly and seasonably manifested, could not fail to check every attempt to disturb the internal repose of these kingdoms; and you will, I doubt not, in your several counties, encourage the continuance of the same vigilant attention to that important object.

The rapid and signal successes, which, in an early period of the campaign, have attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which you have enabled me to employ by sea and land; and the measures which I have concerted with other powers, for the effectual prosecution of the war, afford the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we are engaged: It is only by perseverance in vigorous exertions, and by endeavouring to improve the advantages already acquired, that we can hope to obtain the great end to which my views are uniformly directed, the restoration of peace on such terms as may be consistent with our permanent security, and with the general tranquillity of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the cheerfulness and dispatch with which you have granted the necessary supplies; and I am happy to reflect, that you have been enabled liberally to provide for the exigences of the public services in a manner so little burdensome to my people.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The arrangements which you have formed for the government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of our commerce with that part of the world, will, I doubt not, secure and augment the important benefits which we have already derived from those valuable possessions. It has been impossible for me to see, without concern, the embarrassment which has lately arisen in the state of commercial credit; but the steps which you have taken to prevent the progress of that evil appear already to have been productive of very salutary consequences; and while they have afforded a striking instance of your attention

tention to the interests of my people, their effect has furnished additional reason to believe that the distress which has been felt, proceeded from a concurrence of temporary causes, and not from any diminution of the real wealth, or any failure in the permanent resources of the country.

I have much satisfaction in reflecting on the effectual protection which I have been enabled to afford to the trade of my subjects, since the breaking out of the war; I am at the same time persuaded, that if our commercial interests had unavoidably been affected to a more considerable extent, it would not have been forgotten, that we are contending for our future security, and for the permanent preservation of advantages, the most striking and the most valuable which any nation has ever, by the blessing of providence, been permitted to enjoy.

Protest in the House of Lords against the Address, voted Feb. 1.

Dissentient,

1. BECAUSE the immediate tendency of the address is to plunge the nation into war.

2. Because we consider war as an evil of such magnitude, that nothing but absolute necessity can justify it.

3. Because we have not heard of any danger to this country which renders war necessary.

4. Because the observance of good faith towards our allies does not require us to engage in war, his majesty's ministers having admitted that Holland has not demanded our interference, and it being notorious, that Prussia has been the aggressor against France.

5. Because though we feel the utmost horror at the atrocious act of cruelty and injustice mentioned in the address, we think that no injustice, however flagrant, committed in a foreign state, and having no relation to other countries, is a just ground for making war.

6. Because we are more likely to obtain the objects, whether of policy or principle, in the way of negotiation, than war; the aversion of France to break with this country, which has lately stood the test of repeated provocations, putting it in our power at this moment to give peace to all Europe: whereas by entering into the war, we shall put all at stake; we shall be to join a league, whose duration cannot be depended on; our marine will be to act against armed vessels only, and that of the French, against a trade which covers every quarter of the globe.

7. Because, in no view of policy can we discover any advantage to be obtained to this country by war, however successful. The experience of our two last wars has taught us the little value of foreign acquisitions; for having lost America in the last of them, we now enjoy a more beneficial intercourse with it as an independent state, than we did when it formed a part of the British dominions.

8. Because we think it the interest of this country to preserve peace with all mankind, but more especially with France.

9. Because, even if it should be thought consonant to the honour and magnanimity of this nation to seek the depression of France, that end will be most effectually promoted, by leaving them to their own internal dissensions, instead of

uniting

uniting them by a hoſtile aggreſſion in a common cauſe, and thus calling forth all their energy.

10. Becauſe, as every war muſt be concluded by a peace, negotiation muſt at ſome time take place, and we muſt ultimately depend upon the good faith of France, unleſs we proceed upon a principle of partition, conqueſt, or extermination.

11. Becauſe the meaſures now in view will utterly derange our ſyſtem of finance, our war reſources having been applied towards defraying the expence of our peace eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of which our floating unfunded debt, which amounted at the commencement of the American war only to 3,100,000l. has accumulated to above ten millions, excluſive of India bonds. Beſides which, the additional effect that the late enormous extenſion of private banking, to an amount unknown, may have upon our public credit, in caſe of war, is what no one can foreſee.

12. Becauſe we dread the increaſe of thoſe public burthens which already bear ſo hard on the poorer part of the community, and becauſe we are convinced that nothing can endanger our happy conſtitution, but an interruption of thoſe bleſſings which it now affords us, by the calamities of an unneceſſary war.

LANSDOWNE.
LAUDERDALE.

Diſſentient,

For the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d reaſons, and for that part of the 4th beginning with the word (interference); and for the whole of the 5th and 12th reaſons.

DERBY.

Proteſt againſt a War with France, in conſequence of the Rejection of Earl Stanhope's Amendment to the Addreſs to his Majeſty, moved by Lord Grenville on Friday, Feb. 1. 1793.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. BECAUSE war is a ſtate ſo unnatural, ſo barbarous in itſelf, ſo calamitous in its effects, ſo immoral when unneceſſary, and ſo atrocious when unjuſt, that every friend of humanity ſhould endeavour to avoid it; and the eſtabliſhment of a pacific ſyſtem ought to be the firſt policy of a wiſe and enlightened nation.

2dly, Becauſe peace is always for the intereſt of the common people in all countries. And Great Britain and France, from their peculiar ſituation, have an evident intereſt to remain at peace with each other.

3dly, Becauſe it is a well known fact that the people in France are in general extremely deſirous to maintain and ſtrengthen, between that country and this, the bonds of amity and friendſhip. And ever ſince the overthrow of deſpotiſm in France, the commonalty in that nation have ſuch irreſiſtible weight, that we might reſt aſſured, that as peace with Great Britain is for the intereſt, and is the wiſh of the people in France, it would therefore be the conſtant object of their government, if not firſt provoked by our miniſters, by ſuch acts as the ſending away the French ambaſſador, and expreſsly refuſing to acknowledge their new government.

4thly, Becauſe the old deſpotic and deteſtable government in France, from its ſecrecy, its perfidy, treachery, and reſtleſs ambition, has

has been the fatal cause of many wars in Europe for several centuries past. Therefore, any assistance given on the part of our government to any power in Europe that is endeavouring to restore that tyrannical form of government in France, is injurious to the true interests of this country. And the people of France have, moreover, as just a right to enjoy civil liberty as ourselves.

5thly, Because a war with France is at present most impolitic, extremely dangerous to our allies the Dutch, hazardous with respect to the internal peace, and external power of this country, and is likely to be highly injurious to our commerce, which is the great source of our wealth, naval strength, and prosperity; and any material interruption to the trade, manufactures, and industry of this kingdom, may, at this time, be attended with consequences the most fatal. The war may, therefore, prove to be a war against our commerce and manufactures, against the proprietors of our funds, against our paper currency, and against every description of property in this country.

6thly, Because every man of feeling must exceedingly lament the numerous taxes and oppressive burthens already borne by the people of this kingdom, and also the present high price of various necessary articles of life; and if an unwise system of policy be pursued, it must inevitably increase those burthens, and eventually put those necessaries of life beyond the reach of the laborious part of the community.

And 7thly, Because these misfortunes ought the more to be deprecated, as it clearly appears that it would still be most easy to avoid them, if our ministers were to prefer a mild, just, and pacific system, to the horrors of war, carnage, and devastation.

(Signed) STANHOPE.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, to his Majesty, Feb. 23.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, beg leave to renew our most solemn assurances of firm allegiance to your majesty's sacred person and government, and of attachment to the constitution of these kingdoms as by law established.

Deeply impressed with sentiments of veneration for a system of government, wisely framed to perpetuate the prosperity and happiness of every individual subject to its authority, and in consequence secure by its protection, great must have been our concern at the late nefarious and daring strides of desperate and wicked men toward the subversion of the peace and order of civil society; who, with the blackest ingratitude, were availing themselves of the freedom and privileges of this highly-favoured land to compass its destruction.

With increased indignation we were bound to deplore, that, to attain this treasonable purpose, they had

had dared, in open concert with perſons in the executive government of France, to offer their principles and proceedings as a ſubject of admiration to a free, loyal, and happy people.

To what fatal events the miſchievous and obdurate councils of that unhappy country have led, the page of hiſtory, darkened with the fouleſt deed that ever excited horror in the human heart, will but too faithfully record; and the late dreadful inſtance of their ſanguinary malice will be remembered as long as perſecuted virtue ſhall deſerve the pity, and deliberate cruelty the execration of mankind.

The paternal regard for the peace and welfare of your people, which induced your majeſty to embody the militia, and convene your parliament at a moſt important conjuncture, cannot but warm every loyal breaſt with ſentiments of the moſt lively gratitude; and we can with confidence aſſure your majeſty, that it is the united voice of your majeſty's faithful citizens of London, when we declare, that being ſenſible of the neceſſity of vigorouſly oppoſing the perfidy, ambition, and aggrandizement of France, now evinced by her declaration of war and commencement of hoſtilities againſt this country, in order to maintain the ſecurity and honour of your majeſty's crown, and to preſerve inviolate the conſtitution of theſe realms, the ſacred ſource, under Providence, of all our bleſſings, we are ready to ſacrifice our deareſt intereſts in the defence of your majeſty's crown and perſon, and of that ſubſtantial freedom which the ſubjects of the Britiſh empire are conſcious they enjoy.

Signed, by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

I receive with great ſatisfaction this dutiful and loyal addreſs.

The aſſurances of the city of London, of their firm allegiance to my perſon, and of their attachment to our happy conſtitution, cannot but be highly acceptable to me; and I rely, with confidence, that their attention will conſtantly be directed toward the ſuppreſſion and diſcouragement of every proceeding which might tend to the ſubverſion of the peace and order of civil ſociety. The city of London may always depend upon my favour and countenance, and my conſtant care not only to maintain and defend the rights of my crown, but to protect and encourage the trade and commerce of this kingdom, and to preſerve inviolate the conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed.

Declaration, by his Majeſty's Command, to the Commanders of his Majeſty's Fleets and Armies employed againſt France; and to his Majeſty's Miniſters employed at Foreign Courts.

Whitehall, Oct. 29, 1793.

THE circumſtances, in conſequence of which his majeſty has found himſelf engaged in a defenſive war againſt France, are known already to all Europe. The objects which his majeſty has propoſed to himſelf from the commencement of the war are of equal notoriety. To repel an unprovoked aggreſſion, to contribute to the immediate defence of his Allies, to obtain for them and for himſelf a juſt indemnification, and to provide, as far as circumſtances will allow, for the future ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and of all the other nations

of

of Europe; these are the points for which his majesty has felt it incumbent on him to employ all the means which he derives from the resources of his dominions, from the zeal and affection of his people, and from the unquestionable justice of his cause.

But it has become daily more and more evident how much the internal situation of France obstructs the conclusion of a solid and permanent treaty, which can alone fulfil his majesty's just and salutary views for the accomplishment of these important objects, and for the restoring the general tranquillity of Europe. His majesty sees, therefore, with the utmost satisfaction, the prospect which the present circumstances afford him, of accelerating the return of peace, by making to the well-disposed part of the people of France, a more particular declaration of the principles which animate him, of the objects to which his views are directed, and of the conduct which it is his intention to pursue. With respect to the present situation of affairs, the events of the war, the confidence reposed in him by one of the most considerable cities of France, and, above all, the wish which is manifested almost universally in that country to find a refuge from the tyranny by which it is now overwhelmed, rendered this explanation on his majesty's part a pressing and indispensable duty: and his majesty feels additional satisfaction in making such a declaration, from the hope of finding, in the other powers engaged with him in the common cause, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

From the first period when his most christian majesty Louis the XVIth had called his people around him, to join in concerting measures for their own common happiness, the king has uniformly shewn by his conduct the sincerity of his wishes for the success of so difficult, but, at the same time, so interesting an undertaking. His majesty was deeply afflicted with all the misfortunes which ensued, but particularly when he perceived more and more evidently that measures, the consequences of which he could not disguise from himself, must finally compel him to relinquish the friendly and pacific system which he had adopted. The moment at length arrived, when his majesty saw that it was necessary for him not only to defend his own rights, and those of his allies; not only to repel the unjust aggression which he had recently experienced, but that all the dearest interests of his people imposed upon him a duty still more important, that of exerting his efforts for the preservation of civil society itself, as happily established among the nations of Europe.

The designs which had been professed of reforming the abuses of the government of France, of establishing personal liberty and the rights of property on a solid foundation, of securing to an extensive and populous country the benefit of a wise legislation, and an equitable and mild administration of its laws; all these salutary views have unfortunately vanished. In their place has succeeded a system destructive of all public order, maintained by proscriptions, exiles, and confiscations without number; by arbitrary imprisonment; by massacres, which cannot even be remembered without horror, and at length, by the execrable murder of a just and beneficent

ficent ſovereign, and of the illuſtrious princeſs, who, with an unſhaken firmneſs, has ſhared all the misfortunes of her royal conſort, his protracted ſufferings, his cruel captivity, his ignominious death. The inhabitants of that unfortunate country, ſo long flattered by the promiſes of happineſs, renewed at the period of every freſh crime, have found themſelves plunged into an abyſs of unexampled calamities; and neighbouring nations, inſtead of deriving a new ſecurity for the maintenance of general tranquillity, from the eſtabliſhment of a wiſe and moderate government, have been expoſed to the repeated attacks of a ferocious anarchy, the natural and neceſſary enemy of all public order. They have had to encounter acts of aggreſſion without pretext, open violations of all treaties, unprovoked declarations of war; in a word, whatever corruption, intrigue, or violence could effect, for the purpoſe ſo openly avowed of ſubverting all the inſtitutions of ſociety, and of extending over all the nations of Europe that confuſion which has produced the miſery of France.

This ſtate of things cannot exiſt in France without involving all the ſurrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without impoſing it upon them as a duty, to ſtop the progreſs of an evil which exiſts only by the ſucceſſive violation of all law and all property, and which attacks the fundamental principles by which mankind is united in the bonds of civil ſociety. His Majeſty by no means diſputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wiſh to employ the influence of external force with reſpect to the particular forms of government to be eſtabliſhed in an independent country. Neither has he now that with, except in ſo far as ſuch interference is become eſſential to the ſecurity and repoſe of other powers. Under theſe circumſtances, he demands from France, and he demands with juſtice, the termination of a ſyſtem of anarchy, which has no force but for the purpoſes of miſchief, unable to diſcharge the primary duty of all government, to repreſs the diſorders, or to puniſh the crimes which are daily increaſing in the interior of the country, but diſpoſing arbitrarily of the property and blood of the inhabitants of France, in order to diſturb the tranquillity of other nations, and to render all Europe the theatre of the ſame crimes, and of the ſame miſfortunes. The King demands that ſome legitimate and ſtable government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, founded on the acknowledged principles of univerſal juſtice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accuſtomed relations of union and of peace. His Majeſty wiſhes ardently to be enabled to treat for the reeſtabliſhment of general tranquillity with ſuch a government, exerciſing a legal and permanent authority, animated with the wiſh for general tranquillity, and poſſeſſing power to enforce the obſervance of its engagements. The King would propoſe none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not ſuch as the expences, the riſques, and the ſacrifices of the war might juſtify, but ſuch as his Majeſty thinks himſelf under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of requiring, with a view to theſe conſiderations, and ſtill more to that of his own ſecurity, and of the future tranquillity of Europe. His Majeſty

deſires

desires nothing more sincerely than thus to terminate a war which he in vain endeavoured to avoid, and all the calamities of which, as now experienced by France, are to be attributed only to the ambition, the perfidy, and the violence of those, whose crimes have involved their own country in misery, and disgraced all civilized nations.

As his Majesty has hitherto been compelled to carry on war against the people of France collectively, to treat as enemies all those who suffer their property and blood to be lavished in support of an unjust aggression, his Majesty would see with infinite satisfaction the opportunity of making exceptions in favour of the well-disposed inhabitants of other parts of France, as he has already done with respect to those of Toulon. The king promises, on his part, the suspension of hostilities, friendship, and (as far as the course of events will allow, of which the will of man cannot dispose) security and protection to all those who, by declaring for a monarchical government, shall shake off the yoke of a sanguinary anarchy; of that anarchy which has broken all the most sacred bonds of society, dissolved all the relations of civil life, violated every right, confounded every duty; which uses the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, to annihilate all property, to seize on all possessions; which founds its power on the pretended consent of the people, and itself carries fire and sword through extensive provinces, for having demanded their laws, their religion, and their lawful sovereign.

It is then in order to deliver themselves from this unheard-of oppression, to put an end to a system of unparalleled crimes, and to restore at length tranquillity to France, and security to all Europe, that his Majesty invites the co-operation of the people of France. It is for these objects that he calls upon them to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy, not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion; and to secure at length their own country, external peace, domestic tranquillity, a real and genuine liberty, a wise, moderate, and beneficent government, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of all the advantages which can contribute to the happiness and prosperity of a great and powerful nation.

Speech of John *Earl of* Westmorland, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *to both Houses of Parliament, Jan.* 10.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE his Majesty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to express his satisfaction in resorting to your counsels in the present situation of affairs.

His Majesty feels the utmost concern that various attempts should have been made to excite a spirit of discontent and disturbance, and that appearances should have manifested themselves in any part of this kingdom, of a design to effect by violence an alteration in the constitution.

It is an additional ground of uneasiness to his Majesty, that views of conquest and dominion should have

[illegible]

incited France to interfere with the government of other countries, and to adopt measures with regard to his majesty's allies, the States General, neither conformable to the laws of nations, nor the positive stipulations of existing treaties; especially when both his majesty and the States General had observed the strictest neutrality with regard to the affairs of France.

Under these circumstances, I have ordered, by his majesty's commands, an augmentation of the forces upon this establishment.

By the advice of the privy council, measures have been taken to prevent the exportation of corn, provisions, and naval stores, arms, and ammunition. The circumstances which rendered these measures necessary, will, I trust, justify any temporary infringement of the laws, and will induce you to give them a parliamentary sanction.

It will afford his majesty the greatest satisfaction, if by a temperate and firm conduct the blessings of peace may be continued; but he feels assured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the security and interests of his dominions, and to fulfil those positive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown, and the general interests of the empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I have no doubt of your readiness to grant such supplies for the public service, as the honour and security of his majesty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the protestant charter-schools, and other public institutions, which have so repeatedly been the objects of your care, will, I doubt not, engage your accustomed regard and liberality.

I am to recommend to you, in his majesty's name, to adopt such measures as may be most advisable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity; and for this purpose to render more effectual the law for establishing a militia in this kingdom.

His majesty has the fullest confidence that you will, on all occasions, shew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his majesty's cordial co-operation and support: and I have it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's catholic subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his majesty's catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies which I have received of your approbation, and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by strenuously exerting the power with which I am entrusted, for the maintenance of our excellent

excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as the beſt ſecurity for the liberty of the ſubject, and the proſperity of Ireland.

Proteſt in the Houſe of Lords of Ireland *againſt the Bill for preventing Unlawful Aſſemblies, July* 10.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE we are clearly of opinion that the laws, as they now ſtand, are amply ſufficient to curb licentiouſneſs of every ſort, and to prevent or puniſh all ſuch crimes as may be injurious to the ſtate, or ſubverſive of public tranquillity.

Becauſe, even though it were true that any evil exiſted, ſuch as might ſeem to require a new law to counteract its effects, we conceive that laws made on particular emergencies, and enacted on the ſpur of the occaſion, are at all times dangerous to conſtitutional liberty, inaſmuch as they are uſually framed in haſte, and perhaps under the influence of paſſion or of arbitary principle, and are apt therefore to entail upon the ſtate a real and permanent evil, inſtead of the evaneſcent and temporary inconvenience they aſſume to obviate.

Becauſe that as this bill aſſumes to itſelf the ſtyle and character of a declaratory, as well as of an enacting law, we cannot enough teſtify our diſapprobation of the dangerous practice of grounding a declaration of law upon the foundation of old and obſolete ſtatutes, enacted in arbitary times, fallen into diſuſe from the increaſing wiſdom and ſpirit of the age, yet ſuffered to lie unrepealed, and eſteemed by all ſound and conſtitutional lawyers the lumber and diſgrace of the ſtatute books.

Becauſe we conceive it to be not only improper, but highly indecent, that a law of ſuch delicate importance ſhould be brought forward at a ſeaſon when, from various cauſes, the houſe is ſo ill attended, and deprived of many of its wiſeſt and beſt members.

We therefore ſolemnly proteſt againſt the committal of this bill, at the ſame time declaring our utter diſapprobation of all ſuch meetings or conventions as it purpoſes to prevent, and firmly truſting that our fellow citizens, warned and inſtructed by the ſad experience of neighbouring countries, will cautiouſly abſtain from every proceeding which can in any degree tend to public diſorder.

LEINSTER,
ARRAN,
CHARLEMONT.

July 10.

Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *Auguſt* 16.

THE Commons attend your excellency with the bills which complete the ſupplies of this year to a larger amount than was ever granted in any one ſeſſion. They offer them with the moſt cordial gratitude to a monarch, whoſe conſtant and unwearied object has uniformly been the happineſs of his people, and the preſervation of all their rights and liberties. This gratitude would, if poſſible, be increaſed by his Majeſty's gracious mark of his paternal attention in the ſurrender of his power over his hereditary revenues,

revenues, and accepting a limited ſum for the expences of his civil liſt, a meaſure eſſential for effectuating in this kingdom a ſimilar controul over the application of the public money to that which has been long eſtabliſhed in Great Britain.

The proviſion for a national militia makes a conſiderable part of theſe ſupplies; an acquiſition long wiſhed for, as the true conſtitutional defence and ſecurity for a nation's liberties, but the effectual eſtabliſhment of which has been reſerved for your excellency's adminiſtration.

Great as theſe ſupplies are, they do not interfere with the continuance of the uſual bounties for trade and manufactures, nor do they prevent a proviſion to the amount of half a million for the ſupport of commercial credit; and the Commons look back with ſingular ſatisfaction on the wiſdom of that ſyſtem, which, by preventing the increaſe of debt in the days of peace, has reſerved the reſources of the nation for the time of war, and has enabled them to raiſe theſe large ſums without increaſing the taxes.

They feel a particular gratification on being able to provide thus largely for the ſupport of commercial credit, at a time when the power of trade has been conſiderably enlarged by meaſures of the moſt beneficial tendency to the happineſs of both kingdoms, and which, by mutual marks of favour, without bargain or ſtipulated exchange, muſt ſtrengthen that union, on the continuance of which depends their mutual proſperity.

Ireland, in the regulation of the Eaſt India trade, agreeable to the wiſhes of the ſiſter kingdom, has conferred a great favour, and ſhe receives with thanks the admiſſion of the goods of Aſia, Africa, and America, from hence into the Britiſh ports.

The firm and vigorous meaſures which your excellency has adopted for reſtoring tranquillity, and defeating the deſigns of thoſe who wiſhed to raiſe diſcontents, and to introduce the principles of French anarchy and ſavage wildneſs, will ever have the warmeſt thanks of a grateful people; the moderation with which they were tempered, while it gave them dignity, added conſequence to their weight; and when aided by thoſe ſalutary laws, with which this ſeſſion will have ſtrengthened the executive power, they cannot fail to ſecure to us the bleſſings of internal tranquillity.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland *to both Houſes of Parliament, Auguſt* 16.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE wiſdom and firmneſs that have diſtinguiſhed your conduct during the preſent ſeſſion, and the attention you have afforded to the many important objects of your deliberations, demand my ſincere acknowledgments, and enable me to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have his majeſty's commands to thank you for the liberal ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice, and for the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government. You may rely upon their faithful application.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The wiſdom and liberality with which you attended to his majeſty's recommendation in favour of his Roman catholic ſubjects, are highly pleaſing to the king.

You may be fully ſenſible of his majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion in committing to your judgment the application of the hereditary revenue And I am ordered by his majeſty to ſignify his approbation of the proviſions which have been made for the ſupport of his civil government, and the honour and dignity of his crown; and to expreſs his confidence that your liberal conceſſions to the Roman catholics, and the meaſures for the regulation of the public expenditure, and for the limitation of offices and penſions, to which his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to conſent with a view to the advantage of the public, will cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes of his majeſty's ſubjects in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

His majeſty has ſeen with real ſatisfaction that friendly diſpoſition which has been manifeſted by the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for ſtrengthening the connection of the two kingdoms by mutual acts of conceſſion. I am authorized to acquaint you that an act has paſſed the Britiſh parliament, to permit goods of Aſia, Africa, and America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great Britain. This is a ſignal proof of her attention to your intereſts, while the confirmation of the charter of the Eaſt India company by the parliament of Ireland diſplays on your part a cordial zeal for the ſupport of Great Britain, and a judicious conſideration of the great and eſſential intereſt of the empire.

I am to make my acknowledgments for the many ſalutary laws you have enacted to ſtrengthen the executive government; which will materially tend to defeat the deſigns of the enemies to the freedom and happineſs of this kingdom.

The apprehenſions of embarraſſment which for a time hung over commercial tranſactions, were to me a ſubject of the utmoſt anxiety; and I am to return you many thanks for ſanctioning thoſe meaſures which I took in ſupport of credit, and which I truſt have had the happieſt effect in preventing the ill conſequences of ſuch apprehenſions.

The ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed among the lower claſſes of the people, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, has ſince burſt into acts of riot and inſurrection; and I have been under the painful neceſſity of employing his majeſty's forces, whoſe ſteadineſs and good conduct have on all occaſions been manifeſted, and by whoſe exertions the civil magiſtrates have been enabled in a great meaſure to reſtore the general tranquillity.

Under all the circumſtances of the country, I thought it proper to call forth a very conſiderable portion of the militia of this kingdom. I am to expreſs his majeſty's approbation of a meaſure which affords a preſent material aſſiſtance, and lays the foundation of a permanent conſtitutional force, that has been found, by experience in Great Britain, of great reſource in public emergencies.

His majeſty feels, with the greateſt concern, the expence brought upon the people by domeſtic diſturbance,

turbance, added to the consequence of a foreign war, into which we have been forced by the wanton and unprovoked aggression of France; but you will reflect that you are contending for the preservation of your property, and for the security of your happy constitution.

The successes with which it hath pleased the divine providence to bless the arms of his majesty and his allies, afford the best prospect of a happy issue to this important contest; and it is his majesty's earnest hope, that a continuance of vigorous exertions will finally obtain a secure and lasting peace.

I have entire confidence, that in your respective counties you will exert your utmost influence in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in carrying the laws into full execution. You may be assured that I shall, on all occasions, take the most speedy and effectual measures, in the exercise of those powers with which I am invested, for the suppression of outrage and tumult, and the protection of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects.

Report from the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords in 1793.

My Lords,

THE committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, have examined into the matters to them referred, as far as the time would permit, but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger, in the present circumstances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the House immediately such information as they conceive to be material for the present, which is as follows:

The people at this time called defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the committee could discover, of the Roman catholic persuasion; in general poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they are assisting the catholic cause; in other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of Louth in considerable bodies in April last, several of them were armed; they assembled mostly in the night, and forced into the houses of Protestants, and took from them their arms. The disorders soon spread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other parts adjacent; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy, and a degree of regularity and system not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of money to a considerable amount have been levied, and still continue to be levied, upon the Roman catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by subscription and collections at their chapels and elsewhere, some of which levies have been made, and still continue to be made under the autho-

rity of a printed circular letter, which has been sent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think it our duty to insert herein.

'Sir,

'By an order of the sub-committee, dated the 15th of January, 'I had the honour to forward you 'a plan for a general subscription, 'which had for its object the raising 'a fund for defraying the heavy 'and growing expences incurred 'by the general committee, in conducting the affairs of the catholics of Ireland. As several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to 'my ignorance of the address of 'many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan 'is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom. A measure so 'strongly enforced by necessity, and 'so consonant to justice, cannot 'fail to attract your very serious attention; the committee having the 'most perfect reliance on your zeal, 'are therefore confident that you 'will use your best exertions to 'carry this necessary business into 'full effect.

'Dublin, February 5, 1793.

'Signed by the Secretary of 'the sub-committee.

'P. S. It is hoped that you will 'acknowledge the receipt of this 'letter, stating at the same time 'whatever progress has been made 'in your district.'

Several seditious and inflammatory papers, published in Dublin, and dispersed through the country, seem to have countenanced and encouraged the defenders in their proceedings, and it appears, that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman catholics at Dublin, previous to the last summer assizes, to a person resident at Dundalk, in one of which the said person, in the name of the said Roman catholic committee, directed enquiries to be made touching the offences of which the defenders then in confinement were accused, which enquires will be best explained by inserting the said letter in the words following:

'Dublin, 9th August, 1792.

'Dear Sir,

'I received this day your favour 'of the 8th instant, inclosing the different papers respecting the business 'I wrote you. It is with much regret 'that I am obliged to reply, that 'from the want of information on 'the subject matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be 'formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable; the 'committee are consequently in the 'dark as to the measures that should 'be adopted, nor can your exertions 'accelerate (as it seems) that period 'until the assizes, when you will be 'able to obtain office copies of the 'examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly disconsolate, in not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman; he however 'did his best in the affair.

'I am, dear Sir,

'your obedient servant,

'John Sweetman.'

'P. S. If any new occurrence 'should happen, be good enough to 'inform me of it.'

And it does appear, that the said person to whom the said letter was addressed

addreſſed at Dundalk, did employ, at a conſiderable expence, an agent and counſel to act for ſeveral perſons who were accuſed of being defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to ſtate, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing ſuch diſturbances, or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however ſuſpicious the conduct of ill-diſpoſed individuals of their perſuaſion, reſident in Dublin, may have been. If all the magiſtrates in the diſturbed counties had followed the ſpirited example of the few, who, much to their honour, exerted themſelves with vigour and courage to ſupport the laws, the committee are perſuaded that theſe diſturbances might have been ſuppreſſed; but inſtead of doing ſo, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee are of opinion, that the beſt means of reſtoring permanent tranquillity in the diſturbed counties, would be to procure a ſufficient number of active, reſolute, and ſteady magiſtrates therein, who would exert themſelves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from theſe deluded people all hope or expectation of ſupport or defence ariſing from a common fund to be levied upon perſons of their communion.

An unuſual ferment has for ſome months paſt diſturbed ſeveral parts of the north, particularly the town of Belfaſt, and the county of Antrim; it is kept up and encouraged by ſeditious papers and pamphlets of the moſt dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconſiderable rates in Dublin and Belfaſt, which iſſue almoſt daily from certain ſocieties of men, or clubs, in both thoſe places, calling themſelves committees under various deſcriptions, and carrying on a conſtant correſpondence with each other. Theſe publications are circulated amongſt the people with the utmoſt induſtry, and appear to be calculated to defame the government and parliament, and to render the people diſſatisfied with their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is ſhamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their aſſiſtance by a deſcent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfaſt from the pulpit for the ſucceſs of their arms, in the preſence of military aſſociations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men aſſociated themſelves in Dublin, under the title of the Firſt National Battalion; their uniform is copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waiſtcoat and ſtriped trowſers, gilt buttons, impreſſed with a harp, and letters importing 'Firſt 'National Battalion,' no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats were left at two ſhops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the north, armed and diſciplined under officers choſen by themſelves, and compoſed moſtly of the loweſt claſſes of the people. Theſe bodies are daily increaſing in numbers and force; they have exerted their beſt

endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, some of them having expresly stated, that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder, to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, have been sent within these few months to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candlelight, and attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies is to procure a reform of parliament, but the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbear mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of this kingdom to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they please, without any legal authority: And that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the king's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity.

Note sent by M. Chauvelin, *Minister Plenipotentiary from his Most Christian Majesty, to Lord* Grenville, *one of his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, Dec.* 27, 1792.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of France has the honour to communicate to lord Grenville the inſtructions which he has received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for the department of foreign affairs, in caſe he ſhould think that he could not ſpeedily enough obtain an interview with the miniſter.

The French government, by continuing, ſince the recall of lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London a miniſter plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic majeſty an unequivocal proof of the deſire they had to remain in good underſtanding with the Britiſh court, and to ſee all thoſe clouds diſſipated, to which events, neceſſary and inſeparable from the internal government of France, ſeemed then to have given birth. The intentions of the executive council of France toward England have never ceaſed to be the ſame, but they cannot ſee with indifference the public conduct which the Britiſh miniſtry obſerve at preſent toward France. It is much to be regretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indiſpoſition which they ſtill force themſelves not to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it much longer in that ſtate of uncertainty into which

which it has been thrown by several measures lately adopted by the British government—an uncertainty in which the English nation must share, and which must be equally unworthy of both. The executive council of the French republic have consequently authorized the minister of France at London to demand with openness of the ministers of his Britannic majesty, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power, and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a definitive answer. But in demanding from the ministers of his Britannic majesty an open and candid explanation of their intentions toward France, the executive council do not wish that the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France toward England, and of its desire to remain at peace with it. They even wish to answer previously to all those reproaches which may be thrown out against France, in order to justify England. Reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Britannic majesty to break with the French republic, the executive council can see them only in a false interpretation, given perhaps to the decree of the national convention of Nov. 19. If the British ministry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The national convention never intended that the French republic should favour insurrections and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot without injustice be imputed to the national convention. This decree then is applicable only to those people, who, after having conquered their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France not only ought and wishes to respect the independence of England; but that also of its allies, with whom it is not at war. The undersigned therefore has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itself, on its part, within the bounds of strict neutrality. The British government being thus assured respecting the two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheld —a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice, of little importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known, to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole cause of a war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace this last motive to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take the advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression, long ago meditated?

On this fatal supposition, which the executive council rejects, the undersigned would be authorized to support with energy the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmness that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and

so unprovoked on their part. When all these explanations, necessary to demonstrate the purity of the intentions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight, and the whole responsibility of the war, will sooner or later fall upon those who have provoked it. Such a war would really be the war of the British ministry only against the French republic; and should this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not perhaps be impossible for France to render it soon evident to a nation, which in giving its confidence, never renounced the exercise of reason, and its respect for justice and truth.

Such are the instructions which the undersigned has received orders to communicate officially to lord Grenville; inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic majesty, to weigh with the most serious attention, the deliberations and demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation desires to preserve peace with England. It proves this, by endeavouring with candour and openness to remove every suspicion which so many passions and various prejudices are continually labouring to excite against it; but the more it shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of its views, and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will have to a claim of being no longer misunderstood.

The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note: he hopes that the ministers of his Britannic majesty will be induced, by the explanations which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good understanding between the two nations; and will have no occasion, in order to return to them, to consider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which would incontestably be their work; the consequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and in which a generous and free people could not long consent to betray their own interests, by serving to assist and support a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.

Lord Grenville's *Answer to the preceding Note.*

Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

Sir,

I have received from you a note, in which, styling yourself minister plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the instructions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant, that since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the king has thought proper to suspend all official communication with France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the king, than in the name of his most Christian majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new question, which, whenever it should occur, the king would have the right to decide according to the interests of his subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknow-

acknowledge you in no other public character than that of miniſter from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and that conſequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the king's miniſters in the quality, and under the form ſtated in your note.

But obſerving that you have entered into explanations of ſome of the circumſtances which have given to England ſuch ſtrong grounds of uneaſineſs and jealouſy, and that you ſpeak of theſe explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification ſtated above, without at the ſame time explaining myſelf clearly and diſtinctly on the ſubject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

Your explanations are confined to three points:

The firſt is, that of the decree of the national convention of the 19th of November, in the expreſſions of which all England ſaw the formal declaration of a deſign to extend univerſally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage diſorder and revolt in all countries, even in thoſe which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you repreſent as injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well juſtified by the conduct of the convention itſelf. And the application of theſe principles to the king's dominions has been ſhewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of ſedition in this country, and by the ſpeeches made to them preciſely at the time of this decree, and ſince, on ſeveral different occaſions.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe proofs, ſupported by other circumſtances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleaſure that we ſhould have ſeen here ſuch explanations, and ſuch a conduct, as would have ſatisfied the dignity and honour of England, with reſpect to what has already paſſed, and would have offered a ſufficient ſecurity in future, for the maintenance of that reſpect toward the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

Neither this ſatisfaction, nor this ſecurity, is found in the terms of an explanation which ſtill declares to the promoters of ſedition in every country, what are the caſes in which they may count beforehand on the ſupport and ſuccour of France; and which reſerves to that country the right of mixing herſelf in our internal affairs, whenever ſhe ſhall judge it proper, and on principles incompatible with the political inſtitutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage diſorder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the reſpect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to thoſe principles which the king has followed, on his part, by forbearing at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contraſt is alone ſufficient to ſhew, not only that England cannot conſider ſuch an explanation as ſatisfactory, but that ſhe muſt look upon it as a freſh avowal of thoſe diſpoſitions which

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ſhe ſees with ſo juſt an uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general diſpoſitions of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of the convention and its officers relative to the Scheld. The declaration which you there make, 'that France will not attack Holland ſo long as that power ſhall obſerve an exact neutrality,' is conceived nearly in the ſame terms with that which you were charged to make in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty in the month of June laſt. Since that firſt declaration was made, an officer, ſtating himſelf to be employed in the ſervice of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic, in going up the Scheld, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithſtanding the determination of the government not to grant this paſſage, and the formal proteſt by which they oppoſed it. Since the ſame declaration was made, the convention has thought itſelf authorized to annul the rights of the republic exerciſed within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the ſame treaties by which her independence is ſecured. And at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the ſame terms the promiſe of reſpecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that thoſe in whoſe name you ſpeak, intend to maintain theſe open and injurious aggreſſions.

It is not, certainly, on ſuch a declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you ſay on the ſubject of the Scheld. If it were true that this queſtion is in itſelf of little importance, this would only ſerve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmoſt importance is attached to thoſe principles which France wiſhes to eſtabliſh by this proceeding, and to thoſe conſequences which would naturally reſult from them: and that not only thoſe principles, and thoſe conſequences, will never be admitted by England, but that ſhe is, and ever will be, ready to oppoſe them with all her force.

France can have no right to annul the ſtipulations relative to the Scheld, unleſs ſhe have alſo the right to ſet aſide equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the queſtion of opening the Scheld, unleſs ſhe were the ſovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

England never will conſent that France ſhall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleaſure, and under pretence of a pretended natural right, of which ſhe makes herſelf the only judge, the political ſyſtem of Europe, eſtabliſhed by ſolemn treaties, and guaranteed by the conſent of all the powers. This

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government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will alſo never ſee with indifference that France ſhall make herſelf, either directly or indirectly, ſovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitreſs of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhew herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggreſſion and aggrandizement, and to confine herſelf within her own territory, without inſulting other governments, without diſturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

With reſpect to that character of ill will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of England toward France, I cannot diſcuſs it, becauſe you ſpeak of it in general terms only, without alleging a ſingle fact. All Europe has ſeen the juſtice and the generoſity which have characterized the conduct of the king: his majeſty has always been deſirous of peace: he deſires it ſtill, but ſuch as may be real and ſolid, and conſiſtent with the intereſts and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general ſecurity of Europe.

On the reſt of your paper I ſay nothing.—As to what relates to me and to my colleagues, the king's miniſters owe to his majeſty the account of their conduct; and I have no anſwer to give to you on this ſubject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propoſe to make to the Engliſh nation. This nation, according to that conſtitution by which its liberty and its proſperity are ſecured, and which it will always be able to defend againſt every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connection or correſpondence, except through the organ of its king: of a king whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an inſtant ſeparated his rights, his intereſts, and his happineſs, from the rights, the intereſts, and the happineſs of his people.

Signed) GRENVILLE.

Tranſlation of a Note from Monſieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, *dated 7th of January* 1793. *(Original returned.)*

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary from the French republic has tranſmitted to the executive council the anſwer which his excellency lord Grenville has addreſſed to him on his note of the 27th December. He has thought it his duty not to wait for the inſtructions which will be the neceſſary reſult of it, in order to tranſmit to that miniſter the new orders which he has received from the executive council. The declaration which lord Grenville has made to him, that his Britannic majeſty did not acknowledge him as miniſter plenipotentiary from the French republic, has not appeared to him as if it ought to prevent him. This declaration cannot in any reſpect alter or deſtroy the quality of delegate from the French government, with which the underſigned is evidently inveſted, or hinder him, in ſuch deciſive circumſtances, from addreſſing the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty, in the name of the French people, of which he is the organ, the following note:

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The executive council of the French republic has been informed, that the Britiſh parliament is about to paſs a law relative to foreigners, the rigorous proviſions of which will ſubject them to meaſures the more arbitrary, as the ſecretaries of ſtate of his Britannic majeſty will have the liberty of reſtraining or extending them, according to their views and their pleaſure. The executive council, knowing the religious fidelity of the Engliſh people in fulfilling their engagements, could not but ſuppoſe that the French would be expreſsly excepted from this law. The treaty of navigation and of commerce, concluded in 1786 between the ſtates, ought formally to ſecure them from it. This treaty ſtipulates,

Article 4.

'The ſubjects and inhabitants of 'the reſpective dominions of the 'two ſovereigns ſhall have liberty to 'come and go freely and ſecurely, 'without licence or paſſport, gene-'ral or ſpecial, by land or by ſea, 'and to return from thence, to re-'main there, or to paſs through the 'ſame, and therein to buy and pur-'chaſe, as they pleaſe, all things 'neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance and 'uſe, and they ſhall mutually be 'treated with all kindneſs and fa-'vour. Provided however, &c. &c.'

But inſtead of finding in the bill propoſed a juſt exception in favour of France, the executive council has been convinced, by poſitive declarations made in the two houſes of parliament, by miniſterial explanations and interpretations, that this project of a law, under a general term of deſignation, was principally directed againſt the French.

When the Britiſh miniſtry has propoſed a law which would ſo expreſsly violate the treaty of commerce, when they have openly announced their intention of putting it into execution againſt the French alone, their firſt care muſt, no doubt, have been to attempt to cover this extraordinary meaſure with an appearance of neceſſity, and to prepare beforehand a juſtification, ſooner or later neceſſary, by loading the French nation with reproaches; by repreſenting it to the Engliſh people as an enemy of its conſtitution; by accuſing it, without being able to furniſh any proof, and in the moſt injurious terms, with having ſought to foment troubles in England. The executive council has already repelled with indignation ſuch ſuſpicions. If ſome men, caſt out from the boſom of France, have ſpread themſelves in Great Britain with the criminal intention of agitating the people, of leading them to revolt, has not England laws to protect the public order? Could ſhe not puniſh them? The republic would aſſuredly not have interpoſed in their favour.—Such men are not Frenchmen.

Reproaches ſo little founded, imputations ſo inſidious, will with difficulty ſucceed in juſtifying in the eyes of Europe a conduct, the compariſon of which with that conſtantly held by France towards Great Britain, will ſuffice to demonſtrate its injuſtice and malevolence. The French nation, become free, has not only not ceaſed to expreſs, in all forms, its deſire to ſtrengthen its connection with the Engliſh people, but it has realiſed this deſire with all its power, by receiving as allies, as brothers, all the individuals of the Engliſh nation. In the midſt of the combats of liberty

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and of despotism, in the midst of the most violent agitations, it has honoured itself by a religious respect for all foreigners residing within it, and particularly for the English, whatever might be their opinions, their conduct, and their connections with the enemies of liberty; every where they have been assisted, succoured with every kind of benevolence and favour; and it would be as the reward for this generous conduct, that the French would find themselves perhaps alone subjected to an act of parliament, which would grant to the English government the most arbitrary latitude of authority against foreigners, which would subject them to the taking *licences or passports for coming, going, and remaining in England; which would allow the secretaries of state to subject them without reasons, and on a mere suspicion, to the most odious forms, to fix a circuit, the bounds of which they could not pass, and even to cast them out of the territory of Great Britain at their pleasure.*

It is evident, that all these clauses are contrary to the letter of the treaty of commerce, the fourth article of which extends to all Frenchmen without distinction; and it is too much to be feared, that in consequence of the determination which his Britannic majesty has thought it right to take, of breaking off all communication between the governments of the two countries, even the French merchants may find themselves frequently unable to avail themselves of the exception which the bill has made in favour of those who "*shall prove that they "came to England for affairs of commerce.*"

It is thus that the British government has first chosen to break a treaty to which England owes a great part of its actual prosperity, burthensome to France, wrested by address and ability from the unskilfulness or from the corruption of the agents of a government it has destroyed; a treaty which it has, however, never ceased to observe religiously; and it is at the very moment when France is accused in the British parliament of violating treaties, that the public conduct of the two governments offers a contrast so proper to justify the retorting the accusation.

All the powers of Europe would have a right, doubtless, to complain of the hardship of this bill, if ever it obtained the force of law; but it is France especially, the inhabitants of which, secured from its penalties by a solemn treaty, appear nevertheless to be exclusively menaced by them: it is France that has the right to pretend to a more speedy and more particular satisfaction.

The executive council might immediately have accepted the rupture of the treaty which the English government seems to have held out to it; but it was unwilling to precipitate any of its measures; and it has chosen, before it makes known its definitive resolution, to afford the British ministry the opportunity of a frank and candid explanation. The undersigned has received orders, in consequence, to demand of lord Grenville to inform him by a speedy, clear, and categorical answer, whether, under the general denomination of foreigners, in the bill on which the Houses are occupied, the government of Great Britain means likewise to include the French. (Signed) CHAUVELIN.

Portman Square, 7th January, 1793, Second Year of the French Republic.

Translation

Translation of a Note from Lord Grenville *to Monsieur* Chauvelin, *Jan. 7th*, 1793.

AFTER the formal notification which the underſigned has already had the honour of making to Monſieur Chauvelin, he finds himſelf obliged to ſend back to him the incloſed paper, which he received from him this morning, and which he cannot but conſider as being totally inadmiſſible, Monſieur Chauvelin aſſuming therein a character which is not acknowledged.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitehall, January 7th, 1793.

Translation of a Letter from Monſieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, *dated 7th* January, 1793, *received 9th.*

Portman Square, 7th January, 1793, 2d year of the French Republic.

My Lord,

THE king of England has prohibited, by a proclamation of the 15th of November, the exportation of grain and flour. Several veſſels lawfully freighted, and ready to depart for France, the government whereof had ordered conſiderable purchaſes of thoſe commodities in the ports of England, have been ſtopped, notwithſtanding the law which enacts that the ports ſhall not be ſhut till fifteen days after the date of the proclamation; and the Britiſh miniſtry have themſelves acknowledged the irregularity of ſome of their meaſures, by applying to parliament for an act of indemnity. However, the French government, relying at that time on the good diſpoſitions of the Britiſh miniſtry, beheld in thoſe meaſures of vigour only the effect of the foreſight and wiſdom of the Engliſh adminiſtration, and did not think it neceſſary to remonſtrate.

Another proclamation, which ſoon followed the firſt, excepted all foreign wheat from the prohibition of exportation; it was guaranteeing to all Europe the ſecurity of tranſports, by removing, in an authentic and ſolemn manner, all the doubts to which the firſt proclamation might have given riſe; it was inſuring to the Engliſh commerce a conſiderable repoſitory; it was above all diſtinguiſhing the ports of Great Britain as a ſacred aſylum for ſuch veſſels laden with grain, and deſtined for France, as, for their convenience, or by neceſſity, might be in the caſe of ſtopping in their courſe.

Four weeks after that declaration, ſome veſſels laden with foreign grain, on account of France, were ſtopped in the Engliſh ports; and when the merchants who were commiſſioned made their claims, they were coldly anſwered, that it was by order of government.

France, my lord, might ſtill have perſuaded herſelf that ſome recent and unexpected information upon the ſtate of proviſions in Great Britain had obliged adminiſtration to take ſuch extraordinary meaſures; but the Engliſh government itſelf took care to prove to Europe that it had no other motive than an hoſtile partiality againſt France, if it is true that the cuſtom houſes received orders to permit the exportation of foreign wheat to all ports, except thoſe of France.

This fact, my lord, has been atteſted to me by reſpectable authorities; and however accumulated

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may be the marks of malevolence and jealousy which France has seen for some time in the conduct of the British cabinet. I still harbour doubts of it. I should, the first moment of my knowing it, have waited upon you, my lord, to be assured from yourself of its certainty, or of its falsehood, if the determination taken by his Britannic majesty, in the present circumstances, to break off all communication between the governments of the two countries, had not rendered friendly and open steps the more difficult, in proportion as they became the more necessary.

But I considered, my Lord, that when the question of war or peace arose between two powerful nations, that which manifested the desire of attending to all explanations, that which strove the longest to preserve the last link of union and friendship, was the only one which appeared truly worthy, and truly great. I beseech you, my lord, in the name of public faith, in the name of justice and of humanity, to explain to me facts which I will not characterise, and which the French nation would take for granted by your silence only, or by the refusal of an answer.

Think, my lord, that in the bosom of peace, far from all appearance of war, the English government has profited of the good faith of the merchants of Europe, and of the security of a neighbouring and friendly nation, to bring into its ports those commodities of which it supposed or knew the want in that country, if now that same ministry should take advantage of the first hostile measures, which they had either taken themselves, or provoked, to detain such commodities, in the hope, perhaps, that, in the midst of the agitations of that country, it would suffice, to excite the fear of want, to create it; they would only obtain, as the reward of such an act of perfidy, even by the success of their enterprize, the shame of having employed means, which even in the midst of a terrible war, an enlightened and generous nation must abhor, and of having sunk the credit of the English commerce, by violating the sacred asylum of its markets.

I have the honour, &c,

F. Chauvelin.

Letter from Lord Grenville *to Monsieur* Chauvelin, *9th January*, 1793.

At Whitehall, the 9th January, 1793.

It was not till to-day, Sir, that I received your letter of the 7th of this month, relative to certain measures taken here with respect to the exportation of grain.

In the private conversation which we had the 29th of November, in consequence of your desire, I informed you that the king's ministers would not decline receiving non-official communications, which, without deciding the question either of the acknowledgment of the new government in France, or of receiving a minister accredited by her, might offer the means of removing the misunderstanding which already manifested itself between the two countries.

It has been thought preferable in France to bring forward difficulties of form; and the first communication which I received from you,

after that communication, was that of the note of the 27th December, to which I have already answered. I do not know in what capacity you address me the letter which I have just received; but in every case, it would be necessary to know the resolutions which shall have been taken in France, in consequence of what has already passed, before I can enter into any new explanations, especially with respect to measures founded in a great degree on those motives of jealousy and uneasiness which I have already detailed to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville, *11th Jan.* 1793; *received the* 12th.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic has given an account to the executive council, of the form in which lord Grenville has been authorized to reject the explanation which has been offered him in the name and on behalf of the executive council, on the subject of the law relative to foreigners. The undersigned, until he has fresh instructions from the council, thinks it his duty not to delay to conform himself to those which he has already received, in declaring to lord Grenville, that the French republic cannot but regard the conduct of the English government as a manifest infraction of the treaty of commerce concluded between the two powers, and that consequently she ceases to consider herself as bound by that treaty, and that she regards it from this moment as broken and annulled.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

Portman-Square, 11th Jan. 1793, the Second Year of the French Republic.

Official Note of the Executive Power of France, *in Reply to Lord* Grenville, *of December the 31st, and delivered to him on the 13th of January.*

Paris, 4th Jan. 1793, Second Year of the Republic.

THE provisional executive council of the French republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the minister of his Britannic majesty, will begin by repeating to that minister the most express assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The sentiments of the French nation toward the English have been manifested during the whole course of the revolution, in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the smallest doubt of the esteem which it vows to them, and of its desire to have them for friends.

It is then with great reluctance, that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than to its interest. Before it proceeds to such a disagreeable extremity, explanations are necessary; and the object of them is so highly important, that the executive council have not thought that they could entrust them to a secret agent, always to be disavowed. For this reason they have

have thought proper, under every point of view, to entrust them to citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic majesty otherwise than from the late king.

The opinion of the executive council on this occasion is justified by the manner in which our negotiations are at the same time carried on in Spain, where citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the same situation as citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the minister of the catholic king from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the minister for foreign affairs and the chargé des affaires of Spain. We will even add, that the principal minister of his catholic majesty, when writing officially on this subject to citizen Bourgoign, did not forget to give him his title of minister plenipotentiary of France. The example of a power of the first rank, such as Spain, might have induced the executive council to hope to find the same facility at London. The executive council, however, readily acknowledge that this negotiation has not been demanded according to diplomatic strictness, and that citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorized. To remove entirely this obstacle, and that they may not have to reproach themselves with having stopt, by a simple defect in form, a negotiation on the success of which depends the tranquillity of two great nations, they have sent to citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the severity of diplomatic forms.

To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the executive council observe on the first, that is to say, the decree of November 19, that we have been misunderstood by the ministers of his Britannic majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation, which announces to *the seditious of all nations*, what are the cases in which they may depend before-hand, on the succour and support of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the sentiments of the national convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was possible that the open design of favouring seditious persons could be imputed to us, at a moment, even when we declared, 'that it would be doing an injury to the national convention to ascribe to them the plan of protecting insurrections and seditious commotions, which might arise in any state; of associating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cause of a few individuals that of the French nation.'

We have said, and we choose to repeat it, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable, but to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can certainly never exist, when there is an expression of the general will; these two ideas mutually exclude each other; for sedition is and can only be a commotion of a small number against the majority of a nation; and this commotion would cease to be seditious, if all the members of a society should arise at once, either to correct their government, to

change its form entirely, or to accompliſh any other object.

The Dutch were certainly not ſeditious when they formed the generous reſolution of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and when the general will of that nation called on the aſſiſtance of France. It was not accounted a crime to Henry IV, nor to queen Elizabeth, that they liſtened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only baſis of tranſactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government but becauſe that government is ſuppoſed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of November 19th is reduced to its real ſignification, it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will above all conteſt, and ſo founded in right, that it was not worth while to expreſs it. For this reaſon, the executive council think that the evidence of this right might have perhaps rendered it unneceſſary for the national convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation.

It appears that the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty have made no objections under the declaration reſpecting Holland: ſince their only obſervation on this ſubject relates to the diſcuſſion concerning the Scheld; it is on this laſt point, therefore, that we have to make ourſelves underſtood.

We here repeat that this queſtion itſelf is of little importance. The Britiſh miniſters thence conclude, that it is therefore more evident that it has been brought forward only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England. We reply with much leſs warmth and prejudice, that this queſtion is abſolutely indifferent to England, that it is little intereſting to Holland, but that it is of the utmoſt importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little intereſting to Holland, ſince the productions of the Belgic Netherlands can be conveyed through the canals which end at Oſtend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is therefore on account of this importance, to reſtore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared that it is ready to ſupport them in the exerciſe of ſo legal a right.

But is France authorized to break ſtipulations which oppoſe the opening of the Scheld? If we conſult the right of nature, and not of nations, not only France, but all the nations of Europe are authorized to break them. No doubt can remain on this point.

If public right is conſulted, we ſay that it ought never to be but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumſtances in which nations may be in reſpect to each other; ſo that every private treaty which might violate theſe principles, could never be conſidered but as the work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheld, the treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The emperor, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, ſacrificed, without ſcruple, the moſt inviolable of rights. Being maſter

of these beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has seen, with a rod of absolute despotism, respected none of their privileges but those which were of importance for him to preserve, and continually attacked or destroyed the rest. France entering into a war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and restores liberty to those people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to slavery. Their chains are broken: they are restored to all those rights which the house of Austria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheld be excepted, especially when it is of real importance only to those who were deprived of it? In short, France has too good a profession of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The executive council declares then, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not mean to establish itself an universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to respect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own respected. It does not wish to give law to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and still renounces all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time, which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will be sufficiently rewarded.

When that nation shall find itself in the full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheld, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheld, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence, even in their errors.

After so frank a declaration, which manifests such a sincere desire of peace, the ministers of his Britannic majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war, conscious at least of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear.

(Signed) LE BRUN.

Letter from Lord Grenville *to M.* Chauvelin, *in Answer to the Explanations of the Provisional Executive Council, Jan.* 4.

Whitehall, Jan. 18, 1793.

I HAVE examined, sir, with the utmost attention, the paper you remitted to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot help remarking, that I have found nothing satisfactory in the result of it. The explanations which it contains are nearly reduced to the same points which

I have already replied to at length. The declaration of wishing to intermeddle with the affairs of other countries, is therein renewed. No denial is made, nor reparation offered, for the outrageous proceedings stated to you in my letter of Dec. 31st; and the right of infringing treaties, and violating the rights of our allies, is still maintained, by solely offering an illusory negotiation upon this subject, which is put off, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite term, not only of the conclusion of the war, but likewise of the consolidation of what is called the liberty of the Belgians.

It is added, that if these explanations appear insufficient to us; if you should be again obliged to hear a haughty tone of language; if hostile preparations should continue in the ports of England—after having tried every effort to preserve peace, you will then make dispositions for war.

If this notification, or that relative to the treaty of commerce, had been made to me under a regular and official form, I should have found myself under the necessity of replying to it, that to threaten Great Britain with a declaration of war because she judged it expedient to augment her forces, and also to declare that a solemn treaty should be broken, because England adopted for her own safety such precautions as already exist in France, would only be considered, both the one and the other, as new grounds of offence, which, as long as they should subsist, would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation.

Under this form of unofficial communication, I think I may yet be permitted to tell you, not in a tone of haughtiness but of firmness, that these explanations are not considered sufficient, and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations still continue. These motives are already known to you by my letter of December 31st, in which I marked in precise terms what those dispositions were, which could alone maintain peace and a good understanding. I do not see that it can be useful to the object of conciliation to enter into a discussion with you on separate points under the present circumstances, as I have already acquainted you with my opinion concerning them. If you have any explanations to give me under the same extra-official form, which will embrace all the objects contained in my letter of the 31st December, as well as all the points which relate to the present crisis with England, her allies, and the general system of Europe, I shall willingly attend to them.

I think it, however, my duty to inform you in the most positive terms, in answer to what you tell me on the subject of our preparations, that under the present circumstances all those measures will be continued, which may be judged necessary to place us in a state of protecting the safety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country, as well as to guarantee those of our allies; and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandizement, dangerous at all times to the rest of Europe, but which become still more so, being supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Translation

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin *to Lord* Grenville.

Portman Square, 17th January, 1793, 2d year of the French Republic.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour of addressing myself to you, to beg of you to grant me an interview. I shall proceed to explain the motives of this request, and you will judge them to be such as will not admit of delay. I shall first desire of you, my lord, security for my communications with the French government. Whatever may be the character which you acknowledge me to possess, you have at least never doubted of the authenticity of the declarations which I have transmitted to you in the name of the French nation. I will therefore propose to you, my lord, either absolutely to refuse hearing me, or to give orders for my couriers to be respected, and the secrecy of my letters, as well of those sent as received, to be observed.

I will then, my lord, require to be informed whether his Britannic majesty will receive my letters of credence, and if he be satisfied with the declarations contained in the paper which I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship last Sunday. I have not only received fresh orders from the executive council of France, to insist upon a speedy and definitive answer; but there is yet another reason which urgently presses for the decision of his Britannic majesty.—I have learnt this day, that the law relating to foreigners obliges them to make their declaration within ten days after the 10th of January; and in case of any foreigner, who is amenable to this law, neglecting or refusing to make such declaration, the magistrates of this country would be authorized not only to require him to do so, but even to imprison him. I know, my lord, and all those who understand the rights of nations know it also, that I cannot be implicated in this law: the avowed and acknowledged organ of a government which executes laws to which twenty-five million of men have submitted themselves, my person is, and ought to be sacred; and even under my diplomatic character, my lord, I could not be ranked among the general common class of foreigners, until his Britannic majesty should have definitively rejected the letters of credence which he knows I have received for him. But had I been implicated in this law, I owe to the government of a free and powerful nation, which I represent, this declaration, that it would be impossible for me to submit to it; and that all the persecutions which it might please his Britannic majesty to make me endure, would fall upon the French nation, in whose cause and for whose sake it would be my glory to suffer.

After this candid declaration, my lord, thinking myself entitled to an equal sincerity on your side, I will desire of you, in the conversation which I solicit, to inform me, what is the conduct which his Britannic majesty's ministers mean to hold with respect to me, and with respect to the persons who compose my household, in consequence of the law against foreigners.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

Letter from Lord Grenville *to Monsieur* Chauvelin, *January* 20, 1793.

Whitehall, 20th January, 1793.

I HAVE received, Sir, your letter of the 17th of this month. I have already informed you, that his majesty has reserved to himself the right of deciding, according as he shall think fit, on the two questions, of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a minister accredited on the part of any other authority in France than that of his most christian majesty. And in answer to the demand which you now make to me, whether his majesty will receive your new letters of credence? I am to inform you, that his majesty does not think fit, under the present circumstances, to receive those letters.

The demand which you make to me is equally incompatible with the form of an official communication, and with the character in which you have hitherto been acknowledged, of minister from his most christian majesty. It only remains for me then, on the subject of your letter, especially after what has just passed in France, to inform you, that as agent, charged with a confidential communication, you might certainly have expected the necessary measures on our part for the safety of your letters, and of your messengers; that as minister from the most christian king, you would have enjoyed all the exemptions which the law grants to public ministers, recognized as such; but that as a private person, you cannot but return to the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Letter from Lord Grenville *to Monsieur* Chauvelin, *January 24th*, 1793.

Whitehall, 24th January, 1793.

I AM charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his late most christian majesty, you have no more any public character here.

The king can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His majesty has thought fit to order, that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days; and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his majesty, in his privy council, has given to this effect.

I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France, with all the attentions which are due to the character of minister plenipotentiary from his most christian majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Proclamation, at St. Domingo.

His excellency Adam Williamson, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of Jamaica, &c. &c. &c. having been pleased to make choice of me, John Whitelocke, lieutenant-colonel of his majesty's 13th regiment of foot, to command the forces sent to take possession of a part of the colony of St. Domingo, I have received

received his excellency's orders to publiſh the following proclamation.

To the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

THE king of Great Britain has, for a long time, deplored the horrid diſtreſſes which you have ſuffered; his protection, repeatedly ſolicited by a number of you, would not have been ſolicited in vain, if kings could at all times give way to their ſenſibility. At length the time is arrived, when he can follow the emotions of his own heart, in receiving you among the number of his ſubjects, and adopting you as part of his large family.

His Britannic majeſty having, with his uſual goodneſs, granted the prayers of a great part of your countrymen, on their petition preſented to him on the 25th of laſt February, has ſent orders to major-general Adam Williamſon, his lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, to detach immediately the neceſſary forces to St. Domingo, to take poſſeſſion of the colony, or a part of it, until a general peace between the allied powers and the government of France ſhall eſtabliſh a decided ſovereignty in the colony.

I am intruſted with this expedition. It is not as a conqueror, but as a father, that his majeſty is pleaſed to take poſſeſſion of this territory. For this purpoſe his majeſty has intruſted me with the command of a body of forces adequate to enſure reſpect to the Britiſh flag, and at the ſame time to puniſh thoſe who may perſiſt in diſturbing your tranquillity. It is by perſuaſion, rather than by force, I would conquer. A more formidable ſquadron, and a great body of men, would have reduced the whole colony, but it would have left me in doubt of the ſincerity of thoſe who ſurrendered. His majeſty will only have ſubjects worthy of his protection, and of the favours and advantages which the Britiſh government ſecures to them. For this reaſon. I ſhall exhauſt every means of conviction, before I employ the forces which I have under my command, or ſend for others ready to embark, in order to reduce thoſe who reſiſt, and puniſh the authors and agents of the revolt.

People of St. Domingo! the objects of all political inſtitutions being the general intereſts of ſociety, and the good of the members of that ſociety, an exact obſervance of the laws can alone accompliſh thoſe objects.

It is neceſſary to convince you of this inconteſtible truth, the inattention to which has been the cauſe of all your misfortunes, viz. that, while we wiſh to exact the moſt abject ſubmiſſion from others, we ought not to be daily giving examples of inſubordination in our own conduct. Union is neceſſary among you; it will redouble your ſtrength.

Very long experience muſt have informed you, that the moſt effectual tie you can have on your ſlaves, is the white people affording an example of obedience to their ſuperiors. Call to your recollection the flouriſhing ſtate of St. Domingo under this order of things, and with that compare the horrors of which it has ſince become the theatre, by the neglect of thoſe laws which formerly governed you.

It

It was not with a view to erect a theatre of republican virtues, nor for the display of human knowledge, that colonies were eſtabliſhed in the Weſt-Indies. The real proſperity of a colony depends on the quantity of its produce; and the object of the parent ſtate is to increaſe its exports, with as little expence as poſſible. A colony, dependent on its mother country for its commercial advantages, for its protection and defence, can conſequently have no exterior politics, and never ſhould affect what belongs to ſovereignty.

To aſſeſs the impoſts, and watch over their application, this is the only ſhare of ſovereignty that a colony can exerciſe; it ought to enact laws beneficial to the community, and not claſhing with thoſe of the mother country which protects it.

Admitting this ſimple truth, his majeſty is willing to preſerve to you all your rights, I accordingly declare to you, in his royal name, that, as ſoon as peace ſhall be eſtabliſhed, you will have a colonial aſſembly, to regulate, eſtabliſh, and enable you to exerciſe thoſe rights. In the mean time, all the old French laws will be enforced, as far as they are found not adverſe to the meaſures requiſite for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

Every individual ſhall enjoy his civil rights, and the laws for the ſecurity of property ſhall alſo be enforced and maintained.

His majeſty is deſirous to ſecure to creditors the payment of their debts: but, being ſenſibly affected by the cauſes which have concurred to diſtreſs the colony, and waſte your property, and at the ſame time anxious to favour your exertions to repair your ſhattered fortunes, he has authorized me to declare to you, that, at the expreſs prayer of the inhabitants and planters, he is graciouſly pleaſed to grant a ſuſpenſion from proſecution for debts, with a ſuſpenſion of intereſt on ſuch debts, to be computed from the 1ſt day of Auguſt, 1791, and to continue from that for twelve years, under certain reſtrictions.

The local taxes for the expences of your protection, and the adminiſtration of government, ſhall be, until further orders, upon the footing of 1789. England will make the neceſſary advances to make good the deficiency; ſuch advances to be reimburſed at a future day by the colony.

The principal taxes for defraying the expences of public worſhip, of the interior guards in the quarters, and for the puniſhment of negroes, ſhall be alſo on the ſame footing as in 1789, except the diſcharges to thoſe whoſe plantations have been burned.

The inhabitants ſhall enjoy the privilege of exporting their clayed ſugars, ſubject to ſuch duties as ſhall be deemed neceſſary.

The Roman catholic religion ſhall be maintained, without prejudice to any other form of divine worſhip, the exerciſe of which ſhall be alike permitted.

Your ports ſhall be open to American veſſels.

If any of the inhabitants know that any part of their property has been carried into foreign countries, they may freely addreſs themſelves to me; and I will, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, reclaim ſuch property as belonging to his ſubjects.

You ſee, unfortunate people, that your intereſts are dear to his Britannic majeſty. In granting the

prayers

prayers of your countrymen, he does not desire to subject you instantly to laws to which you are strangers. He preserves to you your ancient customs, where they are not contrary to civil order and the general interest. He wills only, that necessary measures of every kind should be employed to compel the slaves to due submission and obedience, and to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the spirit of innovation, and to the measures which your enemies are conspiring for your ruin.

Such are the benign intentions of the king of Great Britain towards you. Compare with them the atrocious acts of the three individuals who are your oppressors; of men who have usurped an authority, which could only have been confided to them for the purpose of destroying you. Reduce them at once to that insignificance from which they sprang, and which awaits them. Undistinguished by birth, new Erostrati, they are known but by their crimes; while those who delegated them, astonished at your patience, and trembling before the combined forces which press on every side, leave them to your vengeance.

Men of colour! have you suffered yourselves to be duped by the declamations of these traitors, boasting to you of liberty and equality? Have they not abused you, in making you share them with your own slaves? Recover speedily from your errors: come and obtain from your fathers and benefactors an oblivion of those ills which you have occasioned, and which otherwise must lead to your own ruin.

Can you imagine that slaves, suddenly called to freedom, to liberty, and equality, will patiently endure that superiority which you wish to exercise over them, and to which you have no title but that founded in the generosity of those who gave you freedom?—No! soon overpowered by numbers, your crimes would be punished by the very hands into which you have placed arms.

Determine on the enjoyment of those privileges which our constitution grants to people of your description in the colonies—or the punishment of your offences.

Lay down those arms which have been put into your hands for your own destruction; resume the management of your plantations; or come and unite yourselves under our standard, to purchase the remission of your faults, by aiding our troops in reducing the rebel slaves to obedience. You will then, under our government, find a secure protection—then will you experience those sweets, that ease and calm, which only result from good conduct.

In fine, obey the voice of nature and of reason; avail yourselves of the moment of indulgence and lenity; it will pass rapidly away; and when the day of vengeance arrives, repentance will not avert your punishment.

Negroes employed in planting! You who have remained faithful to your masters, and who have spurned at the proffers of traitors and their agents; you who have seen that the men of colour have not granted to their slaves that liberty which you had been taught to expect, rest assured of favour and protection. But those negroes who shall continue fugitives fifteen days after the issuing of this proclamation, being unworthy of the pardon I wish to grant

grant in my sovereign's name, will be punished as rebels.

Planters of every class; I am bound to shew you, in proper colours, what you have to hope, and what to fear.

Islanders! you require the protection of a maritime power. Is there any one more formidable than England? Her ships cover the seas, and bring her annually, from every quarter of the globe, riches, the very soul of her national commerce. Her fleets will secure you from the attacks of foreign powers. Your property will no longer become the prey of privateers.

The immense resources which the commerce of Great Britain affords will revive your planting. These resources will be presently offered you to repair the ravages made by murder, rapine, and fire; for confidence is coeval with the laws. Range yourselves then under her government. Cease to bedew your fields with blood. Yield to me the traitors, and those who despoil you of your property. Point out to me, yourselves, those victims for justice, by abandoning them, and by an immediate junction under my orders enable me to have nothing to regret in that exemplary punishment which I may be forced to inflict.

JOHN WHITELOCKE,
Lieut. Col. 13th Reg.

Jeremie, Sept. 23, 1793.

Report made in the name of the Committee of General Defence, on the Disposition of the British Government towards France, and the Measures to be taken, read to the National Convention in the Sitting of the 12th of January 1793, *in the 2d year of the Republic, by* J. P. Brissot. *Printed by order of the Convention.*

Citizens,

YOU referred to your united diplomatic and marine committees, and since to your committee of general defence, the different notifications which have been made to you by the minister for foreign affairs relative to the conduct of the British cabinet towards the French republic. Your committee has examined them with the greatest attention, and after a most profound discussion, it is convinced,

1st. That the complaints of the British cabinet against France have no foundation.

2dly, That, on the contrary, the French republic has the most well founded complaints to make against the court of St. James's.

3dly, That, after having exhausted every means to preserve peace with the English nation, the interest and the dignity of the French nation requires that you should decree the most vigorous measures to repel the aggression of the cabinet of St. James's.

It is of importance that the English nation, which is only led astray by its government, should be promptly disabused. From respect for the fraternity which unites us, we ought to trace out to it with frankness the manœuvres of its government, and if we are forced to treat it as an enemy, it is of moment that every Frenchman should have the fullest conviction, that in combating against it, he acts in obedience to justice.

The impression made in England by our revolution was not the same

in the nation, the parliament, and the court. The nation at first testified joy, the parliament inquietude, and the court terror. The opinion plainly shown by the English nation obliged the ministry to keep silence, and their interest engaged them to observe an exact neutrality in the war which broke out between France, Austria, and Prussia. In this they found a double advantage; the nation enriched itself in the midst of battles of which it was merely a spectator, and the ministry confirmed their power, by the prosperity of commerce, and the stability of peace: it was in obedience to this double interest that the cabinet of St. James's several times protested its intention of scrupulously preserving its neutrality towards France, and in reality it did do so, till the immortal day of the 10th of August.

The suspension of the king of the French changed at once the apparent disposition of the court of England: on the 17th of August it recalled its ambassador, under the futile pretext that his credentials only authorized him to reside near the king of the French, as if it would not have been most easy to send new letters of credence. The minister Dundas added, that this recall was quite conformable to the principles of neutrality held by the English court, as if there was any connection between the neutrality with respect to the war, the event of the 10th of August, and the recall of lord Gower.

Henry Dundas again protested the firm resolution of the cabinet of St. James's not to intermeddle in the government of France; and yet it recalled an ambassador under the pretext of the revolution of the 10th of August. Was not this evidently an intermeddling in the interior government of France, since it expressed a disapprobation of its operations? If the English cabinet had had any respect for the independence of the people, it ought at least to have sent an ambassador after the opening of the convention, for, from the moment that all the departments had named deputies to that convention, it was evident that by so doing they had given a formal approbation to the operations of the legislative assembly, and consequently to the suspension of the king. Did the cabinet of St. James's found its refusal on the abolition of royalty pronounced by that convention even at the commencement of its sittings? But the convention being invested with unlimited power, had a right to abolish royalty, and substitute in its place a republican government. The cabinet of St. James's could not refuse to correspond with the new executive power of France, without violating the principle which it had itself proclaimed, of the independence of nations, without declaring that it meant to interfere in the interior government of France.

Disdaining these little diplomatic chicaneries, not believing that it ought to sacrifice the peace of nations to miserable disputes of etiquette, and hoping every thing from time, from reason, and from its victories, the French republic ordered its ambassador at London to continue there in the exercise of his functions. The success of the republic, the victories of Gemappe and of Spire, the conquest of Savoy and of Brabant, seemed to quiet the diplomatic scruples of the cabinet of St. James's. Its ministers

niſters foreſaw that this riſing republic, which began its career in ſo brilliant a manner, in the midſt of the greateſt embarraſſments, which at its dawning cruſhed the beſt armies, commanded by the ableſt generals, they foreſaw, I ſay, that this republic would conſolidate itſelf, and bear the torch of revolutions all over Europe. The Engliſh miniſtry therefore believed that they ought to take ſome ſteps towards the ambaſſador of that republic, which at firſt they had ſcorned. They wiſhed to know the real intentions of France. Your ambaſſador, the other agents, and the executive council, replied to them with that dignity and moderation which ought to characterize the agents of a free people.

An amicable negociation was eſtabliſhed in the courſe of the months of October and November. The Engliſh miniſtry did not then complain of the opening of the Scheldt, becauſe that then the Engliſh nation, enraptured with the ſucceſs of the French, ſaw in this opening of the Scheldt only a homage paid to principles; a homage which could be eaſily reconciled with the intereſt of Engliſh commerce. The Engliſh miniſtry feared the invaſion of Holland, and the executive council of France gave them ſuch aſſurances as were calculated to tranquillize them.

The Engliſh miniſtry complained of the decree made on the 19th of November, which ſeemed to them of a nature to excite every people to revolt; which appeared to promiſe efficacious ſuccours to the firſt malcontent who ſhould declare himſelf in England; and the executive council gave them, on this decree an explanation exactly conformable to what they deſired. This is a circumſtance which it is important to remark. The Engliſh miniſtry had pointed out to the French agents in London, the terms in which the interpretation ought to be expreſſed, to ſatisfy fully the cabinet of St. James's and the parliament; and although the agent had not been able to tranſmit that explanation to the executive council, he had been anticipated by the note of the miniſter for foreign affairs, which agreed with it in every point.

The Engliſh miniſtry ſtill complained of emiſſaries, of ſecret miſſionaries, who were ſent, as they ſaid, by the executive council into England, to preach revolt there. The miniſter for foreign affairs publicly repelled in this aſſembly thoſe affronting imputations for the miniſters of a free people; and he rightly obſerved, that it would be extravagant to waſte the treaſures of the ſtate in bringing about events, which, if they ſhould happen, would be the work of reaſon; and the Engliſh miniſtry owned themſelves, that theſe miſſionaries and inſurrections were not much to be feared in England. Finally, ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Britiſh cabinet towards the end of the month of November, that all difficulties inſenſibly wore away. Lord Grenville began to acknowledge the government of France, which he at firſt had entitled the *Government of Paris*. They affected now and then ſome ſcruples on the character of our agent; they affected not to call themſelves authorized, whilſt they excited and gave explanations. Only one difficulty ſeemed to ſtop the negotiators. The executive council of France wiſhed to negotiate

tiate by an accredited ambaſſador; the Engliſh miniſtry deſired that it ſhould be by a ſecret agent; and even this diſpute of etiquette they did not maintain very ſtrongly, if we may judge by ſome words of lord Grenville, who declared to your ambaſſador, that forms would never be in the way of the king of England when he was acting to obtain tranquillizing and advantageous declarations for the two parties.

Pitt, on his ſide, teſtified at the commencement of December only, *the deſire of avoiding a war, and of having the teſtimony to that effect of the French miniſter*; and he regretted that the interruption of correſpondence between the two cabinets produced miſtakes. The executive council, after theſe proteſtations, had a right to hope that no cavillings would bring on a war between France and England; they did not know that this ſeeming diſpoſition to peace was only dictated by fear, and by anxiety for the fate of a comedy which was preparing.

All at once the ſcene changed; the king of England, by two proclamations of the firſt of December, ordered the militia to be called out; ſummoned the parliament for the 14th of December, when it was not to have met till January; cauſed troops to march towards London, fortified the Tower, furniſhed it with cannon, and diſplayed formidable preparations for war. And againſt what were all theſe preparations deſtined? *the book called the Rights of Man, by Thomas Paine.* The miniſter declared that this work had perverted all minds; that there was a revolutionary ſect formed, which wiſhed to overthrow the Engliſh government, and replace it by a national convention; that this ſect had its ſecret committees, its clubs, its correſpondences; that it was cloſely connected with the Jacobins of Paris; that it ſent miſſionaries to excite revolt in every part of England; that a conſpiracy to overturn the throne was ready to break out, &c. &c.; he called upon the zeal of all good Engliſhmen for aſſiſtance.; he extolled to the ſkies the Engliſh conſtitution; and to prove the goodneſs of it, he cauſed all the authors and printers who did not think like himſelf to be arreſted, made them be proſecuted by the tribunals, and pulled to pieces by his gazetteers, and in addreſſes ordered by the court, and ſent by extraordinary meſſengers into every part of the kingdom. Finally, as if their artillery, their thieftakers, and their tribunals would not be ſufficient to annihilate theſe unhappy revolutioniſts, the Engliſh miniſtry ſupported in all parts clubs founded by their penſioners, to preach up the excellence of the Engliſh conſtitution, and declaim againſt the reformers of the French revolution.

Theſe meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry anſwered, and more than anſwered, all their hopes. They formed a rapid and numerous coalition of all the creatures of the court, of placemen, of nobles, of prieſts, of rich landholders, of all capitaliſts, of men who ſubſiſted by abuſes; they inundated the gazettes with their proteſtations of devotion to the Engliſh conſtitution, of horror for our revolution, of hate againſt the anarchiſts; and the impreſſion which they made on the public opinion was ſuch, that within a very few days, almoſt all England was on its knees to the miniſters; that, in the heart of almoſt every Engliſhman,

man, the most violent hate succeeded to the veneration which had been inspired by the last revolution in France. The conduct of the ministry was very cunning. The success of France gave them much inquietude on the fate of that aristocracy which governed in England, under the shadow of royalty. They feared that so seducing an example would at last find imitators. They wished to avoid this blow, and to avoid it, it was necessary to embroil the two nations, *to popularise* the war, to make the new republicans be detested, even by those English who had thought it a glory to esteem them.

But how did it come to this point? The way was simple. A people already antiquated, and of which a great part is in easy circumstances, will hold to its constitution, because there is its repose, there are its enjoyments; it was there also that the ministry of course would touch. There is not an Englishman who is not convinced that the English constitution has many faults; that the corruption of the government is boundless; but every one wishes to reform it without convulsions; and if the constitution is touched, how can convulsions be avoided? Who can calculate all the calamities which that may bring on? The terrors of these calamities chill almost all minds; they chill them still more, because that the inconveniencies of the French revolution have been exaggerated to them; because that the emigrants have drawn hideous pictures to them, and the English ministry has taken particular care to blacken these pictures.

In this disposition of minds, it was sufficient for the ministry to ring the alarm bell against anarchy, and to cry out that the constitution was in danger; for at these words, *the constitution in danger*, the placeman feared for his appointments, the noble for his titles, the priest for his superstition, the landholder for his estate, the workman for his bread; from that moment the conspiracy against all revolution necessarily became universal; all revolution appeared odious, seemed a declaration of war, seemed famine and pestilence with which a country was infested. When the public opinion is prejudiced, gangrened to such a point, even reason appears a crime, and scaffolds and butchers are invoked in the name of humanity itself. Behold how, among a people accustomed to exercise its reason, and directed by morality, the rights of man have been anathematised! Behold how the people itself has permitted and favoured the inquisition exercised against those who preached these rights!

From the crime of a revolution to the necessity, to the justice of a war with France, was but one step, and it was easy to make; for from whence, it was said, originated all the attacks against the English constitution? From France. Who sent forth, who paid the apostles of insurrection? France. Who designed to overthrow the constitution? France. And could this be denied, after the decrees of the 19th of November and the 15th of December, decrees which authorized revolt among every people? And by what right, it was added, for the purpose of piquing self love, did the French republic pretend to intermeddle in the government of its neighbours?

It was by spreading these calumnies against the French nation, it was,

was, above all, by holding up the maſſacres of the 2d and 3d of September, that all the Engliſh have been excited againſt it, even thoſe who were attached to it; that even thoſe private intereſts, which oppoſed themſelves to a war, have been overcome; for the miniſters, who might loſe their places in its perils, the merchant, who would be enriched by an univerſal diſorganization, the landholder, and the conſumer, who ought equally to dread the encreaſe of taxes and dearneſs of proviſions, the workman, whoſe employ would be ſtopped by war, all ought to have ſighed for the continuation of peace, and yet all loudly called for war, becauſe they believed they ſaw in it the ſalvation of their conſtitution.

All minds were agitated by this giddineſs when the parliament was opened; there the moſt revolting idolatry of royalty was manifeſted; there, under the veil of veneration for the conſtitution, ariſtocratic hypocriſy was diſplayed; there, chivalric extravagance, dagger in hand, played the actor; there, a part of the members of oppoſition, who, in their coalition with Fox, had made their toryiſm be forgotten, did not bluſh to proſtitute themſelves to a corrupted miniſtry, and to endeavour to diſguiſe their deſertion by a poor diſtinction of words; there, men who at firſt had dared to raiſe their voices in favour of liberty and France, borne away by the torrent, offered incenſe to the idol of the day, that idol which in private they trod under their feet. Yet in the midſt of this panic terror, which had ſeized all minds, praiſe is due to Fox, for having dared to demand the ſending an ambaſſador to France; it is due to Sheridan, for having exculpated the nation from thoſe maſſacres, which were the work of a few villains only; it is due to Erſkine, for having dared to defend Thomas Paine, whoſe effigy was burnt by thoſe who ſome time before had covered his works with incenſe. But notwithſtanding the courage of theſe defenders of liberty; notwithſtanding the ridiculouſneſs of that great conſpiracy, which was looked after every where, and which could be found no where; notwithſtanding the falſehood of the miniſtry, who, to quiet the people, had promiſed ſome reforms, and who, ſeeing the enthuſiaſm, believed they might with impunity violate their promiſe, the triumph of that miniſtry, I will not ſay over the revolutioniſts, but over the Engliſh nation, which they bound with its own hands, was complete. Sure of its ſuffrages for a war with France, they eagerly revived the old cavils on the invaſion of Holland, the decree of the 19th of November, and on the hired emiſſaries; they even began to ſpeak of the Scheldt; but above all, they ſhowed much more ſtiffneſs towards our agents, much more haughtineſs in their communications.

It was under theſe circumſtances, that your miniſter for foreign affairs thought it his duty, on the 20th of December, to communicate to you the ſtate of his negotiations with the Britiſh cabinet; and that, on the 27th of December, the executive council cauſed to be communicated to the Engliſh government, by the means of your ambaſſador, a writing in which it vigorouſly repelled all the charges made againſt it, complained of the hoſtile preparations of the Engliſh court, and announced its firm reſolution of opening the

eyes of the Engliſh people by an appeal which ſhould be made to it, and of taking all the neceſſary meaſures to repel its aggreſſions. We ought here to ſay, becauſe that it is rendering a homage to the genius of liberty who inſpires the French, that in viewing the correſpondence of the executive council with the cabinet of St. James's, we have there marked the ſuperiority of the free man, that is, of the candid, ſincere, and juſt man, over the agent of deſpotiſm, whoſe conceptions are always conſtrained and equivocal, becauſe his intentions are never pure. The beſt juſtification of the republic would be a publication of the correſpondence between the two cabinets. You have heard the reply of lord Grenville to the note of Chauvelin, of which I have ſpoken. Chicane on the face of it, ſhuffling in the explanations, and bad faith in perpetual renewing of complaints, which have been ten times beaten to powder, are all that can be found in it.

After having reviewed the conduct of the cabinet of St. James's, we ought to examine the motives on which it grounds its hoſtile preparations; we ought to ſhow our own grievances.

The opening of the Scheldt is the firſt grievance of the Engliſh cabinet. The ſilence which it at firſt kept on this ſubject was an artful ſnare; it wiſhed to ſound the public opinion, and reſerve the uſe of their means till ſuch time as the nation ſhould believe itſelf obliged, for its own particular intereſt, to violate principles, and that moment ſeemed to be arrived. We will not diſſemble that the opening of the Scheldt was contrary to the treaty of Utrecht, and thoſe by which it was followed, down to that which was concluded in 1785, under the mediation and guarantee of France, between Joſeph the Second and the United Provinces; treaties of which the principal object was to preſerve to the Hollanders the navigation of the Scheldt, to the excluſion of the people of Belgium. But the French republic, in purſuing the heir of that Joſeph, who had the baſeneſs, for ſome millions of florins, to ſell to the Hollanders the ſervitude of the Scheldt; the French republic, in giving to that country its liberty, could it allow the ſlavery of one of the fineſt rivers by which it is watered to remain? Ought it to violate the principles which have always directed its arms, the principles of eternal juſtice? Since the Scheldt traverſes Belgium as well as Holland, does not its courſe belong in common to the two nations? By what title has nature given to the Hollanders the excluſive property of it? Is it to their labours, to their induſtry, that the river owes its exiſtence? Is not that Scheldt which traverſes Zealand the ſame that firſt waters the walls of Antwerp? If it was poſſible that a river, common to ſeveral nations, ſhould be the property of one, would not the Scheldt by a juſt title belong to the Antwerpers firſt, rather than to the Hollanders, who only receive it after?

If the French republic, in giving to the Antwerpers the liberty of the Scheldt, has deſtroyed treaties concluded between tyrants, it has avenged the principle of property, and its conduct has been at once juſt and magnanimous; for it has not any intereſt in this. To accuſe it, as lord Grenville has done, of aſpiring to make itſelf the *arbitra-*

tor of every people, and the reformer of all treaties, is to generalise falsely, and to blacken in a base manner an honourable action. Far be from the French republic any such pretension. It gives liberty to the *subjects* of its enemies, when kings, in a similar case, would only conquer to *enslave* or to *sell* them; it breaks those treaties by which they are unjustly bound, while kings, in a similar situation, would only impose on them bonds more burthensome.

But does not the cabinet of St. James's, which reproaches France with making itself arbitrator of the fate of nations, act the same part itself, when it wishes to force Holland to remain in chains? when it requires of us that we should respect them? Ah, what a difference is there in our principles! for if we have entered into Belgium, it has been in the name of liberty, and not to establish there our authority, not to enslave the commerce of it, not to direct the government of it; whilst the English only hold the Hollanders under the yoke of the stadtholder, because they hold the stadtholder himself in a state of tutelage.

Thus the cabinet of St. James's prostitutes the character and the power of a great nation, of a nation which professes to cherish liberty, to hold another enslaved by its caprices, and to make it the instrument of its own corruption, for the punishment of despotism is in its reaction upon itself. Thus this cabinet menaces us with the forces of a nation which it has led astray, to hinder us from being just, to deprive a free and independent people, the Belgians, of the use of one of the finest gifts bestowed on them by nature; thus this cabinet, which reproaches us with being the reformers of treaties, declares itself the enemy of natural rights and of the right of nations; for all guarantees of constitutions are in reality crimes against the rights and independence of nations.

Who does not know, that this guarantee has never served but to cover the most monstrous despotism, that which is exercised, not merely for the profit of some inhabitants, but for the profit of a foreign despot? Who does not know, that the stadtholder has constantly sacrificed his country to the English cabinet? that he sacrificed it in the war for American independence, in letting the English capture, with impunity, and in contempt of the treaties of 1664, vessels laden with naval stores; that he sacrificed it in refusing to accede to the armed neutrality, in reducing the Dutch marine to the most frightful state of weakness, in only suffering the vessels to leave port that they might be captured by the English, in one word, by prostituting to them the fleets, the money, and the honour of the united provinces? Behold here the price which the friendship of England has cost to Holland! the destruction of its marine! the destruction of its commerce! complete despotism!

It well becomes the English cabinet to speak of justice and of respect for treaties! It well becomes that cabinet to reproach the French republic with wishing to make itself an arbitrator of the fate of nations, which declared war against Holland, because some of the merchants of that state wished to enter into commercial connections with the Americans! It well becomes it to vaunt its attachment to its allies,

when that attachment only covers oppreſſive chains for thoſe allies! No! the republic ought not to diſguiſe its horror at this violation of all principles! The treaty which puts Holland under the yoke of the ſtadtholder, and of the Engliſh and Pruſſian cabinets, is a treaty null and void in its nature, but it is a treaty which only the people of Holland have a right to break, and for that reaſon the French republic ought not to make any attempt againſt it. The aggreſſion of the ſtadtholder againſt France, or the inſurrection againſt him of a majority of the Hollanders, theſe are the only caſes in which France would believe it to be her duty, and an act of juſtice, to carry her arms into the united provinces; theſe caſes do not exiſt, and France is tranquil, and wiſhes to remain ſo.

If ever ſhe ſhould be forced to break this neutrality, it will not be, like the cabinet of St. James's, to ſubſtitute one tyrant for another, but to reſtore Holland to itſelf. This conſideration ought to open the eyes of the Engliſh nation. Doubtleſs it would have been right, while France remained under a deſpotiſm, for it to have reſiſted the extenſion of French influence in Holland; that influence would only have augmented the force of that deſpotiſm; but if ever the French republic ſhould be called to give liberty to Holland, this will not augment its influence; it does not wiſh for any over foreign powers; it only wiſhes to open free markets to every people on earth, and conſequently as acceſſible to the Engliſh as to any other. By ſuch a revolution the people of England would doubly gain, ſince the ſyſtem of corruption, by means of which it governs in Holland, and which draws from it immenſe funds, would no longer exiſt, ſince that fruitful ſource of continental war, which is ſo fatal to it, would be entirely dried up.

But beſides, the executive council of France has notified to the cabinet of St. James's its pacific intentions with reſpect to Holland. Why then has not that cabinet ceaſed to raiſe doubts? Have free people changeful morals and politics like tyrants? They ſeek, they wiſh for that which is juſt, and that which is juſt never varies like the intereſts of courts.

It is by this principle that the cabinet of St. James's ought to have explained that decree of the 19th of November, which ſeemed to cauſe it ſo much inquietude. How could it take into its head that a nation, which declares the greateſt reſpect for the independence of all people, wiſhed to *protect* the *malcontents* every where. A free people know how to diſtinguiſh *inſurrection* from *revolt*; the wiſh of *a great majority* clearly pronounced from the *partial* wiſh of ſome individuals. To protect the latter againſt the majority, is to protect revolt, it is to be unjuſt, and a free people never wiſhes to be unjuſt.

Underhand means are equally unworthy of it. When it gives protection, it is openly; it leaves the reſource of a ſyſtem of ſpies, of hiring mercenary foes, and of anarchiſts, to that deſpotiſm which only affects to reſpect the tranquillity of nations, becauſe it has guaranteed the tranquillity of deſpots. Ah! if at once the veil which covers with profound myſtery the machiaveliſm of the courts of Europe, if that veil could be entirely raiſed, what horrors would be diſcovered!

We

We ſhould perhaps ſee the clew to all our diſorders held even in the hands of thoſe who reproach us with diſturbing the tranquillity of our neighbours. For who will ſatisfy us that the cabinet of St. James's has not employed, does not ſtill employ to diſturb France, all the arts which it made uſe of in 1787, to cruſh the riſing liberty of the united provinces? What money was then diſtributed by the ſame lord Auckland who is now ambaſſador in Holland! What ſums of money were diſtributed to increaſe the partizans of Orange, to debauch the patriotic troops, to buy that infamous rhingrave of Salm and the great penſionary Bleiſwick, to put in motion the king of Pruſſia, who has almoſt always been the inſtrument of the cabinet of St. James's, and to buy over a part of the French miniſtry, who ſo ſhamefully abandoned the cauſe of Dutch patriotiſm! Behold here the ordinary tricks of the Engliſh cabinet, of that cabinet which knows how to ſave from the expences of the marine and war, enormous ſums to provide for the incalculable corruption of its creatures. No! ſuch practices ſhall never ſully the hiſtory of our republic.

Shall I recall to your minds the other reproaches which have been brought againſt us either by the cabinet of England, or by its creatures in the two houſes of parliament. Shall I recall to your minds the falſe interpretation of that *appeal to the Engliſh nation*, with which the miniſter for foreign affairs threatened the cabinet of St. James's, if it perſiſted in its hoſtile projects; an appeal in which that cabinet has pretended to ſee an incentive to inſurrection, while the words can mean only an appeal to the reaſon and juſtice of a great nation duped by the quackery of its miniſters, who wiſhed to embroil it with a people whoſe cauſe was its own, and who had ſworn hate only to tyrants?

Shall I recall to your minds thoſe complaints on the indecency with which kings are here treated, when in the two houſes of parliament in England, the miniſters and the repreſentatives of the French people were ſpoken of with all poſſible inſolence; thoſe complaints againſt our clubs as governing, when the Engliſh miniſter eſtabliſhed his of *monarchiſts* to tyranniſe; thoſe complaints againſt our arbitrary acts, when he himſelf had eſtabliſhed an inquiſition againſt the Engliſh and againſt our brothers.

Shall I recall to your minds the accuſation of having invaded Savoy and added it to our territory? The hoſtile preparations of the king of Sardinia, openly directed againſt us, juſtified the invaſion, and the *unanimous* wiſh of all the communes of Savoy legitimated a junction more uſeful to the brave Allobroges than to the French.

Shall I recall to your minds the accuſation of having invaded the low countries, to give them laws, and make them a conſtitution? But who then firſt ravaged our fields? Was it not the tyrant of thoſe low countries? We make a conſtitution there! Let them read thoſe inſtructions given to the generals; *to aſſemble the people, to conſult its wiſh, to protect it while expreſſing that wiſh, and to reſpect it when expreſſed.* Behold here the manner of our tyranny. The Belgic people made, and alone made, its conſtitution; but to attain this point, it was highly neceſſary to tie up the hands

of the ill disposed, and of the Austrian emissaries, who wished to excite sedition; here then was the cause of some acts of necessary authority! here was the foundation of that *revolutionary* power, which is only a power protective of political liberty while in its cradle, and *which ceases when that is established.* We pillage Belgium, when we wished no more than to be voluntarily reimbursed the charges of a war, in which the blood of our brethren is reckoned as nothing! Well does it become a court which has plundered, which still plunders the East-Indies of enormous riches! to hold the inhabitants in chains, well indeed does it become it to reproach us with demanding a just indemnity for the charges which we have been put to in restoring liberty to our neighbours!

Shall I recall to your minds, that great crime committed by the legislative assembly and the convention, in receiving addresses and deputations from different English societies; a crime which has given great cause of scandal to the ministers, the lords, and the lawyers? as if even by the English constitution the natives of that island had not a right to rejoice at the revolution of a neighbouring people, which had recovered its liberty, and to felicitate them upon it! as if those felicitations did not tend to draw closer the ties of the nation, to banish those pretended *national* antipathies, nourished only for the security of despotism! as if the representatives of the French, who have declared themselves the brothers of all men, could refuse admission into their sanctuary to foreigners who came to pay homage in their temple to universal liberty! Ah! if the impediments thrown in the way of these brotherly communications reproach a government, it is not ours, but rather that which fears, like a deadly contagion, a communication with free men.

Ah! how many perverse means have not been employed to break them off entirely; to blacken us in the eyes of our English brothers! To the politicians who still adhere to the old balance of Europe, to the merchants who seek for exclusive markets, we have been pictured like greedy conquerors, wishing to overturn all Europe, as if the French wished to make of the low countries a second *Bengal!* To weak or superstitious minds we have all been transformed into *atheists*, because that in our tribune a deputy made a frank confession of his atheism. To the rigorous presbyterian it has been said that we dared to make use of our reason, and that we occupied ourselves with the public even on *Sundays*. To those men who still esteemed the French nation it was said, that it was enslaved by a handful of factious men. To men who were friends of the law, and enemies of blood, poignards have been shown, with the exclamation, *see here the religion of the French.*

And whilst on the one hand, with these farces gravely played off, with these lies repeated by men who have long enjoyed the public esteem, the English nation has been alienated from us, on the other they have sought to irritate the French republic, provoked by the most manifest outrages. Thus, the English minister not only disdained to send us an ambassador, but he refused to acknowledge ours, and the papers sold to the cabinet of St. James's never ceased to accumulate on the nation represented by him the most atrocious calumnies.

Doubtless

Doubtleſs the French republic ought to be indifferent with reſpect to its being acknowledged by foreign kingdoms. It exiſts, and to continue to exiſt it has no need of any foreign ſupport: and perhaps it ought, in its turn, to conſider whether it ſhould acknowledge thoſe kings who treat with ſo much inſolence a powerful republic. Yet our indifference ought not to extend to the motives which directed the parliament of England in its refuſal to ſend us an ambaſſador. It ſhould ſeem that it feared to proſtitute the Engliſh dignity, by rendering that homage to the factious, who have always been ſuppoſed by ſome to direct France. Does not this inſult to the nation demand ſatisfaction? It has a right to require ſatisfaction for the outrageous partiality of the act on the exportation of corn. Every body knows that the corn trade, the bounties which favour it, and the acts which prohibit exportation, are only means in the hands of the Engliſh government, and of the great proprietors who are members of parliament, to raiſe according to their pleaſure the price of corn, and to hinder, when they think proper, its being ſent out of the kingdom: it is indeed a comedy played for the benefit of the ariſtocracy, and of which the dupe is the people of England, who pay very dear for the foreign corn they eat, that the proprietor who exports the Engliſh corn may be enriched. The miniſter availed himſelf of this means to haraſs France, to throw impediments in the way of her obtaining proviſions, and to throw impediments in her way alone, for the partiality is quite obvious. Veſſels charged with foreign corn on account of the government of France have been ſtopped in the Thames: the Engliſh government would only releaſe them on condition of ſecurity being given *that the corn ſhould not be exported to France.* Is not ſuch a clauſe a commencement of hoſtilities?

Is not the ſame hoſtile ſpirit to be found in the act which prohibits the circulation of our aſſignats, and in that which concerns foreigners coming into and reſident in England? Is not the firſt act a real declaration of war againſt our means of finance? Is not the ſecond one againſt the patriots who now triumph in France? For that act manifeſts the moſt marked partiality for the emigrants, prieſts, nobles, ariſtocrats, and ci-devant *moderates* who are in England, whom the government ſeems to put under its ſpecial protection, whilſt it reſerves all the horrors of an inquiſition for thoſe patriots who, either by buſineſs or by taſte, are induced to viſit England.

The hoſtile intentions appear ſo much more clearly in that act, as it offers a manifeſt infraction of the 4th article of the treaty of commerce entered into in 1786 with England. For, by the terms of that article, the French were to enter, to go freely, without permiſſion or ſafe guard general or ſpecial, to return, to tarry there to trade, and be treated with all poſſible kindneſs; and yet by this new act, French citizens are obliged to procure from the ſecretary of ſtate, who may refuſe to grant them, *permiſſions*, or *ſafe conduct*, to enter, to go from, or to remain in England, and theſe ſecretaries of ſtate, who remain their maſters, their inquiſitors, may ſubject them without any motives, and on a mere *ſuſpicion*, to the moſt odious formalities,

malities, may confine them to a district, the bounds of which they must not pass, may even order them at pleasure from the territories of Great Britain. The clause inserted in favour of merchants is a clause which the secretaries of state may also render illusory; for the merchants are obliged *to prove that their commercial affairs bring them into England*, and the inquisitor remains judge, and sole judge, of the proofs of this fact. It is impossible to violate in a more scandalous manner a solemn treaty; a treaty respected by France, however ruinous to her manufactories, however drawn by cunning from the ignorance or the corruption of the agents employed by the old government of France; a treaty violated at the very time when France had unceasingly shown good will to the English who travelled or resided in France.

Certainly it would be, it is in every respect, favourable to France to suspend that treaty which it observes religiously; and yet it is by the English cabinet that it is violated, that dares to accuse the republic of *violating all treaties*. What a crime is it not guilty of against the English nation, in breaking that treaty to which the nation in part owes its prosperity?

Is it not so too in the protection which it grants to the French rebels? Is not this a direct violation of the 17th article of the treaty of peace of 1783 which speaks in the following terms, in which are contained the condemnation of the English cabinet. 'They shall carefully avoid, for the future, all that might impair the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, all that may contribute to their mutual glory, interest, and advantage, *not giving any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who may wish to prejudice either the one or the other of the contracting parties.*'

Finally, to what can we attribute those extraordinary armaments, that augmentation of land and sea forces, that eagerness and spirit with which the labours are carried on in every part of England, if not to an intention of menacing, affrighting, and crushing France, if possible? For the want of power in Spain, the secret treaty which appears to bind the two courts, the harmony which reigns between England and Russia, the submission of Holland to its supreme commands, all prove that France alone is the object of these armaments.

In containing all these facts it is difficult not to suffer ourselves to be led into the idea that the cabinet of St. James's tired of its neutrality, harassed by the powers leagued against us and by our emigrants, and believing that the moment is at last come to crush the spirit of liberty, wishes to take an *active part* in the coalition which has sworn our ruin. Every thing concurs in carrying this conviction to the mind; the pride of that king who has groaned so long under the ignominy with which royalty has been covered, and whom the war with America has not cured of the fatal desire of combating yet once more the genius of liberty; the hatred of liberty of that lord Hawkesbury, who behind the curtain directs his master and the council, the corrupted majority of the parliament, and the profound submission to his will of a part of the council

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which he has formed; the weak resistance of Pitt and of his relations, even of the ministers who have no longer opposed the war since it acquired popularity; the devotion to the will of the king shown by those lords who see in a war with France the preservation of their titles; the comedy played in the house of commons by the opposition party; the insolence with which all parties in their debates treat the French republic; the blindness of the nation which believes it sees in the war an holy crusade for its constitution; the unheard-of disinterestedness of the English commerce, which, penetrated with a terror of the reign of equality, offers its treasures for war; and finally, the universal hope of crushing France, because that they judge after false or exaggerated representations, because that they believe it to be plunged in anarchy, and without a marine as without pecuniary resources.

But on the other side can one believe that all these demonstrations of war are really serious on the part of the English ministry, when we consider all the motives which ought to deter them from it; when we see that they have no real motive for declaring against France; that those which are brought forward are nothing but miserable chicaneries; that it is impossible long to deceive the English nation, and to make it believe that it ought to spend its millions to lock up the Scheldt, or to obtain an explanation of a decree which is already explained; when we see that war must destroy that brilliant commerce by which it might quietly enrich itself in the midst of our war, and which already speculates on the impending disorganization of Europe; that the war must close those fruitful sources of public revenue, which cover at least for the present the difference between the public receipt and expenditure in England; when we see the enormous debt which crushes England, and the insufficiency of the imposts so heavily accumulated, that not a single article can be found hereafter to tax; when we see that the war is useless even to the principal end which the ministry proposed to themselves, since that end is attained, since the revolution by which they were threatened is completely destroyed; when we see that war, on the contrary, can only give life again to the hopes of revolution, since the most favourable war is always terribly burthensome, infallibly creates discontents and effervescences, and that from such a crisis to a revolution there is only a step?

Finally, can we believe that the demonstrations of war are serious, when we see the English ministry continue the negotiations even with those agents whose characters they have affected not to acknowledge; when we see that they have ordered only an addition of the same number of ships and men as in the pretended preparations against Spain and Russia, and that they forbear to employ the terrible means of pressing, without which it is impossible for them to equip even an inconsiderable fleet?—Yes, in comparing all the circumstances, we must be obliged to regard this war as *a war of preparations*. But even under this aspect, it is much more destructive to us than a declared war; for what will be its object? To amuse us by pretences of negotiations; to wear out our means whilst by gaining time they augment their preparations;

tions; to fall at last on the republic at the moment which shall seem most favourable.

This is the system which was followed by Leopold and Frederic William; it is the system followed by the cabinet of St. James's; it waits till its fleets shall be completely armed and equipped, which cannot be in less than two or three months; it waits till our assignats shall be still more discredited, till the security for them shall be exhausted, till anarchy shall divide us, and the French people, tired of war and dreading taxes, shall offer to it an easy prey to devour! Well then, we must put the English cabinet to the test, as we have put Leopold and Frederic William to it; we must force it to give us a precise explanation that shall tranquillise us for ever, or draw the sword against the English; and believe the genius of liberty, the French sailors will not yield to the vanquishers of Brabant, and the ocean too will have its Gemappe.

It is here that it is necessary to tear the veil which envelopes the imposing colossus of England; it is here that it is necessary to prove that you will commence this maritime war with as much and more advantage than the cabinet of St. James's. Money, men, and ships; here is the triple nerve of war. Well! let us consider the state of England, let us compare it with yours.

The public expenditure of England amounted in 1791, after a peace of seven years, to more than 17 millions sterling, and its receipt was not beyond 16 millions (before the revolution, a million sterling contained 25 millions of our livres); that is to say that more than 450 millions are necessary to govern a population of 7 millions of men, whilst 25 millions of French men in time of peace do not pay so much in taxes; that is, every Englishman pays three times as much in taxes as a Frenchman; that is to say, that to make war, England has not a single security to offer for the loans which it must be obliged to make to carry on that war, since its ordinary expence in time of peace exceeds nearly a million sterling its ordinary receipt, whilst France has in the first place more than three thousand millions of landed security to offer; whilst after this security shall be exhausted, the riches of the soil, and the industry of Frenchmen will afford us those immense resources which the wants of the English minister have long since consumed.

Judge by another trait, the distress of that superb power. The armament pretended against Russia in 1791 cost near four millions sterling; that sum makes a part of a debt of twenty millions sterling, which has not yet any security, whilst the English ministry, to hide their weakness under an apparent prosperity, causes annually a million sterling in the English funds to be paid off. To pay off a million when the annual deficiency amounts to almost this million; when nearly twenty millions remain unfunded; when to supply the most pressing wants they have been compelled to degrade themselves so far as to take from the bank of England £.500,000 belonging to unknown proprietors!

England since the peace with America has seen near three millions sterling per year laid on in new taxes. If a war with three millions

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of Americans coſt it more than a thouſand millions, what taxes will not agriculture, commerce, and manufactures have to dread, if the war ſhould laſt, if, above all, it ſhould be directed againſt a free people, againſt 25 millions of men determined to bury themſelves under the ruins of liberty.

Shall I ſpeak of the reſources in men? ſhall I compare the population of 25 millions of Frenchmen, who have but one ſoul, but one will, with the ſeven millions of Engliſh, who can hardly furniſh the thouſands which are every year called for and deſtroyed by the burning climates of the ſugar iſlands and the Eaſt-Indies; with thoſe twelve hundred thouſand Scotchmen, tired of the Engliſh yoke, and every day flying from it to enrich the united ſtates; with thoſe three millions of Iriſh, who far from ſeconding the follies of the cabinet of St. James's, who far from wiſhing to combat a free people, endeavour on the contrary to imitate, and who already exhibit to affrighted deſpotiſm an army of 60,000 volunteers well organized.

Your immenſe population is, and will be, an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers and ſeamen, when the voice of liberty ſhall call them to the combat either by land or ſea. Before ſix months are paſt 80,000 French ſailors, excited by the deſire of ſerving their country, will protect the three coloured flag, whilſt the Engliſh cabinet will not, with a monſtrous bounty of £.5 ſterling, be able to complete its augmentation of 9,000 ſailors, whilſt to man a conſiderable fleet it will be compelled to recur to an infamous preſs, and by that will precipitate its ruin in exciting an inſurrection. Never forget that the war you make is a war without example; it is that of a whole nation which combats againſt ſatellites, or mercenaries, or malcontents; ſatellites, the ability of recruiting whom will ſoon be exhauſted.

It is in conſidering thus with an attentive eye the impoſing ſcaffoldage of Engliſh grandeur that the inſtructed obſerver is able to diſcover the gaps in it; and when he caſts his eyes beyond that iſland, England appears to him alone, yes, alone, in the midſt of its allies and its vaſſals.

Is it Pruſſia that ought to love it? Pruſſia which it ſo cruelly deſerted in actual war? Ruſſia, who never will pardon it for having wiſhed to humble her pride? The emperor, whoſe indigence will ſoon exhauſt the treaſure of England, as his predeceſſors exhauſted it in the war of the allies? Portugal, reduced to the laſt ſtage of a conſumption, Portugal which occupies itſelf in gathering gold, not for the Tagus, but to enrich the Thames? Holland, tired of its yoke, and whoſe want of power is now even againſt England?

Can the Sugar Iſlands furniſh ſolid foundations for its grandeur, thoſe iſlands already ſhaken by the example of the French colonies, where the men of colour are reduced nearly to the ſtate of ſlaves, where the ſlaves are not even on a level with beaſts of burthen? Complete your decree on the men of colour, ameliorate the fate of the ſlave, and you will protect your iſlands, by ſoon depriving England of her's.

Is it in its immenſe poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies that England can hope to find means and friends? I

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see every where immense sums to expend; I see a commerce which in four years has cost eleven millions sterling, and has not produced more; I see a territorial revenue which owes its existence to force, which dries up every day, which is insufficient to defray the slightest wars, or the depredations of the English; I see an enormous tribute paid to China, an immense extent to overlook, few means to make use of, and not one friend. *Not one friend!* yes, those words every one who knows to the bottom the actual politics of India knows to be true.

Is he in reality a friend of England, that nabob of the Carnatic who for forty years has been kept in leading strings by the English; that nabob whom they have constantly kept in affliction and ignominy; seized now by his creditors, who dispute with him for what remains of the plunder that has not been taken from him by the cupidity of the English governors? Is it the Nizam, who lends his troops to strength, and who always refuses them to weakness? Are they the Marratas who know, at last the machiavelism of English politics, who perfectly feel that if Cornwallis has not entirely crushed Tippoo, it is because it was necessary to preserve a rival to them; because the English think it expedient to make one part of the people of India destroy the other? Is it Tippoo Sultan who concenters in his soul the consuming sorrow of having seen wither at Seringapatam those laurels which he had so often gathered, even from the English? that Tippoo whose element is ambition, who only waits an opportunity to make the English once more feel his talents, his courage, and his revenge.

Is it the unfortunate son of Shah Allum, who in receiving the throne of the Mogul has only received the fruits of English injustice, of that injustice which continues to deprive him of a tribute acknowledged to be legitimate by the parliament itself? Are they the laborious weavers of India over whose industry it tyrannizes? those zemindars whose property is always insecure? Are they all those thousands of men who have yet under their eyes thousands of carcases of their unhappy brothers, victims of a famine caused by English avarice? Are these the men who will give support to the English cabinet? No; all assistance from here must be drawn by force, and assistance which is gained by force is never of long continuance. Thirty millions of men in India are now under the domination of England; almost all Hindostan detests it, and sighs for its ruin. And with what force does it hold this enormous number of men, this immense extent of country? With ten thousand English at most, dispersed over the whole surface of India, who have under their orders a hundred thousand necessitous natives well disciplined, but whose discipline may one day turn against their masters. Join to this picture that of the exhausted state of the finances in all the presidencies, and above all in that of Bengal, and the exhausted state of that India company, which will soon sink into nothing, crushed with debts, and covered with maledictions, like all other companies.

Call to mind that unjust war against Tippoo which is hardly terminated, which has cost Great Britain more than eight millions sterling, and a prodigious number of men, and then say, if it is possible that

that a little country like England can long ſuſtain ſuch a coloſſus of grandeur at the diſtance of four or five thouſand leagues from its territory; ſay then, if it is poſſible that it can ſuſtain attacks well directed, combined with the princes of the country, and after a new ſyſtem; ſay, when the French republicans ſhall preſent themſelves in thoſe ſeas, not to take the place of the Engliſh after driving them out, but to reſtore to India its independence, to recall commerce to its true baſis, the baſis of fraternity, ſay, will they not find in the princes and people ſo many allies, and will it not be eaſy for them to overthrow a power whoſe gigantic bulk diſplays its weakneſs and invites ruin?

Far be from us in tracing this picture the wiſh of afflicting the Engliſh nation. We only wiſh to unmaſk the phantom of power on which the miniſter ſupports himſelf. As to the nation, we ſee in it only brothers, and can we wiſh the deſtruction of our brothers? but the Engliſh nation ought at laſt, like us, to ſeek for its proſperity, not in an excluſive commerce, not in poſſeſſions ſtolen from their proprietors, not in the act of ſqueezing out the ſweat and blood of the labourers and artiſans of India, but in a commerce founded on morality, on univerſal juſtice, on the free exertions of induſtry. Ah! what nation could pretend to a higher ſituation than England, though thus reduced to herſelf? What would be ſuperior to it in induſtry, in capital, in the ſpirit of order, above all, in morality, that morality which inſpires confidence and is the ſoul of true commerce?

I ſhall not extend any further theſe reflections, which ought to prove to you that you ſhould not fear to ſee the cabinet of England join itſelf to your enemies.

Kerſaint has beſides demonſtrated, in the energetic picture which he has preſented to you of the Engliſh nation, how eaſily you may attack it with advantage in almoſt all its poſſeſſions. What you have to fear is not war, but uncertainty of war. This will waſte all your means without any profit. You ought then to require a preciſe declaration, and if you cannot obtain it, to reſolve on war. Say therefore to the Engliſh nation—"The war which your cabinet meditates againſt us is an impious and fratricidal war; we hold it in horror. To live in peace with you is our only deſire; we wiſh to reſpect your rights and thoſe of your allies; reſpect our principles. If you have anxieties we are ready to diſſipate them; but if you have the weakneſs to follow the perfidious impulſes of your miniſtry, if you will lend your hands to the battles which they are preparing againſt us, then we declare to you with grief, we ſhall ſee in you only cruel enemies, only the brothers of thoſe ſatellites of Auſtria whoſe deſtruction we have ſworn."

After theſe conſiderations, the committee thinks it its duty to preſent to the convention two projects of decrees: the one relative to the diplomatic part I ſhall now lay before you, the other, relative to the military meaſures to be taken, will be preſented to you by Kerſaint as ſoon as this is read.

Plan of a Decree.

The national convention, after having heard the report of its committee

mittee of general defence, decrees:

1st. That the executive council is charged to declare to the Engliſh government, that it is the intention of the French republic to preſerve harmony and fraternity with the Engliſh nation, and to reſpect its independence, and that of its allies, ſo long as England and its allies ſhall not attack it.

2d. The executive council is charged to demand of the Engliſh government the execution of the 4th article of the treaty of commerce, made in 1786; and conſequently that French citizens travelling or reſiding in England ſhould ceaſe to be ſubject to the humiliating forms preſcribed by the act of parliament of the month of January; and that they may travel or reſide quietly in England, in the ſame manner as the Engliſh do in France.

3d. The executive council is charged to demand of the Engliſh government, that, like other foreigners, the French may freely export from Great Britain and Ireland corn and other merchandizes and proviſions; and that they ſhall not be ſubjected to any other prohibition than foreigners, conformably to the treaty of 1786.

4th, and finally, The executive council is charged to demand of the Engliſh government, what is the object of the armaments recently ordered by it, and if they are to act againſt France; reſerving to itſelf, in caſe of ſatisfaction being refuſed on all theſe points, to take immediately ſuch meaſures as the intereſt and ſafety of the republic require to repulſe any aggreſſion.

Report on the Hoſtilities of the King of England *and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and on the Neceſſity of declaring that the* French *Republic is at war with them; preſented on the 1ſt of February, 1793 to the National Convention, by* J. P. Briſſot, *in the name of the Committee of General Defence.*

[Printed by order of the Convention.]

YOU have referred to your committee of general defence the new documents relative to the conduct of England towards the French republic.

Citizens, the court of England wiſhes for war; you can no longer doubt it. The delineation of its conduct, which was preſented to you on the 12th of laſt January by your committee, and which it would be uſeleſs here to repeat, muſt have prepared you for this event. At that epoch it was ſtill hoped that reaſon would bring back the Engliſh miniſtry to the principles of juſtice; that convinced of the futility of their reclamations, of the injuſtice of their proceedings, and of their vexations exerciſed towards the French, and fearing too the wrath of a nation which they deceived, and which might in an inſtant open its eyes to the light, it was hoped, I ſay, that theſe miniſters would abandon their chicaneries, and concur in good faith with the proviſional executive council of France to maintain peace between the two nations. That hope, cheriſhed by men who could only ſee with horror a war between two free nations, that hope is no more. The hoſtile views of the cabinet of London are now undiſguiſed: hitherto they were covered by the perfidious maſk of neutrality; your republican firmneſs has cauſed the maſk to be dropped.

George ſecretly, and for a long time, meditated a war againſt your liberty; for what tyrant can ever

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pardon you that? But he feared his miniſtry, his parliament, the commerce, and the nation; he has corrupted the national opinion, he has terrified commerce, he has preſcribed to the parliament, he has menaced his miniſters; and, confident in this coalition, he has now declared war againſt you, becauſe he believes that the moment is come when he may ſafely and with impunity direct theſe forces againſt your liberty. He has declared war againſt you, in ordering your ambaſſador to leave England in eight days; he has declared it, in publicly giving marks of his grief on the fate of that conſpirator, whom you juſtly condemned to death; he declared it, in demanding of the parliament, when he heard the news of that death, a conſiderable addition to the forces by land and ſea.

To drive away ignominiouſly the agent of the republic, and to arm on hearing of the death of the traitor—is it not ſaying to Europe, to the univerſe, "France has condemned Louis, but I acquit him; ſhe has condemned him as a traitor, but I hold him innocent; I ſee in France only rebels, and men guilty of ſacrilege; France wiſhes to have no king, no royalty, but I wiſh to avenge the king, and re-eſtabliſh royalty; I wiſh to join the coalition of kings leagued to ſupport thrones, to waſte the treaſures and the blood of *my ſubjects!* Sooner let England periſh, than ſee the French republic conſolidate itſelf!"

Such is, doubt it not, Frenchmen, the barbarous wiſh of the King of Great Britain; ſuch is the energetic meaning of the outrage he has committed againſt your ambaſſador, and the armaments which he has ordered.

If he has not on the ſpot, and openly, declared war, it is becauſe that his miniſtry has not actively enough ſeconded the orders of his vengeance; it is becauſe that his forces are not yet prepared to deſtroy your commerce, to take from you your colonies, to ravage your fields; it is becauſe that, by a refinement of machiaveliſm, he wiſhes to avoid the appearance of aggreſſion, he wiſhes for the opportunity of accuſing you of it to the Engliſh nation; he wiſhes, in one word, *to popularize, to nationalize* this war.

Certainly if the Engliſh people had not ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the impulſion given to them by their miniſtry, if they had examined with ſome attention the calumnies ſpread againſt us with ſuch aſſiduity, they would have ſeen, in the crimes with which we have been reproached, only the crimes of ſome individuals; they would have ſeen in France only one mind, one wiſh; in our revolution, only the legitimate conqueſt of our rights; in our republican government, only a government the moſt certain to maintain liberty and equality; finally, they would have ſeen, in the death of Louis, only a great act of juſtice; and, convinced of theſe truths, the people of England would have ſaid to their king, "The French wiſhed to be republicans; they have aboliſhed royalty, and puniſhed their king: they had a right ſo to do. To declare war againſt them, to puniſh them for ſo doing, would be an act of injuſtice, a violation of the right of nations, of the ſacred right of their independence. The French do not fight againſt us becauſe that we have a king: what right have we to fight againſt them becauſe they have none? We can ſtill continue to be brothers, though under a different government."

Such, citizens, are doubtleſs the ideas

ideas entertained by the greateſt number of minds in England in ſeeing the acts of hoſtility committed by king George; ideas which, if it were not for the terror of bayonets, would even now be manifeſted; for in that country reaſon is cultivated by every claſs; and in every place where reaſon is cultivated the French republic cannot remain long under a popular anathema: ſee then why this war againſt France, which means have been found by ſo many intrigues and expences to render popular in England, ſee why in a ſhort time it will be but an object of horror and execration. The Engliſh people will be indignant at having been ſeduced, and brought to dip their hands in the blood of their brothers, the moſt intrepid defenders of univerſal liberty, and who wiſh for vengeance to the Engliſh, that they may ſee their liberty ameliorated, and every kind of deſpotiſm baniſhed from among them. Doubtleſs, then, the blood which ſhall have been ſpilt will light on the heads of thoſe perfidious miniſters who feared not to ſacrifice whole nations to the little calculations of their ambition, on thoſe miniſters who ſpeculate on the termination or diſcredit of our aſſignats as the end of our liberty. They are ignorant, then, that they have an immenſe property for their baſis; they are ignorant, then, that the Americans were free long after the death of their paper money.

Doubtleſs, citizens, the miniſters who have had the baſeneſs and cruelty to ſit down to ſuch liberticidal calculations on the war which they declare againſt us, theſe miniſters will not end their days in the boſom of tranquillity, like that North and his accomplices, who have been ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently puniſhed by a miniſterial diſgrace for the atrocious crime of the war with America. The Engliſh nation, once enlightened by our example, will do juſtice on the conſpirators in place; the comedy of the eternal trial of Haſtings will not be renewed; and the ſcaffolds will ſerve once more for the Straffords and Lauds of the actual government, as well as for the common robbers.

Well do they merit to be brought there, thoſe who have provoked this fratricidal war, thoſe who ſeek to overthrow, in the French liberty, the liberty of every people. Never was there a crime more horrible; it is a crime againſt the whole human race.

That idea ought to fire your ſouls, citizens: it is not for yourſelves alone that you are going to fight, it is for all the nations of Europe. Already a part of your enemies reap the fruits of your intrepidity; for kings now fear to vex and overburthen their people. In Ireland, three millions of men will be free, becauſe that your principles have reached their ſhores, becauſe that a terrible exploſion is feared, becauſe it is wiſhed to be prevented. Thus even thoſe Iriſh that are endeavoured to be armed againſt you, owe their liberties to you.

Citizens, it is not neceſſary to diſſemble to you the dangers of this new war: it is all Europe, or rather it is all the tyrants of Europe, that you have now to combat againſt by land and ſea. You have no allies, or rather all the people are for you; but the people can do nothing for you; they are in chains, and thoſe chains muſt firſt fall. All your means, therefore, are in yourſelves, in yourſelves alone. Your ſoil, your induſtry, your courage, muſt ſupply all

all that nature and circumſtances have denied to you; it is neceſſary that the merchant ſhould forget his commerce, and fit out only privateers; that the ſtockholder ſhould conſecrate his ſtock to ſuſtain the aſſignats, and provide for the wants of caſh; that the landholder and labourer, renouncing all ſpeculation, ſhould ſupply our markets in abundance; it is indiſpenſable that the citizen ſhould be ready to march like a Roman ſoldier, that is to ſay, not only with his arms, but with proviſions for a fixed time; and by this means you will diſappoint the calculations of your enemies on the emptineſs of your magazines: it is neceſſary that the great family of Frenchmen ſhould be but one army, that France ſhould be only a camp, in which no one ſhould ſpeak but of war, where all ſhould tend to war, where every labour ſhould have no other object than war; above all, it is neceſſary to be fortified for a reverſe; to prepare for misfortune by privations, by a ſimple and frugal life; and, finally, it is neceſſary that it ſhould ſoon be a crime for a citizen to have two garments while one of his brothers is naked.

O you who calculate for the future, abjure your anxieties.—Vanquiſhed, your riches will but too ſoon be the prey of your maſters; victors, the univerſe is yours; your induſtry will ſoon, under the auſpices of liberty, repair all your loſſes.

It is only by a ſucceſſion of ſacrifices, it is only by ſupernatural efforts, that you can hope to vanquiſh, to level with the duſt that more impoſing than terrible coloſſus of England, the laſt prop of the crowned coalition.

The cabinet of St. James's laughingly ſpeaks of the diſcredit of our aſſignats: let it tremble for its bank. In leſs than one year either your liberty ſhall be no more, or it ſhall reign in England, or the royal bank of London ſhall be deſtroyed. Yet once more it is here a combat to death; and George, when he declared war againſt you, declared his fall, and the bankruptcy of England. For whoever can calculate the chances of this extraordinary war, knows that event to be inevitable.

Frenchmen, if deſtined to combat the league of tyrants, you had only a king at your head, your fate would be certain; but liberty commands you, liberty alone can work miracles, and you ſhall vanquiſh.

You can do every thing, if you ſtrongly wiſh every thing; for if nature has not given you all the objects of enjoyment, ſhe has given you all that is neceſſary for freemen, all that can aſſure the ſucceſs of this holy cruſade againſt kings. But it is neceſſary that the paſſion of liberty ſhould inſpire all ſouls, extinguiſh every particular paſſion, or rather blend them into one alone, the paſſion of liberty: finally, it is neceſſary, that all minds ſhould rally round the ſame altar; and that altar is here—the convention—here is the holy ark of France: whatever tends to make it deſpiſed, or to diſſolve it, is the enemy of the human race; for the welfare of the human race is here.

Citizens, never abandon this idea, and the little paſſions will not dare to pollute this hall. We ſhall be always great when we are in the preſence of the univerſe, when we think that it is for the univerſe that we combat.

To declare war againſt England, is to declare a war which the has

already begun; and you do not in this violate the principle which you have conſecrated, and which every free people ought to conſecrate, that of renouncing acts of aggreſſion, and offenſive war.

The ſpirit which has till the preſent time directed you in the war you have carried on againſt the Emperor and Pruſſia, you will follow in your war againſt England; that is to ſay, that, combating rather the government and its ſatellites than the nation, you will be attentive to ſpare peaceable individuals thoſe calamities which ought alone to ſtrike the guilty. Alas, citizens, it is not the fault of your humanity that a part of theſe calamities have not been prevented, ſince at the very time when this war could not be foreſeen, your executive power had orders to ſolicit, and did ſolicit, the Engliſh government to aboliſh for ever the barbarous cuſtom of privateering, and that government obſtinately refuſed. Thus it is itſelf reſponſible for all the horrors which that kind of war muſt bring upon the two nations.

To declare that the republic is at war with the Engliſh government, is to declare that it is ſo with the ſtadtholder of Holland; that ſtadtholder who is rather the ſubject than the ally of the cabinet of St. James's; who has been, who ſtill is a paſſive inſtrument in its hands; who, lending himſelf to all its paſſions, has, during the whole courſe of the revolution, favoured the emigrants and Pruſſians, vexed the French, treated the French government with inſolence; and here I atteſt in proof the releaſe of the fabricators of falſe aſſignats, who were arreſted in Holland, that ſtadtholder who ſovereignly diſpoſing the forces of the United Provinces, directing according to his will that vain phantom of repreſentation the ſtates general, now arms to maintain the war of the cabinet of London, joins his ſhips to the Engliſh ſhips, and favours our enemies by hindering the exportation of grain.

DECREE.

The national convention having heard the report of its committee of general defence, on the conduct of the Engliſh government to France:

Conſidering that the king of England has not ceaſed, principally ſince the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, to give to the French nation proofs of his ill will to it, and his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads:

That at that epoch he ordered his ambaſſador to leave Paris, becauſe that he did not wiſh to acknowledge the executive council created by the legiſlative aſſembly:

That the cabinet of St. James's at the ſame epoch diſcontinued its correſpondence with the French ambaſſador in London, under pretext of the ſuſpenſion of the late king of the French:

That ſince the opening of the national convention he has not wiſhed to reſume the accuſtomed correſpondence between the two ſtates, nor to acknowledge the powers of that convention:

That he has refuſed to acknowledge the ambaſſador of the French republic, though furniſhed with credentials in its name:

That he has endeavoured to hinder different purchaſes of grain, arms, and other merchandiſes, ordered in England, either by French citizens, or by the agents of the French republic:

That

That he has caufed feveral fhips and veffels laden with corn for France to be ftopped, whilft, contrary to the treaty of 1786, the exportation of it has been continued to other foreign countries:

That to thwart more effectually the commercial operations of the republic in England, he has caufed to be prohibited, by an act of parliament, the circulation of affignats:

That in violation of the 4th article of the treaty of 1786, he has caufed the fame parliament to make, during the month of laft January, an act which fubjects all French citizens going to, or returning from England, to forms the moft inquifitorial, the moft vexatious, and the moft dangerous for their fafety:

That at the fame time, and contrary to the tenor of the firft article of the treaty of peace made in 1783, he has granted open protection and fuccours in money to the emigrants, and even to the chiefs of the rebels who have already fought againft France; that he has kept up with them a conftant correfpondence, evidently directed againft the French revolution; and that he has daily received the chiefs of the rebels in the French eaftern colonies;

That in the fame fpirit, and without any provocation having been given, and when all the maritime powers were at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's ordered a conficerable armament by fea, and an augmentation of its land forces:

That this armament was ordered at the moment when the Englifh miniftry perfecuted with fury all thofe who maintained in England the principles of the French revolution; and while they employed all poffible means, both in parliament and out, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw down upon it the execration of the Englifh nation, and of all Europe:

That the intention of this armament, deftined againft France, has not been difguifed even in the Englifh parliament:

That although the provifional executive council of France employed every means to preferve peace and brotherhood with the Englifh nation, and replied to calumnies and violation of treaties only by remonftrances, founded on the principles of juftice, and expreffed with the dignity of free men, the Englifh miniftry perfevered in its fyftem of ill will and hoftility, continued its armaments, and fent a fquadron towards the Scheldt to hinder the operations of the French in Belgium:

That at the news of the execution of Louis, it carried its outrages againft the French republic to fuch a height as to give orders to the ambaffador of France to quit under eight days the territories of Great Britain:

That the king of Great Britain manifefted his attachment to the caufe of the traitor, and his defign to fupport it, by different refolutions taken at the moment of his death, by naming generals to his land forces, by demanding of the Englifh parliament a conficerable addition to his land and fea forces, and by ordering the equipment of gun-boats:

That his fecret coalition with the enemies of France, and efpecially with the Emperor of Ruffia, are confirmed by a treaty entered into with the latter in the month of January laft:

That he has drawn into the fame

coalition the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces; that this prince, whoſe ſervile devotion to the orders of the cabinet of St. James's and Berlin is too notorious, has, in the courſe of the French revolution, and notwithſtanding his proteſtations of neutrality, treated with contempt the agents of France, received the emigrants, vexed the French patriots, traverſed their operations, ſet at liberty, contrary to received uſages and the demands of the French miniſtry, the fabricators of falſe aſſignats; that latterly, in concert with the ſtates general, and to concur with the hoſtile deſigns of the court of London, he has ordered an armament, commanded the Dutch veſſels to join the Engliſh ſquadron, opened a loan for the purpoſe of defraying the charges of war, and hindered the exportations to France while he favoured the proviſioning of magazines belonging to enemies of France:

Finally, conſidering that all theſe circumſtances leave the French republic no hope of obtaining, by the way of amicable negotiation, a redreſs of its grievances, and that all the acts of the Britiſh court and of the ſtadtholder are acts of hoſtility, and equivalent to a declaration of war,

The national convention decrees as follows:

I. The national convention declares, in the name of the French people, that, in conſequence of the multiplied acts of hoſtility and aggreſſion above-mentioned, the French republic is at war with the king of England and the ſtadtholder of the United Provinces.

II. The national convention charges the proviſional executive council to make uſe of all the forces which it may think neceſſary to repulſe this aggreſſion, and to maintain the independence, the dignity, and the intereſts of the French republic.

III. The national convention authorizes the proviſional executive council to diſpoſe of the naval forces of the republic in ſuch a manner as the ſafety of the ſtate may require; and it revokes all particular diſpoſitions ordered in this reſpect by preceding decrees.

The French Conſtitution adopted by the National Convention, June 24, 1793.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

THE French people, convinced that the forgetfulneſs and contempt of the natural rights of man, are the ſole cauſes of the calamities of the world, has reſolved to lay open in a ſolemn declaration thoſe ſacred and inalienable rights, to the end that all the citizens being always able to compare the acts of the government with the deſign of all ſocial inſtitutions, may never ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed and abuſed by tyranny; and that the people may have perpetually before its eyes the baſes of its liberty and its happineſs, the magiſtrate the rule of his duties, and the legiſlator the object of his miſſion.

In conſequence it proclaims, in preſence of the Supreme Being, the following declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen.

Article 1. The end of ſociety is general happineſs.

Government is inſtituted for the purpoſe of guaranteeing to man the enjoyment

enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

2. Those rights are equality, liberty, safety, and property.

3. All men are equal by nature and in the eye of the law.

4. The law is the free and solemn expression of the general will; it is the same for all, either in protecting or in punishing: it can only ordain that which is just and useful to society: it can only forbid that which is prejudicial to society.

5. Every citizen is equally admissible to public employments. Free people, in their elections, know no other motives of preference, than virtues and talents.

6. Liberty is the power which belongs to a man of doing all that which does not injure the rights of another: it has nature for its origin, justice for its rule, and the law for its protection: its moral bounds are defined in this maxim,

Do not to another that which thou dost not wish be should do unto thee.

7. The right of manifesting thoughts and opinions, either by the press or by any other manner, the right of assembling peaceably, and the free exercise of modes of worship, cannot be forbidden.

The necessity of declaring these rights supposes either the presence or the remembrance of recent despotism.

8. Safety consists in the protection granted by society to each of its members for the preservation of his person, of his rights, and of his property.

9. The law ought to protect public and individual liberty from the oppression of those who govern.

10. No one ought to be accused, arrested, or detained otherwise than in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it prescribes: every citizen summoned or seized by the authority of the law ought instantly to obey; by resistance he renders himself culpable.

11. Every act exercised against a man who has not offended against the law, and exercised without the forms prescribed by the law, is arbitrary and tyrannical: the person against whom it is wished to be exercised by violence has the right of resisting it by force.

12. Those who solicit, expedite, sign, execute, or cause to be executed arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished.

13. Every man being presumed innocent till the moment that he shall be declared guilty, if it is judged indispensably necessary to arrest him, all severity which is not necessary to secure his person, ought to be severely repressed by the law.

14. No one ought to be judged and punished, till after having been heard or legally summoned, and but in virtue of a law promulgated before the commission of the crime: the law which punishes crimes committed before its existence is a tyranny; a retroactive effect given to the law is a crime.

15. The law ought to decree only punishments strictly and evidently necessary: punishments ought to be proportioned to crimes, and useful to society.

16. The right of property is that which belongs to every citizen of disposing, at his pleasure, of his goods, of his revenues, and of the produce of his labour and industry.

17. No kind of labour, of culture, or commerce, can be forbidden to the industry of citizens.

18. Every man may engage his services and his time, but he can neither sell himself nor be sold.

His perſon is not an alienable property. The law does not acknowledge the ſtate of ſervitude; there can exiſt only an engagement of attentions and recompences between the man who labours and the man who employs him.

19. No one can be deprived of the leaſt part of his property without his conſent, except when the public neceſſity, legally verified, requires it, and under the condition of a juſt and previous indemnity.

20. No contribution can be eſtabliſhed but for general utility. All the citizens have a right of concurring in the eſtabliſhment of contributions, in watching over their employ, and in cauſing an account of them to be rendered.

21. Public ſuccours are a ſacred debt. Society owes ſubſiſtence to unfortunate citizens, either by procuring them labour, or by aſſuring the means of exiſtence to thoſe who are not in a ſtate to labour.

22. Inſtruction is what all have need of. Society ought to favour with all its power the progreſs of the public reaſon, and put inſtruction within the reach of all the citizens.

23. The ſocial guarantee conſiſts in the action of all for the purpoſe of aſſuring to each the enjoyment and the preſervation of his rights: this guarantee reſts on the national ſovereignty.

24. It cannot exiſt, if the limits of the public functions are not clearly determined by law, and if the reſponſibility of all the functionaries is not aſſured.

25. The ſovereignty reſides in the people. It is one and indiviſible, impreſcriptible and inalienable.

26. No portion of the people can exerciſe the power of the entire people; but every ſection of the ſovereign aſſembled ought to enjoy, with an entire liberty, the right of expreſſing its will.

27. All individuals uſurping the ſovereignty ſhould be immediately put to death by free men.

28. A people has always the right of reviſing, of reforming, and of changing its conſtitution. One generation cannot ſubject future generations to its laws.

29. Every citizen has an equal right to concur to the formation of the law, and to the nomination of his delegates, or of his agents.

30. The public functions are in an eſſential manner temporary: they cannot be conſidered either as diſtinctions or as recompences, but as duties.

31. The crimes of the delegates of the people ought never to be unpuniſhed. No one has the right of pretending that he is more inviolable than other citizens.

32. The right of preſenting petitions to the depoſitaries of the public authority cannot in any caſe be forbidden, ſuſpended, or limited.

33. Reſiſtance to oppreſſion is the conſequence of the other rights of man.

34. There is oppreſſion againſt the ſocial body when one alone of its members is oppreſſed. There is oppreſſion againſt every member when the ſocial body is oppreſſed.

35. When government violates the rights of the people, inſurrection is for the people, and for every portion of the people, the moſt ſacred of rights, and the moſt indiſpenſable of duties.

CON-

CONSTITUTIONAL ACT.

Of the Republic.

Article 1. THE French republic is one and indiviſible.

Of the Diviſion of the People.

2. The French people is divided for the exerciſe of its ſovereignty, in primary aſſemblies of cantons.

3. It is divided, for the adminiſtration and for juſtice, into departments, diſtricts, and municipalities.

Of the State of the Citizens.

4. Every man born and domiciliated in France, of the full age of 21 years; every foreigner of the ſame age, who, domiciliated in France for one year, lives there on his labour, or acquires a property, or marries a French perſon, or adopts an infant, or ſupports an old perſon; and likewiſe every foreigner who ſhall be judged by the legiſlative body to have merited well of humanity, is admitted to the exerciſe of the rights of a French citizen.

5. The exerciſe of the rights of a French citizen is loſt by naturalization in a foreign country, by the acceptance of functions or favours from a government not originating from the people, and by condemnation to corporal and diſgraceful puniſhments, till again re-eſtabliſhed.

6. The exerciſe of the rights of a citizen is ſuſpended by being in a ſtate of accuſation, or by a ſentence of contumacy, ſo long as the ſentence remains unrevoked.

Of the Sovereignty of the People.

7. The ſovereign people is the univerſality of the French citizens.

8. It names its deputies itſelf.

9 It delegates to the electors, the choice of adminiſtrators, of public arbitrators, of the criminal judges, and the judges of caſhiering.

10. It deliberates on the laws.

Of the Primary Aſſemblies.

11. The primary aſſemblies are compoſed of citizens domiciliated during ſix months in each canton.

12. They are compoſed of 200 citizens at leaſt, of 600 at moſt, called to vote.

13. They are conſtituted by the nomination of a preſident, of ſecretaries, and of ſcrutators.

14. Their police belongs to them.

15. No perſon can appear there in arms.

16. The elections are made either by ſcrutiny or by vote, according to the choice of each voter.

17. A primary aſſembly cannot in any caſe preſcribe an uniform method of voting.

18. The ſcrutators ſhall verify the votes of thoſe citizens who, not being able to write, prefer voting by ſcrutiny.

19. The ſuffrages on the laws are given by *yes* or by *no*.

20. The wiſh of the primary aſſembly is thus proclaimed: *The citizens united in the primary aſſembly of - - - - to the number of - - - voters, vote for or vote againſt - - - to the majority of - - -*

Of the National Repreſentation.

21. Population is the ſole baſis of the national repreſentation.

22. There is a deputy to every 40,000 individuals.

23. Every union of primary aſſemblies, reſulting from a population of from 39,000 to 41,000 ſouls, names immediately a deputy.

24. The nomination is made by the abſolute majority of ſuffrages.

25. Each aſſembly examines the ſuffrages, and ſends a commiſſioner for the general reverification to the place pointed out as the moſt central.

26. If the firſt reverification does not give the abſolute majority, a ſecond appeal is proceeded to, and the choice lays between the two citizens who had the greateſt number of votes.

27. In caſe of an equality of votes, the moſt aged has the preference, either to be ballotted or elected. In caſe of an equality of age, it is decided by lot.

28. Every Frenchman exerciſing the rights of a citizen is eligible in the extent of the republic.

29. Every deputy belongs to the whole nation.

30. In caſe of the non-acceptance, reſignation, excluſion, or death of a deputy, his replacement is provided for by the primary aſſemblies who named him.

31. A deputy who has given in his reſignation cannot quit his poſt till after the admiſſion of his ſucceſſor.

32. The French people aſſembles every year, on the 1ſt of May, for the elections.

33. It proceeds to elect whatever may be the number of citizens having a right to vote.

34. The primary aſſemblies meet extraordinarily on the demand of fifty citizens having a right to vote.

35. The convocation is made in this caſe by the municipality of the ordinary place of aſſembling.

36. Theſe extraordinary aſſemblies do not deliberate, unleſs the half of the citizens who have a right to vote, and one more be preſent.

Of the Electoral Aſſemblies.

37. The citizens met in the primary aſſemblies name one elector to the proportion of 200 citizens preſent or not, two from 201 to 400, and three from 401 to 600.

38. The ſittings of the electoral aſſemblies and the mode of elections are the ſame as in the primary aſſemblies.

Of the Legiſlative Body.

39. The legiſlative body is one, indiviſible, and permanent.

40. Its ſeſſion is of one year.

41. It meets on the 1ſt of July.

42. The national aſſembly cannot conſtitute itſelf, if it is not compoſed at leaſt of one half the deputies and one more.

43. The deputies cannot at any time be called to account, accuſed, or judged, for opinions which they have given in the boſom of the legiſlative body.

44. They may, for criminal offences, be ſeized in the fact, but the warrant of arreſt, or warrant to bring them before the tribunals, cannot be iſſued without the authority of the legiſlative body.

Of the Sittings of the Legiſlative Body.

45. The ſittings of the national aſſembly are public.

46. The proces verbal of its ſittings are printed.

47. It cannot deliberate unleſs two hundred members at leaſt are preſent.

48. It cannot refuſe the right of ſpeaking to its members in the order which they have claimed it.

49. Its deliberations are determined by the majority of thoſe preſent.

50. Fifty members have a right to demand the nominal appeal.

51. It

51. It has the right of cenſure on the conduct of its members in its boſom.

52. The police of the place of its ſittings, and in the exterior circle which it has determined, belong to it.

Of the Functions of the Legiſlative Body.

53. The legiſlative body propoſes laws and makes decrees.

54. Under the general name of laws are compriſed all acts of the legiſlative body, concerning,

The civil and criminal legiſlation;
The general adminiſtration of the revenues, and ordinary expences of the republic;
The national domains;
The ſtandard, the weight, the impreſs, and the denomination of coins;
The declaration of war;
All new general diſtribution of the French territory;
The public inſtruction, and public honours paid to the memory of great men.

55. Under the particular name of decrees are comprehended all the acts of the legiſlative body, concerning,

The yearly eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea forces;
The permiſſion or denial of the paſſage of foreign troops over the French territory;
The introduction of foreign naval forces into the ports of the republic;
Meaſures of ſafety and general tranquillity;
The annual and accidental diſtribution of ſuccours and public works;
Orders for the fabrication of money of all ſpecies;
Unforeſeen and extraordinary expences;
Local and particular meaſures of an adminiſtration, a commune, or a public work;
Defence of the territory;
The ratification of treaties;
The nomination and caſhiering of commanders in chief of the armies;
The proſecution of the reſponſibility of the members of the council, and the public functionaries;
The accuſation of thoſe charged with conſpiracies againſt the general ſafety of the republic;
All changes in the partial diſtribution of the French territory;
National recompenſes;

Of the Formation of the Laws.

56. The plans of the laws are preceded by a report.

57. The diſcuſſion cannot be opened, and the law proviſionally ordained, till fifteen days after the report.

58. The plan is printed and ſent to all the communes of the republic, under this title, *Propoſed Law.*

59. In forty days after the ſending of the propoſed law, if, in the half of the departments, and one over, the tenth of the primary aſſemblies of each of them, regularly formed, ſhall not have objected, the plan ſhall be accepted, and become law.

60. If objections are made to it, the legiſlative body convokes the primary aſſemblies.

Of the Titles of Laws and Decrees.

61. The laws, the decrees, the judgments, and all the public acts are titled, *In the name of the French people, the ....year of the French republic.*

Of

Of the Executive Council.

62. There is an executive council, composed of twenty-four members.

63. The electoral assembly of each department names a candidate. The legislative body chuses from the general list the members of the council.

64. It is changed one half by each legislature, during the latter months of the session.

65. The council is charged with the direction and inspection of the general administration. It can only act in execution of the laws and decrees of the legislative body.

66. It names out of its own body the agents in chief of the general administration of the republic.

67. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents.

68. These agents form no council. They are separate, without any immediate connection between them; they exercise no personal authority.

69. The council names out of its own body the exterior agents of the republic.

70. It negotiates treaties.

71. The members of the council, in case of prevarication, are accused by the legislative body.

72. The council is responsible for the non-execution of the laws and decrees, and for the abuses which it does not denounce.

73. It recalls and replaces the agents of its nomination.

74. It is bound to denounce them, if there is cause, before the judicial authorities.

Of the Connection of the Executive Council with the Legislative Body.

75. The executive council is situated near the legislative body. It has an entrance, and a separate place in the hall of the legislative body.

76. It is heard at all times when it has an account to give.

77. The legislative body calls it into its presence, either in whole or in part, whenever it judges necessary.

Of the Administrative and Municipal Bodies.

78. There is in every commune of the republic a municipal administration. In every district an intermediary one.

79. The municipal officers are elected by the assemblies of the commune.

80. The administrators are named by the electoral assemblies of the department and of the district.

81. The municipalities and the administrations are half renewed every year.

82. The administrators and municipal officers have not any character of representation.

They cannot in any case modify the acts of the legislative body, or suspend their execution.

83. The legislative body determines the functions of the municipal officers and administrators, the rules of their subordination, and the penalties which they may incur.

84. The sittings of the municipalities and of the administrations are public.

Of Civil Justice.

85. The code of the civil and criminal laws is the same for the whole of the republic.

86. There can be no hindrance given to the right which the citizens have of causing their differences to be decided by arbitrators of their own chusing.

87. If the citizens do not reserve

to themselves the right of protesting against it, the decision of these arbitrators is final.

88. Justices of the peace are elected by the citizens of the circles marked out by the law.

89. They conciliate and judge without any charge.

90. Their number and their competence are determined by the legislative body.

91. Public arbitrators are elected by the electoral assemblies.

92. Their numbers and their circles are fixed by the legislative body.

93. They take cognizance of those disputes which have not been definitively settled by private arbitrators, or by justices of the peace.

94. They deliberate in public. They give their opinions openly. They decide without appeal on verbal defence, or simple memorial, without process, and without expence. They state the reasons of their decisions.

95. The justices of the peace, and the public arbitrators, are elected every year.

Of Criminal Justice.

96. In criminal matters no citizen can be judged but on an accusation received by the juries, or decreed by the legislative body.

The accused have counsel chosen by them, or officially named.

The conducting of the process is public.

The fact and the intention are decided upon by a jury of judgment.

The punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal.

97. The criminal judges are elected every year by the electoral assemblies.

Of the Tribunal of Cashiering.

98. There is for all the republic a tribunal of cashiering.

99. This tribunal takes no cognisance of the more essential parts of affairs.

It pronounces on the violations of forms, and on express contraventions of the law.

100. The members of this tribunal are named every year by the electoral assemblies.

Of the Public Contributions.

101. No citizen is exempted from the honourable obligation of contributing to the public charges.

Of the National Treasury.

102. The national treasury is the central point of the receipts and disbursements of the republic.

103. It is administered by accountable agents, named by the executive council.

104. These agents are watched over by commissioners named by the legislative body, taken out of its own number, and responsible for those abuses which they do not denounce.

Of the Responsibility.

105. The accounts of the agents of the national treasury, and of the administrators of the public money, are given in annually to responsible commissioners, named by the executive council.

106. These verifiers are watched over by commissioners of the nomination of the legislative body, taken out of its own number, and responsible for those errors and abuses which they do not denounce.

The legislative body passes the accounts.

Of

Of the Forces of the Republic.

107. The general force of the republic is compoſed of the whole people.

108. The republic keeps in pay, even during the time of peace, a ſea and land force.

109. All the French are ſoldiers, they are all exerciſed in the uſe of arms.

110. There is no generaliſſimo.

111. The difference of ranks, their diſtinctive marks, and ſubordination, only ſubſiſt relatively to the ſervice, and during its duration.

112. The public force employed to maintain order and peace in the interior, acts only on the requiſition in writing of the conſtituted authorities.

113. The public force employed againſt the enemies without, acts under the orders of the executive council.

114. No armed body can deliberate.

Of National Conventions.

115. If in the half and one over of the departments, a tenth of the primary aſſemblies, regularly formed, demand the reviſion of the conſtitutional act, or the change of ſome one of its articles, the legiſlative body is bound to convoke all the primary aſſemblies of the republic, for the purpoſe of knowing if there is reaſon for a national convention.

116. The national convention is formed in the ſame manner as the legiſlatures, and unites the powers of them.

117. It occupies itſelf, relatively to the conſtitution, only on thoſe objects which have occaſioned its convocation.

Of the Connections between the French Republic and Foreign Nations.

118. The French people is the natural friend and ally of all free people.

119. It does not intermeddle with the government of other nations. It does not ſuffer other nations to intermeddle in its own.

120. It gives an aſylum to all foreigners baniſhed from their country for the cauſe of liberty. It refuſes one to tyrants.

121. It does not make peace with an enemy who occupies its territory.

Of the Guarantee of Rights.

122. The conſtitution guarantees to all the French, equality, liberty, ſafety, property, the public debt, the free exerciſe of modes of worſhip, general inſtruction, public ſuccours, the indefinite liberty of the preſs, the right of petition, the right of meeting in popular ſocieties, the enjoyment of all the rights of man.

123. The French republic honours fidelity, courage, old age, filial piety, and misfortune. It places the depoſit of its conſtitution under the protection of all the virtues.

124. The declaration of rights, and the conſtitutional act, are engraven on tables in the hall of the legiſlative body, and in the public places.

Signed, COLLOT D'HERBOIS, *Preſident.*—DURAND MALLAINE. DUCOS, MEAULLE, CH. DE LA CROIX, GOSSUIN, P. A. LALOY, *Secretaries.*

Declaration

Declaration of the Regent of France.

Lewis Staniſlaus Xavier, of France, Son of France, Uncle to the preſent King, and Regent of the Kingdom—To all thoſe who may peruſe theſe Preſents, Greeting.

WHEREAS the moſt criminal of men have, by the perpetration of the moſt atrocious of crimes, completed the weight of their iniquities; We, ſtruck with horror on receiving the information, have invoked the Almighty to enable us, by his gracious aſſiſtance, to ſuppreſs the emotions of our juſt indignation, cauſed by the ſentiments of the profound grief which had overwhelmed us; to the end that we might the better fulfil thoſe eſſential duties that are, in circumſtances ſo weighty, the firſt in order among thoſe obligations which the unchangeable laws of the French monarchy impoſe upon us.

The fierce uſurpers of the ſovereign authority in France having, on the 21ſt day of the preſent month of January, laid violent hands on, and barbarouſly murdered, our dearly-beloved and highly-honoured brother and ſovereign the king, Louis the XVIth by name—We declare, that the dauphin, Louis-Charles, born the 27th day of March, the year of our Lord 1785, is king of France and Navarre, under the name of Louis the XVIIth. We furthermore declare, in virtue of our birth-right, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom of France, that we are, and will act as regent of France during the minority of the king, our nephew and ſovereign lord.

Thus inveſted with the exerciſe of the rights and powers of the ſovereignty in France, and of the ſupreme adminiſtration of royal juſtice throughout the ſaid kingdom, we, in conſequence of our obligations and duties ſo to do, take upon ourſelves the ſaid charge of regent.

We are therefore determined, with the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, and that of our good and loyal ſubjects of all ranks and orders, aided by the powerful ſuccours of the allied ſovereigns for the ſame purpoſe, to do our utmoſt endeavours to recover the liberty of our royal nephew, king Louis XVIIth; of her majeſty, his auguſt mother and guardian; of the princeſs royal, Maria Thereſa, his ſiſter and our niece; and of her royal highneſs the princeſs Elizabeth, his aunt and our deareſt ſiſter; all held in the ſevereſt captivity by the chiefs of a faction.

We are likewiſe determined and reſolved to effect the re-eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy on the unalterable baſis of the French conſtitution, with a reform of thoſe abuſes that may have been introduced in the public adminiſtration. We will likewiſe exert ourſelves in the reſtoration of the religion of our forefathers to its original purity, according to the canonical diſcipline of the church. We will, moreover, re-eſtabliſh the magiſtrature, ſo eſſential to the revival of good order, and the due and regular adminiſtration of juſtice: we alſo promiſe to re-inſtate all and every deſcription of perſons in the full enjoyment of their property, now uſurped; and in the free exerciſe of their lawful rights, of which they may have been illegally deprived. In order to enforce the law,

law, we shall punish crimes with severity, and in an exemplary manner.

In fine, for the fulfilling of this solemn engagement, we have thought proper to assume the reins of government, in conjunction with our dearest brother Charles Philip of France, count of Artois; to whom are united our dear nephews, grandsons of France, their royal highnesses Louis Anthony, duke of Angouleme, and Charles Ferdinand, duke of Berry; and our cousins, their royal highnesses Louis Henry of Bourbon, prince of Conde; Louis Henry Joseph of Bourbon, duke of Bourbon; and Louis Anthony Henry of Bourbon, duke of Enghein, princes of the blood royal — conformably to the declaration we conjointly addressed to the late king the 10th of September 1791, and every other act signed by us, to be considered as the declarations of our uniform principles and sentiments: and we invariably persist in those our said acts, for the purposes and ends aforesaid.

We therefore order and direct all the natives of France, singly and collectively, to obey the commands they may and will receive from us on the part of the king. We furthermore enjoin all the loving subjects of this our kingdom to shew obedience to the orders that may and will be issued by our dearest brother, Charles Philip of France, count of Artois, named and constituted by us lieutenant-general of the kingdom, in the name and on the part of the king and regent of France.

In fine, we direct and enjoin all the king's officers, whether military or magisterial, to publish and notify this our present declaration to all those to whom it may pertain, authorizing and empowering them to make it known in France; and when circumstances permit the several courts of justice to re-assume their functions in their respective jurisdictions, the said declaration, as soon as conveniently may be, is to be immediately legalised, published, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Westphalia, under our seal; which is what we make use of in the signing of sovereign acts, till the seals of the kingdom, destroyed by the reigning faction, are re-made: to be likewise counter-signed by the marshals Broglio and Castries, our ministers of state, the 28th day of January, in the year of grace 1793, and the first of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

Letter Patent issued by the Regent of France, for the naming a Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier, Son of France, Uncle to the King, and Regent of the Kingdom; to our dear Brother, Charles Philip of France, Son of France, Count of Artois, Greeting.

THE God of our fathers, the God of St. Louis, who has so long protected the French monarchy, will certainly not permit its final destruction by the hands of a set of factious men, as execrable by their impious audacity as by the enormity of the crimes they have committed. Heaven has assuredly, and it is our greatest

greateſt hope, deſtined us to be the miniſters of his juſtice, to revenge the blood of the king our brother, which theſe monſters have dared to ſpill with the moſt aſtoniſhing ferocity. It is therefore to place our nephew and ſovereign on the throne of his father, to re-inſtate and maintain him in the poſſeſſion of all the rights and prerogatives of his crown, that we call upon you, Charles Philip of France, count d'Artois, to aid and aſſiſt us.

This firſt act of the regency we aſſume ſhews, according to the wiſh of our heart, the full confidence we have in you.

On theſe cauſes, and for theſe honourable ends and purpoſes, we have appointed and conſtituted you by theſe preſents lieutenant-general of the kingdom of France; inveſting you with all thoſe powers that the regent of France can delegate, and particularly of commanding in our abſence, and in our preſence under our authority, the armies of the king. Be it underſtood that all the officers of his majeſty in the military line, or magiſterial capacity, as well as all Frenchmen, the ſubjects of the king, are to obey your commands given by you in the name of the king or regent of France. It is our pleaſure that you aſſiſt at all the councils of ſtate, juſtice, and adminiſtration, and others that it may be judged neceſſary to eſtabliſh; the ſame to be preſided by you in our abſence; all which powers ſhall continue in force as long as our regency laſts, unleſs reſtrained or annulled by our authority.

In virtue of theſe preſents, all letters patent iſſued in the ordinary form, and addreſſed to the courts of juſtice of the kingdom, when re-eſtabliſhed in their reſpective juriſdictions, are to be therein legalized, enregiſtered, publiſhed, and executed.

Given at Ham, in Weſtphalia, under our hand and common ſeal, and counterſigned by the marſhals Broglio and Caſtries, our miniſters of ſtate, the 28th day of the month of January, anno 1793, and the firſt year of the reign of his preſent majeſty.

(Signed)

LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER.

(Underſigned, by order of the regent of France)

The Marſhal BROGLIO.
Marſhal de CASTRIES.

Addreſs of General Dumourier *to the* French *Nation.*

SINCE the commencement of the revolution, I have devoted myſelf to the maintenance of the liberty and honour of the nation.

The ſervices I rendered in the year 1792, are the moſt memorable. Miniſter of foreign affairs during three months, I elevated and ſuſtained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious cabal, by whom I was charged with having plundered ſix millions of livres deſtined for ſecret ſervices. I have proved, that of this ſum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of politics towards the cloſe of the month of June, I commanded a ſmall army in the department of the north. This department I was ordered to quit with my troops, at the very time the Auſtrians entered in force that part of the republic.

I diſ-

I disobeyed the order, saved the department, and an attempt was made to come on me by surprise, for the purpose of conveying me to the citadel of Metz, where I was to be condemned by a council of war to suffer death.

On the 28th of August I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thousand men, weak, and without either discipline or organization, I arrested the progress of eighty thousand Prussians and Hessians, and forced them to retreat, after they had sacrificed the one half of their army. I was then the saviour of France; and then it was that the most wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen—in a word, Marat, began to calumniate me without any mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and some other troops, I entered, on the 5th of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the for-ever-memorable battle of Jemappe; and after a succession of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle towards the close of that month. From that moment my destruction was resolved on; and I have been accused of aspiring, now to the title of *Duke of Brabant*, now to the *Stadtholdership*, and again to the *Dictatorship*. To retard and crush my successes, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction, to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger.

I transmitted to the national convention very strenuous remonstrances, which I followed up by repairing in person to Paris, to engage the legislators to apply a remedy to the evil: they did not even condescend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-six hours I spent in Paris, I heard almost every night bands of pretended federates demand my head; and calumnies of every description, as well as menaces and insults, followed me even into the country house to which I retired.

Having delivered in my resignation, I was retained in the service of my country, because it was proposed to me to negotiate the suspension of the war against England and Holland, which I had conceived as indispensable to the safety of the Netherlands. Whilst I negotiated, and that successfully, the national convention itself hastened to declare war, without making any preparations, and without either power or means for its support.

I was not even advised of this declaration, and learned it through the medium of the gazettes only. I hastened to form a small army of new troops, who had never fought; and with these troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myself master of three strong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the disaster of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raising of the siege of Maestricht, and the sad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly summoned—I abandoned my conquests to fly to its succour; and considered that we could

could be extricated from our difficulties by speedy success only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the 16th of March, I had a considerable advantage at Tirlemont. On the 18th, I brought the enemy to a general action; and the centre and right wing, under my charge, were victorious. The left wing, after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the 19th, we retreated honourably, with the brave men that were left together; for a part of the army disbanded itself. On the 21st and 22d, we fought with the same courage; and to our firmness was owing the preservation of the remains of an army which breathes solely for liberty, for the reign of the laws, and for the extinction of anarchy.

It was then that the Marats, the Robespierres, and the criminal sects of Jacobins at Paris, plotted the fall of the generals, and more especially mine. These villains, bribed with the gold of foreign powers to complete the disorganization of the armies, caused almost all the generals to be arrested. They kept them in the gaols of Paris, to Septemberize them; for thus it is that these monsters have coined a word, to hand down to posterity the remembrance of the horrid massacres of the first six days of September.

Whilst I was employed in recomposing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the 1st of April (yesterday) four commissioners of the national convention reached me, with a decree, purporting that I should be brought to the bar of the convention itself. The war minister, Bournonville, (my pupil) was weak enough to accompany them, to succeed me in my command. The persons who were in the suit of these perfidious emissaries, informed me themselves, that different groups of assassins, either fugitives from or driven out of my army, were dispersed on the road to kill me before I could reach Paris. I spent several hours in endeavouring to convince the commissioners of the imprudence of this arrest—Nothing could shake their pride; and I therefore arrested the whole of them, to serve me as hostages against the crimes of Paris. I instantly arranged with the Imperialists a suspension of arms, and marched towards the capital, to extinguish, as speedily as possible, the lighted embers of civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove for you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes. In 1789, we made great efforts to obtain liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. Our principles were consecrated in the declaration of the rights of man; and there have resulted from the labours of our legislators, 1st, The declaration which says that *France* is and shall remain a monarchy; 2dly, A constitution to which we swore fealty in 1789, 90, and 91.

This constitution might, and indeed must have been imperfect; but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the necessary strife between the legislative and executive powers would establish a wise equilibrium, which would prevent either of these powers from seizing the whole of the authority, and attaining despotism. If the despotism of a single individual is dangerous to liberty, how much more odious must be that

of seven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles, without morals, and who have been able to reach that supremacy by cabals or crimes alone.

Licentiousness and excess soon rendered it impossible to support the yoke of a constitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the assembly of representatives, and were themselves awed by the dangerous club of the Jacobins at Paris. The strife between the two powers became at length a deadly combat. Then was the equilibrium destroyed—France ceased to have a king; and the victory of the 10th of August was foiled by the atrocious crimes of the first days of September.

All the departments, but more especially the wretched city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proscriptions, and massacres. No Frenchman, the assassins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in security! The consternation of slavery was augmented by the clamorous orgies of villains: bands of pretended federates ran through and laid waste the departments; and of the seven hundred individuals who composed this despotic and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, exposed to the exterminating sword of the Marats and Robespierres. It was thus that the unfortunate Louis the sixteenth perished, without a judicial trial, and without a tribunal; and it is thus that the decree of the 19th of November has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will consent to disorganize themselves. It is thus that the unjust and impolitic decree of the 15th of December has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the massacre of our whole army by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not saved that very army by my proclamations. It is thus that a decree established the bloody tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a small number of iniquitous judges, without recourse or appeal to any other tribunal. It is thus that, during the last month, all the decrees have been marked by the stamp of insatiable avarice, by the blindest pride, and more especially by the desire of maintaining power, by calling to the most important posts of the state no other than daring, incapable, and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character, and by supporting a phantom of a republic, which their errors in administration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. These seven hundred individuals despise, detest, calumniate, and revile each other, and have already, and that frequently, thought of poignarding the one the other. At this moment their blind ambition has impelled them to coalesce afresh; and bold criminality allies itself to feeble virtue, to preserve a power as unjust as it is unsteady. In the mean time their committees devour every thing, that of the national treasury absorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this convention done to maintain the war it has provoked against all the powers of Europe?

It

It has disorganized the armies, instead of re-inforcing and recruiting the troops of the line, and the ancient battalions of national volunteers, which would have formed a respectable army. Instead of recompensing these brave warriors by promotion and praises, these legislators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, disarmed, and discontented. In the same way have they treated the excellent cavalry; and the brave French artillery is in the same manner exhausted, abandoned, and in want of every necessary. They notwithstanding create new corps, composed of the satellites of the second of September, and commanded by men who have never served, and who are in no other way to be dreaded, unless by the armies they surcharge and disorganize. The convention sacrifices every thing to these satellites of tyranny, to these cowardly *head-loppers*. The choice of officers, and that of administrators, are in every particular the same: we see throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, because the wicked alone can support tyranny: and, in its pride and its ignorance, this convention orders the conquest and disorganization of the whole universe: it says to one of its generals, Go and take Rome —and to another, Sally forth and subdue Spain; to the end that despoiling commissioners, similar to those horrid Roman proconsuls, against whom Cicero declaimed, may be sent thither. In the worst season of the year, it sends the only fleet it possesses in the Mediterranean to split and founder on the rocks of Sardinia, whilst it exposes the fleets of Brest to the fury of the storms, by sending them in quest of an English fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time, a civil war spreads through all the departments. Some of the insurgents are excited by fanaticism, the necessary effect of persecution; others by an indignation at the tragical and fruitless end of Louis the sixteenth; and others, finally, by the natural principle of resisting persecution.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary supplies and provisions intercepted. The English foment these troubles, and will, by their succours, supply fuel to them at their pleasure. Soon will every one of our corsairs disappear on the ocean; soon will the southern department cease to receive supplies of corn from Italy and Africa; and already have those from the North and from America been intercepted by the squadrons of the enemies. Famine will annex itself to all our other scourges; and the ferocity of our cannibals will but increase with our calamities.

Frenchmen! we have a rallying-point which can stifle the monster of anarchy: 'tis the constitution we swore to maintain in 1789, 90, and 91: it is the work of a free people; and we shall remain free, and shall recover our glory, by resuming our constitution.

Let us display our virtues, more especially that of mildness: too much blood has already been spilled. If the monsters by whom we have been disorganized, choose to fly, let us leave them to meet their punishment elsewhere, if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wish to support anarchy by new crimes, then shall the army punish them.

In the generosity of the enemies we have so grievously outraged, I have found the security of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, sick, and prisoners, who fall into their hands, and all this in despite of the calumnies spread by our agitators to render us ferocious, but they engage to suspend their march, not to pass our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal dissensions.

Let the sacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! At the bare name of the constitution, civil war will cease, or can no longer exist, unless against certain malevolent men, who will no longer be supported by foreign powers. These have no hatred to any others among us, except our factious criminals, and desire nothing more fervently than to restore their esteem and friendship to a nation whose errors and anarchy disturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this resolution; and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who, for the space of a year, have offered themselves as willing sacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, will repose in the bosom of their families, after having accomplished this noble work.

As to myself, I have already made an oath, and I repeat it before the whole nation, and in the presence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the safety of my country, by the re-establishment of the constitution, of peace and good order, I shall abandon every public function, and shall seek in solitude the enjoyment of the happiness of my fellow-citizens.

The general in chief of the French army,

DUMOURIER.

Baths of St. Amand, April 2, 1793.

Proclamation of Prince the Marshal de Saxe-Cobourg, *General in Chief of the Armies of his Majesty the Emperor, to the* French.

THE general in chief, Dumourier, has communicated to me his declaration to the French nation. I find in it the sentiments and principles of a virtuous man, who truly loves his country, who is desirous of putting an end to the anarchy and calamities that tear it asunder, and of procuring it the happiness of a constitution, and of a wise and solid government.

I know that it is the unanimous wish of all the sovereigns whom the factious have armed against France, and principally that of their Imperial and Prussian majesties, who are yet filled with esteem for the French nation, so great and so generous, among whom the immutable principles of justice and honour were formerly sacred, before the effect of the general overthrow of all order had deluded and corrupted that part of the people, who, under the mask of humanity and patriotism, have no other language in their mouths than that of assassination and poniards; I know also that this view is that of all the honest, sensible, and virtuous part of the French, who are profoundly penetrated with these great truths, and who are desirous only of the prosperity and glory of a country, torn by so many convul-

sions

tions and misfortunes. I declare by the preſent proclamation, that I will ſupport, by all the force which is intruſted to me, the generous and beneficent intentions of General Dumourier and his brave army.

I declare beſides, that coming recently, and after ſeveral encounters, from fighting with an enemy valiant, intrepid, and generous, I ſhall join, if Dumourier ſhall deſire it, a part of my troops, or all my army, to the French army, to co-operate as friends and brothers in arms, worthy of reciprocal eſteem; to give to France her conſtitutional king, *the conſtitution which ſhe had formed for herſelf*, and of courſe the means of rectifying, if the nation ſhall find it imperfect; and revive in France, as well as in all the reſt of Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity, and happineſs. I declare, in conſequence, upon my word of honour, that I ſhall not come upon the French territory, there to make conqueſts, but ſolely and purely for the ends above ſpecified.

I declare alſo, on my word of honour, that if the military operations ſhould require that any ſtrong place or places ſhould be delivered over to my troops, I ſhall conſider them no otherwiſe than as ſacred depoſits; and I hereby engage, in the moſt expreſs and poſitive manner, to deliver them up as ſoon as the government which ſhall be eſtabliſhed in France, or the brave general with whom I am to make a common cauſe, ſhall demand it.

I declare, in fine, that I ſhall give the moſt ſtrict orders, and take the moſt vigorous and moſt efficacious meaſures, that my troops ſhall not commit the ſmalleſt exceſs, nor be permitted to make the leaſt exaction, or be guilty of the leaſt violence; that they ſhall reſpect perſons and property on the French territory; and that whoever of my army ſhall dare to diſobey my orders, ſhall be puniſhed on the ſpot with the moſt ignominious death.

Given at my head quarters, at Mons, this 5th of April 1793,

THE PRINCE COBOURG.

Proclamation. The Mareſchal Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, *General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of his Majeſty the Emperor, and of the Empire, to the* French.

THE declaration which I made from my head quarters at Mons, dated the 5th of April 1793, is a public teſtimony of my perſonal ſentiments to reſtore, as ſoon as poſſible, peace and tranquillity to Europe. In it I manifeſted, in a ſincere and open manner, my particular deſire that the French nation might have a ſolid and durable government, founded on the unſhaken baſis of juſtice and humanity, which might enſure peace to Europe, and happineſs to France.

Now that the reſult of this declaration is ſo oppoſite to the effects it ought to have produced, and which proves but too plainly, that the ſentiments which have dictated it have been miſunderſtood, it only remains for me to revoke it entirely, and to declare formally, that the ſtate of war which ſubſiſts between the court of Vienna and the combined powers, and France, is from this moment unhappily renewed.

I find myſelf therefore forced, by the predominating influence of the circumſtances which the moſt guilty men perſiſt in directing, to the

overthrow and destruction of their country, to annul entirely my former declaration, and to make known, that a state of war so unfortunate being renewed, I have given the necessary orders for commencing it, in concert with the allied powers, with all the energy and vigour of which victorious armies are capable.

The cessation of the armistice is the first hostile step that the unfortunate combination of events has forced me to take. There will, therefore, only subsist, of my former declaration, the inviolable engagement, which I again renew with pleasure, that the most exact discipline will be observed and maintained by my army upon the French territory, and that every breach thereof will be punished with the utmost rigour.

The sincerity and loyalty which at all times have been the principle of my actions, oblige me to give to this new address to the French nation all the publicity of which it is susceptible, to leave no doubt of the consequences that may result from it.

Given at the head quarters at Mons, the 9th of April, 1793.

THE PRINCE DE COBOURG.

Proclamation. By the Emperor and King.

WE the undersigned, appointed for the provisional administration of the conquered countries, declare, first, that all authorities constituted since the revolution of 1789, are abolished; and consequently, the magistracies of the conquered cities, towns, and villages, are re-established, such as they were before the revolution: it being provided, however, that the individuals, who then composed these magistracies, cannot again enter into office until they have been specially re-admitted by the undersigned: and on account of the impossibility of immediately knowing the conduct observed since the revolution by these individuals, provisional magistrates shall be appointed, without violating the rights of the respective lords, and in concert with them, as far as can be done, until it can be judged how far such individuals can be re-established.

The lords of different places or their officers, shall consequently deliver in, as soon as possible, to the undersigned, lists of those persons of whom magistrates, bodies of justice and police, may be provisionally composed.

Second, The laws respecting general police and property are re-established as they were at the beginning of 1789.

Third, The orders of the jurisdictions, which were established at that epoch, shall, in the first instance, be observed in appeals: and in case, according to this order, the appeal be brought before a superior tribunal, sitting in any place still subject to France, the sentences shall remain suspended, until a tribunal of appeal be established under the dominion of his majesty.

Fourth, With regard to taxes and public burthens, they shall be provisionally maintained on the footing established in 1789, till another disposition be made.

Fifth, All administrators and receivers of public money, &c. shall, in three days, present to the undersigned a state of the sums in their hands, and of their administration.

Sixth,

Sixth, The legal circulation of assignats is abolished; it shall, however, be tolerated as merchandise.

Seventh, The legal circulation of French money shall be tolerated on the present footing, and a standard shall immediately be established, determining the values when exchanged for those of his majesty.

Eighth, Religious bodies and political and ecclesiastical foundations, &c. suppressed since the revolution, and who wish to be re-established, shall address themselves to the undersigned.

Ninth, The sequestration of the property of French emigrants shall be taken off on their appearing and identifying themselves.

Tenth, No French emigrant shall be permitted to remain in the conquered countries, except those who have possessions in them, or who resided there before the revolution; and these even shall be obliged to obtain express permission to remain, by an application made in writing to the undersigned.

The present declaration shall be printed, published, &c.

Done at Condé, July 20, 1793.

(Signed) DE TESDEN.

Preliminary Declaration by Admiral Lord Hood, *to the Inhabitants of* Toulon, *Aug.* 23.

IF a candid and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy is made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally at my disposition, so as to allow of egress and regress with safety, the people of Provence shall have all the assistance and support his Britannic majesty's fleet under my command can give; and not an atom of private property of any individual shall be touched, but protected; having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon just, liberal, and honourable terms: this must be the ground-work of the treaty.

And whenever peace takes place, which I hope and trust will be soon, the port, with all the ships in the harbour, and forts of Toulon, shall be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeable to the schedule that may be delivered.

Given on board his Britannic majesty's ship Victory, off Toulon, this 23d of August, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

Proclamation by Admiral Lord Hood *to the Inhabitants in the Towns and Provinces in the South of* France, *Aug.* 23.

PROCLAMATION.

By the Right Hon. Samuel Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Squadron in the Mediterranean, &c. &c.

To the Inhabitants in the Towns and Provinces in the South of France.

DURING four years you have been involved in a revolution, which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders. After having destroyed your government, trampled under foot the laws, assassinated the virtuous, and authorized the commission of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate

throughout Europe their syſtem, deſtructive of all ſocial order. They have conſtantly held forth to you the idea of liberty; while they have been robbing you of it. Every where they have preached reſpect to perſons and property, and every where in their name it has been violated; they have amuſed you with the ſovereignty of the people, which they have conſtantly uſurped; they have declaimed againſt the abuſes of royalty, in order to eſtabliſh their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne ſtill reeking with the blood of your legitimate ſovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the preſſure of want, and the privation of all ſpecie; your commerce and your induſtry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of proviſions threatens you with a horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful picture of your wretched condition; a ſituation ſo dreadful ſenſibly afflicts the coaleſced powers; they ſee no other remedy but the re-eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggreſſion committed by the executive power of France, that we have armed, in conjunction with the other coaleſced powers. After mature reflection upon theſe leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am entruſted by my ſovereign, in order to ſpare the further effuſion of human blood, to cruſh with promptitude the factious, to re-eſtabliſh a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe.

Decide, therefore, definitively, and with preciſion. Truſt your hopes to the generoſity of a *loyal* and *free* nation. In its name I have juſt given an unequivocal teſtimony to the well-diſpoſed inhabitants of Marſeilles, by granting to the commiſſioners ſent on board the fleet under my command, a paſſport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town now ſtands ſo much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your ſuccour, in order to break the chain which ſurrounds you, and to be the inſtrument of making many years of happineſs ſucceed to four years of miſery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved.

Given on board his Britannic majeſty's ſhip Victory, off Toulon, the 23d day of Auguſt, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

By command of the Admiral,
(Signed) J. M'ARTHUR.

Declaration of the General Committee of the Sections of Toulon *to Admiral Lord* Hood.

THE general committee of the ſections of Toulon having read the proclamation of admiral lord Hood, commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron, together with the preliminary declaration: and, after having communicated theſe two papers to all the citizens of the town of Toulon, united in ſections;

Conſidering that France is torn by anarchy, and that it is impoſſible to exiſt any longer a prey to the factions, with which the country is agitated, without its total deſtruction;

Conſidering that the ſouthern departments, after having made long efforts to reſiſt the oppreſſion of a party of factious men, who have conſpired to ruin them, find themſelves

ſelves drained and deprived of all reſources to annihilate this coalition of the evil-diſpoſed;

Conſidering, in ſhort, that, determined not to ſubmit to the tyranny of a convention that has ſworn to ruin the nation, the people of Toulon and thoſe of Marſeilles, would rather have recourſe to the generoſity of a loyal people, who have manifeſted the deſire of protecting the true Frenchmen againſt the anarchiſts, who wiſh to ruin them,

Declare to Admiral Hood,

I. That the unanimous wiſh of the inhabitants of Toulon is to reject a conſtitution which does not promote their happineſs, to adopt a monarchic government, ſuch as it was originally by the conſtituent aſſembly of 1789; and, in conſequence, they have proclaimed Louis XVII. ſon of Louis XVI. king, and have ſworn to acknowledge him, and no longer ſuffer the deſpotiſm of the tyrants who at this time govern France.

II. That the white flag ſhall be hoiſted the inſtant the Engliſh ſquadron anchors in the road of Toulon, and it will there meet the moſt friendly reception.

III. That the ſhips of war now in the road ſhall be diſarmed according to admiral Hood's wiſhes.

IV. That the citadel and the forts of the coaſt ſhall be proviſionally at the diſpoſal of the ſaid admiral; but, for the better eſtabliſhing the union which ought to exiſt between the two people, it is requeſted that the garriſon ſhall be compoſed of an equal number of French and Engliſh, and that nevertheleſs the command ſhall devolve to the Engliſh.

V. The people of Toulon truſt the Engliſh nation will furniſh ſpeedily a force ſufficient to aſſiſt in repelling the attacks, with which they are at this moment threatened by the army of Italy, which marches toward Toulon, and by that of general Carteau who directs his forces againſt Marſeilles.

VI. That the people of Toulon, full of confidence in the generous offers of admiral Hood, truſt that all thoſe who held civil and military employments ſhall be continued in their places, and ſhall not be annoyed in their reſpective occupations.

VII. That ſubſiſtence and ſuccours of every kind, of which Toulon ſtands in need, ſhall be aſſured to the inhabitants by the combined fleets of the coaleſced powers.

VIII. That when peace ſhall have been re-eſtabliſhed in France, the ſhips and forts which ſhall be put into the hands of the Engliſh, ſhall be reſtored to the French nation, in the ſame ſtate they were in when the inventory was delivered.

It is according to this declaration, if approved by admiral Hood, that the Touloneſe will regard themſelves, with good heart and will, as belonging to the Engliſh and the other coaleſced powers, and by whoſe ſuccour will be brought about that peace after which they have panted ſo long.

(Signed)

Beaudeal, preſident. Reboul, vice-preſident. Reynaud, ſecretary. La Poype Vetrieux. Deydie-Cadel. Andraw. Vialis. Barthelemy, commiſſary of the department. Poſſel. Fournier. Grival. B. Devant. Antoine Gabert. Porte. Joffre, commiſſary of the municipality. L. Garibow. Boullemont. Ferrand. Chauſegros, commandant of arms.

arms. Burgues. Richaud, commissary of the municipality. Meifrund, president of the municipality. Bertrand. Sicard.

Proclamation by Admiral Lord Hood, *on taking Possession of* Toulon, *August* 28, 1793.

Proclamation.

By the Right Honourable Samuel Lord Hood, Vice-admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Squadron in the Mediterranean, &c. &c.

WHEREAS the sections of Toulon have, by their commissioners to me, made a solemn declaration in favour of monarchy, have proclaimed Louis XVII. son of the late Louis XVI. their lawful king, and have sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants, who at this time govern France, but will do their utmost to establish monarchy, as accepted by their late sovereign, in 1789, and restore peace to their distracted and calamitous country;

I do hereby repeat, what I have already declared to the people of the south of France, that I take possession of Toulon, and hold it in trust only for Louis XVII. until peace shall be re-established in France, which I hope and trust will be soon.

Given on board his Britannic majesty's ship Victory, off Toulon, the 28th of August, 1793.

(Signed) Hood.

By command of the admiral.

(Signed) J. M'Arthur, secretary.

Proclamation to the French, *by Vice Admiral* Langara, *Commander of the Naval Force of his Catholic Majesty.*

Frenchmen!

A SCANDALOUS address published by your pretended legislators has reached us. This writing, unworthy of our attention, can only be the last effort of despair and criminality. The Toulonese are there represented as traitors, who have had the baseness to deliver up the port and shipping of Toulon to the English. It is always thus that corrupted souls judge who cannot believe in the power of virtue. All Europe knows and respects our principles. All Europe knows and detests your tyrants. It knows, and you cannot be ignorant, that before the 31st of May, though, it dared to assume the title of convention, yet it was but a collection of individuals chosen by the Jacobin faction, and secretly disavowed by the numerous class of honest citizens, who form the greatest part of the French nation; and since this period the national representation, already illegal, has been again violated by the imprisonment of several of its members; and that an atrocious dictatorship rests in the hands of a few usurpers, giving laws of blood to a great nation. You have for a long time been a sport and a prey to those villains who assassinated their sovereign to usurp his power. To them is owing that dreadful state of misery to which you are reduced by the extravagant issuing of assignats, with which they have overloaded the property pledged for them. It is the will of the sanguinary clubs, of whom they are the contemptible tools, and not

the

the will of the people, whom they have rendered ſo miſerable, that theſe robbers execute ſo audaciouſly. It is in order to ſave themſelves from the ſword of the law that they have put arms into the hands of rebels; that they place themſelves at their head; that they ſack towns and plunder the fields; and that they maſſacre the inhabitants and ſeize upon their property. It is finally to ſpill torrents of blood, and eſtabliſh a government which would be at the ſame time the opprobrium of the French and the contempt of other nations, that they excite brothers againſt brothers, and make a laſting rampart of your miſery.

Affected by their evils, the combined ſquadrons could not refuſe their aſſiſtance to Toulon, at a period when that important city, abandoned by the miniſtry, and blockaded by two armies of the factious, was on the point of being reduced to the moſt horrible famine. Europe has ſeen in the powers we repreſent, two generous and ſympathiſing nations, who come, not to conquer, as it is infamouſly ſuppoſed, but to deſtroy the poniards raiſed againſt the good and peaceable inhabitants of this unhappy city; to render it aſſiſtance, to eſtabliſh good order, to lay the foundation of a regenerating ſyſtem, to ſubſtitute a well ordered government inſtead of a deſolating anarchy which pervades France; and finally to eſtabliſh Louis XVII. on the throne.

The Toulonese have not delivered up their city, which cannot at the ſame time fall to the ſhare of Spain, England, and the other powers, united to our forces, and animated by the ſame motives, but have placed it under our immediate protection, and have carried even to the moſt ſcrupulous preciſeneſs, the conditions which tend to the re-eſtabliſhment of their lawful ſovereign. It is in the city of Toulon, that at preſent are the real friends of peace and good order. Frenchmen! they perfidiouſly conceal from you that the French flag flies on your fortreſſes and your ſhipping; that a French ſquadron is at anchor in your ports, amongſt the fleets of the coaleſced powers; that the adminiſtration is exerciſed according to the principles of the conſtituent aſſembly; that all the authorities are ſubordinate to the new king, under the protection of the united powers; and that our only object is to avenge our allies, whoſe territory they have dared to invade, to ſuccour you, and to put a ſtop to thoſe multiplied aggreſſions which have conducted you ſtep by ſtep to the brink of the precipice.

Frenchmen! if the remembrance of your brilliant deſtiny is not yet effaced from your minds; if you are deſirous of reſuming that honourable rank, which you held among nations, ſhake off the odious yoke of your contemptible tyrants; unite yourſelves to the faithful Toulonese, and participate with them in the glory of having procured happineſs to France, and peace and repoſe to Europe.

Done at Toulon, on board the Mexican, Sept. 27, 1793, the firſt year of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed LANGARA.

His

His Excellency Governor O'Hara's *Speech to the Deputation of Inhabitants of* Toulon, *on the 20th November*, 1793.

Gentlemen,

AS soon as the king was informed of the events which had taken place at Toulon, his majesty was desirous to give an authentic proof, not only of the satisfaction which he had experienced from these events, but also of his entire approbation of the engagements which had been entered into, in his name, with the town of Toulon. His majesty was also desirous to give you a positive assurance that he will punctually fulfil those engagements.

His majesty is sensible that the possession of this town, under all the circumstances in which it was accepted, presents to his attention objects of the greatest importance, and lays him under the most sacred obligations. His majesty has already taken, and will continue to take, every measure, which circumstances will permit, for the protection of the town and of its inhabitants. With a view of providing for these objects, and of fulfilling, as effectually as possible, the other duties which arise from the present situation of his majesty with respect to the town and inhabitants of Toulon, he has thought proper to confide to lord Hood, sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. and to myself, a commission, which was lately delivered to us, under the great seal of England.

By this commission we are authorized to act, in his majesty's name, in the direction of the affairs and civil interests of Toulon, as also of all other places and districts in France, which may be occupied by his majesty's arms, or come into his possession; and there to provide for the establishment of good order and of a regular government, for the impartial administration of justice, and the protection of persons and property.

These, gentlemen, are the powers immediately relative to the affairs and concerns of Toulon, with which his majesty has been pleased to intrust us, and which we have thought proper to impart to you. I will not add any thing respecting the honourable intentions and generous dispositions of his majesty, because they will be more particularly and satisfactorily explained to you by a declaration, which, by his order, we shall address to the inhabitants of Toulon, and publish in his name. I shall now conclude by reading it to you.

Declaration of the King.

WE, the undersigned, commissioners plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain, do hereby publish, by his orders and in his name, the following declaration.

His Britannic majesty having been informed of the circumstances under which the town, harbour, and forts of Toulon, and the ships in the said harbour, have been intrusted to vice admiral lord Hood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, and of the declaration and proclamations published by the said vice-admiral, as well as of the declaration made to him on the part of the inhabitants and people of Toulon, has thought fit, for the further satisfaction of the said inhabitants and people, and for the

full

full explanation of his royal intentions, to declare as follows:

I. When monarchy shall be restored in France, and a treaty of peace concluded, stipulating, in favour of his majesty and his allies, the restitution of all conquests made by France during the war, and a just indemnification for the losses and expences thereby incurred, and a proper security for the future, his majesty will cause the town, forts, and harbour of Toulon, together with the ships and stores therein, to be restored, according to the engagement entered into by the said vice-admiral.

II. His majesty has given directions that the most effectual measures shall be taken for the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants of the said town, and for procuring them the supplies of provisions and other articles of which they may stand in need; and his majesty is also graciously pleased to approve of continuing all persons who held civil or military employments in their respecting places and occupations, as far as circumstances and the good of the common cause will permit.

III. His majesty will do every thing in his power, and in concert with his allies, to repel any attacks which may be made against Toulon, and to extend his protection to all those who may be desirable to have recourse to it, under certain conditions.

IV. His majesty sincerely wishes the happiness of France, but by no means desires, on this account, to prescribe any particular form of government. The king claims the right of taking a part, only because the anarchy which now desolates that country threatens the tranquillity of his own subjects and that of the other powers of Europe, whose safety and peace materially depend on the re-establishment of order in France, and of a regular system, which may hold out to them a secure ground of negotiation and friendship: and his majesty does not hesitate to declare, that the re-establishment of monarchy, in the person of Louis XVII. and the lawful heirs of the crown, appears to him the best mode of accomplishing these just and salutary views. This form of government has not only prevailed in France from the earliest times, but, being capable of such limitations as may suit the respective circumstances of different nations, has been proved by experience to be the best adapted, in great countries, to unite the advantages of security and order with real liberty.

Such a system, subject to such modifications as may hereafter be made therein in a regular and legal manner, when tranquillity shall have been restored in France, would afford to his majesty the best and most pleasing prospect of terminating the evils and miseries now endured by the French nation, and of the renewal of a regular and amicable intercourse between that country and other states.

It is to these great ends that his majesty's measures will be directed; and his protection and assistance will be extended, as far as circumstances will admit, to all those who manifest their desire to concur in so salutary a work.

(Signed) Hood,
Gilbert Elliott,
Charles O'Hara.

Letter

Letter from the Chevalier d'Ocariz, *Chargé d'Affaires from the Court of* Spain, *to* M. le Brun, *the* French *Minister for foreign Affairs, on the Subject of a Neutrality, and the Trial of* Louis *XVI.* Dec. 26.

Sir,

IT is with great satisfaction that I have received the letters you have done me the honour to send to me; containing the papers relative to the neutrality of Spain, and to the convention for withdrawing the troops from the respective frontiers. I hope the executive council, the whole French nation, and the representatives of the nation, will see in them new and very authentic proofs of the frankness and amicable intentions of his catholic majesty, and how much his majesty has it at heart to spare nothing for maintaining the ancient harmony and fraternal amity that subsists between the two nations. I trust, that not only the literal sense of the expressions made use of by his catholic majesty, but the tone and the manner of treating the whole of this negotiation, must, in every ingenuous mind, add to the opinion that Europe has long entertained of Spanish candour; and I congratulate myself as peculiarly fortunate, in being now charged with orders, the effect of which must be to draw still closer the ties of two nations, whom mutual esteem, as well as common interest, have rendered friends, and who cannot cease to be so without great disadvantages to both. The dispatches containing this order, and all that relates to the execution of it, have been brought to me by a French courier extraordinary; a circumstance, which I take the liberty of pointing out to you, as a mark of the entire confidence of his majesty, who wishes not to be even suspected of any reserve, or of sending me any secret instructions.

The declaration of neutrality, demanded by the minister of France at the court of Spain might be considered as an act absolutely useless, since this neutrality exists in fact; and no hostile measure on the part of Spain having given room for presuming that this power meant to commit any violation of it, it seemed superfluous to declare it anew. But the king considered that the changes that had taken place in France, united with the circumstances of the war, in which the French nation was engaged, might, if not justify, at least give rise to distrusts which it was better to prevent; and that besides, this new declaration, whether necessary or superfluous, must, in the present moment, give the most authentic character, and even a solemnity, to his pacific and amicable resolutions, and would consequently be an additional means of assuring reciprocal confidence and intimacy.

I must not omit, sir, to remark to you, as an incontrovertible proof of the sincerity of Spain, and her full confidence in the candour of France, the consent of the king to withdraw the extraordinary troops that have been sent to the frontiers adjoining France, with the sole intention of maintaining good order, which evil-disposed persons wished to disturb, by introducing themselves to sow seditious maxims; on condition that France should withdraw her extraordinary troops sent to the frontiers of Spain; for although the terms of this convention have, on the first view, a great appearance

pearance of being equal, they are far from being so in reality.

In fact, by the very difference of the two governments, and the present situation of the two empires, it is clearly evident, that the French troops might be assembled on the frontiers of France, in much greater numbers, and with much greater promptitude, than the Spanish troops could be on the frontiers of Spain; and, therefore, that mutual sincerity, frankness, and amity, could alone give reciprocity to this measure. But what may more contribute to consolidate this union, and that in which the two states and all Europe have so great an interest, will be the issue of the memorable affair that now occupies France, and attracks the attention of all nations. It is by the manner in which France shall treat the unfortunate king, Louis XVI. and his family, that foreign nations will be able to judge with certainty of her generosity and her moderation. This grand trial, which is about to decide the fate of the head of the family of the Bourbons, cannot be considered by the king of Spain as indifferent to him; and his majesty does not fear being accused of wishing to interfere in the government of a country not subject to his empire, when he raises, in favour of his relation and his ancient ally, a voice that can displease those only whose hearts are shut against every sentiment of morality and commiseration. It is, therefore, in the name of the king of Spain, without entering into any of those discussions of principles, which, in a foreign mouth, might perhaps be thought improper, that I shall confine myself to presenting some reflections founded solely on justice, on the law of nations, and on the general interests of humanity. If there are men who make no account of those interests, they are the only men who can disapprove of the warmth and importance with which the trial of Louis XVI. is considered; and they may be answered that they themselves give it more importance, although of another kind, since in it they have accumulated irregularities which they would have blamed in any other trial whatever. These irregularities, powerfully combated by many Frenchmen, and by many members of the national convention, who have published their complaints on the subject, cannot fail to strike the most moderate and unprejudiced men of other nations. The example of a party accused, tried by judges who are self-constituted, and of whom several have not since hesitated to declare their opinion, with every expression of hatred and partiality; of a party accused, condemned without any pre-existing law, and condemned for offences of which I examine not the proofs, but which, if they were proved, could not attaint the inviolability which a law, universally consented to, secured to him—is an example too remote from all the ordinary ideas of justice, for any nation that respects herself not to dread presenting to the eyes of nations by whom she wishes to be respected.

It is impossible that the whole world should not see with horror the violences exercised against a prince, known at least by the mildness and innocence of his character, and whom this mildness and this very facility have precipitated into a situation, into which guilt and wickedness have never plunged the most cruel

cruel tyrants. If, in fact, Louis XVI. has committed faults, who but muſt think them abundantly expiated by a fall ſo unexpected; by the mortification of a long and ſevere captivity; by his fears for his ſiſter, for his wife, and for his children; and (what, I will be bold to ſay, is truly ſhameful) by the very outrages and inſults of ſome men, who think to aggrandize themſelves by trampling on greatneſs which is now no more, and who have forgotten, that if changes in political inſtitutions releaſe a country from the ancient reſpect which it thought it a duty to pay to its kings, no revolution could ever releaſe honourable minds from the reſpect due to grief and misfortune? I paſs by the numerous reflections which this ſubject affords, to confine myſelf to that which is directly connected with the functions of the miniſtry with which I am charged. Although the French citizens whoſe opinion is favourable to Louis XVI. have been thought hitherto to have leſs liberty of writing and ſpeaking, than thoſe who maintain the contrary opinion; and although, conſequently, the greater number of the former have been ſilent, it cannot be concealed that opinions are already much divided. If, then, the enemies of this unfortunate prince ſhould ſucceed in cauſing the extreme of violence to be exerciſed upon him, it would be impoſſible to perſuade foreigners that they ought to impute this conduct to the French nation and the French government; and they would think that they reſiſted evidence, if they did not conclude, that certain individuals exiſt in France, who are more powerful than the government and the nation itſelf. In that caſe, it is inconteſtable that foreign nations could not reaſonably place any confidence in the proteſtations of the French nation, in their treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce with her; and Europe would think ſhe ſaw inceſſantly new diſquiets, new agitations threatening all her intereſts, and diſturbing the public tranquillity; while, on the other hand, a conduct at once equitable and magnanimous toward the accuſed king would neceſſarily produce contrary effects. Even the preſence of Louis XVI. and his family, in the country which they ſhould chooſe for an aſylum, would be an exiſting teſtimony of the generoſity and power of the French, and would teach all men that your nation knows how to unite moderation with victory; that ſhe has noble and beneficent paſſions only, and that the triumphs of her arms do not hinder her from voluntarily bowing her head before the image of juſtice. The ſentiments of eſteem and admiration with which ſhe would inſpire all nations, would not fail to lead very ſoon to a peace, which all nations muſt deſire; and of which, notwithſtanding her ſucceſſes, France herſelf muſt have need. May a hope ſo pleaſing be realized!

All that I have now expreſſed to you is the wiſh of the king. It is the wiſh of the Spaniſh nation; of that nation which, in its ancient character, in reſpecting juſtice, knows nevertheleſs how to appreciate the paſſions, as well as the high virtues, and which hopes that the French nation will ſtill offer to poſterity, on this occaſion, an example of the greatneſs and the generoſity that have hitherto characterized it. United by the ſame ſentiments which are ſo much the more honourable

able to the French people, as they are contrasted with the passions and the suggestions from which they have to guard themselves, how durable will be the bonds of amity between the two nations! How pleasing will be the titles they will have to produce between them for drawing those ties closer and closer! How worthy of both will be their mutual esteem, founded on humanity!

It is with these views that his catholic majesty has thought it honourable for him to transmit to the French government his most pressing, his most ardent intercessions, on the important affair which now fixes the attention of men; and which I intreat you to communicate to the national convention; and if I could, by my answer, communicate to the king that the wishes of his heart have been fulfilled; happy to have been the agent in a negotiation so humane, so glorious: happy in having well served my country and yours, this day would be the most pleasing, the most consoling of my life.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

THE CHEVALIER D'OCARIZ.

Letter from the Chevalier d'Ocariz *to the* French *Minister for Foreign Affairs, which the National Convention refused to hear read, till they had passed Sentence of Death on* Louis *the Sixteenth.*

Paris, January 17, 1793.

THE new orders I have received, and the urgency of circumstances, authorize me to leave no means untried of manifesting the extreme solicitude of his catholic majesty, respecting a trial on the point of terminating in a manner so fatal to the head of his family. I hasten therefore to repeat to you, in his name, his warmest instances and most ardent solicitations to the French nation, and the representatives of the nation. I trust that the new considerations which I have to submit to you, will appear such as you ought not to reject. I intreat you to communicate them to the national convention. I am induced to think, that the French people, being destined, both by their character and the situation of their country, to maintain an important station in Europe, and vast foreign relations, the assembly of their representatives cannot have entirely shut their ears to all the reflections of political prudence, which several of their members have presented to them. It is not for me to add to these reflections. But, Sir, the importance of the cause, and the interest which the king of Spain takes, and must take in it, are such, that I hope what I do will not be disavowed by his majesty, when I intreat you, in this letter, to obtain for me only time to ask his interposition and good offices to restore peace between France and the belligerent powers. If this measure, at the same time that it will be useful to the French, can soften and ameliorate the destiny of his unhappy relative, I am confident that I may expect the approbation of his majesty, if he can think himself engaged by the manner in which my offer shall be received, to undertake negotiations, the success of which will be for the interests of humanity. I earnestly desire that the proposition I make may be accepted; and if it should, I

ask no more time than is strictly necessary for a courier to go and return.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed)
LE CHEVALIER D'OCARIZ.

Manifesto and Decree of War against the French, by his Catholic Majesty.

Directed to his Council of State, of Castile, of War, Indies, Inquisition, &c. &c.

AMONG the objects to which I have principally attended, since my exaltation to the throne, is the preservation of peace and tranquillity in Europe, in which, by contributing to the general good of humanity, I have given my subjects a particular proof of the paternal vigilance with which I attend to every thing conducive to the happiness I sincerely wish them, and to which they have every claim, from their distinguished loyalty, and their noble and generous character.

Notorious as is the moderation with which I have proceeded in respect to France, since the developement of those principles of impiety and anarchy, which are now convulsing and annihilating that unhappy kingdom, it is almost superfluous to mention it. I shall only advert to the occurrences there within these last months, without enumerating the horrid and multiplied crimes of the French, and, one of all the most atrocious, and the most painful to my reflection. My principal views, in regard to the French, only went to discover if there was any possibility of bringing them to act on a rational system, capable of restraining their boundless ambition, and preventing the calamities of a general war throughout Europe, and likewise to obtain the liberty of their king, Louis XVI. and that of his family, prisoners in a tower, and daily exposed to the repetition of the most shocking insults and dangers. Impressed with these sentiments, and solicitous to compass any views so necessary to universal tranquillity, and not less agreeable to the laws of humanity, than correspondent to the ties of blood, and the lustre of my crown, I ceded to the reiterated instances of the French ministry, and ordered the engrossment of two notes, in the one of which a neutrality was stipulated, and in the other, the retiring of the troops from the respective frontiers. When it was necessary, as a consequence of agreement, that both notes should be admitted, they did not attend to the one relative to the retiring of their troops, and proposed leaving a part of theirs in the vicinity of Bayonne, under the specious pretext of their dreading an invasion from the English, but in reality more for the purpose of awing us into an acquiescence with their measures, obliging us thereby to maintain an equal and expensive armament on our frontiers, to prevent the pillage and insult of an undisciplined and mutinous soldiery. in the same note they were studious to speak affectedly, often in the name of the French republic, meaning thereby to oblige us to acknowledge it, by the very act of admitting that document. Having instructed my charge d'affaires in Paris to make the most efficacious interference in behalf of the king and his unhappy family, on presenting

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the notes drawn up here, I did not ſtipulate their enlargement as an expreſs condition, fearing to injure thereby a cauſe, in the iſſue of which I took ſuch a lively and natural intereſt; and being moreover convinced, that without a conſummate bad faith in the French miniſtry, that an earneſt recommendation and interference on delivering the notes, had with them the moſt intimate though tacit connexion, and that they muſt have known it were impoſſible to ſeparate the one from the other, and that the not expreſſing it was a pure effect of delicacy and attention to them, that they might have an opportunity of availing of it, with the various factions in which France was and is deceived, and give them the merit of effectuating a good to which we ought to think them propitious; but their treachery ſoon became manifeſt, for whilſt they diſregarded the recommendation and interference of the ſovereign of a great and generous nation, they urged the admiſſion of the notes they had uttered, accompanying every inſtance with threats, that if not admitted, their charge d'affaires ſhould have orders to retire. Whilſt they continued their ſolicitations, mixed with threats, they were proceeding in the moſt cruel and outrageous of their crimes, *the aſſaſſination of their ſovereign*; and when my heart, and that of all my ſubjects, was wrung with anguiſh and horror at this atrocious act, they ſtill pretended to continue their negotiations, not that they thought them admiſſible, but in order to outrage the more my honour and that of my vaſſals, for they well knew, that under ſuch circumſtances, every new inſtance on their part was but an ironic mockery, to which I could not give leave, without forgetting my own dignity and decorum. Their charge d'affaires aſked for and received his paſſport; at the ſame time a French veſſel captured a Spaniſh one, on the coaſt of Catalonia, on which account the commandant general ordered repriſals, and contemporary with this, received the news of their having made other prizes; and that in Marſeilles, and the other ports of France, they have detained and embargoed ſeveral of our veſſels. Finally, on the 7th current, they declared war, which they were already waging againſt us ſince the 26th of February, by the date of letters of marque, found aboard their privateer Le Renuard, Captain J. B. La Lann, captured by our ſloop of war the Ligero, Captain De Juan De Dios Copete.

In conſequence of which conduct, and the hoſtilities commenced by the French, even prior to any declaration of war, I have given the neceſſary orders to detain, repulſe, and attack the enemy by ſea and land, as occaſion requires; and I have reſolved, and order that war be forthwith declared in this court againſt France, its poſſeſſions and inhabitants, and that in all parts of my dominions, proviſions and preparations be made conducive to the defence of them, and of my ſubjects, and to the offence of my enemy.

Given at Aranjuez, the 23d of March 1793.

Proclamation of General Ricardos, *Commanding the* Spaniſh *Army againſt* France.

THE army which it has pleaſed his majeſty to entruſt me with the command of, does not en-

ter the French territory with hostile views. His majesty, a constant friend to monarchy and the French nation, intends, on the contrary, to deliver it from the horrid despotism by which it is at present oppressed, by an illegal assembly of desperate usurpers, who, after having subverted and trampled under foot, religion, law, security, and property, public as well as private; after having abetted and committed, in cool blood, the assassination of the most innocent and respectable persons, have filled up the measure of their crimes, by shedding the blood of their legitimate and merciful sovereign.

For these reasons, the king has directed me to declare, which I now do in his name, that all good Frenchmen, who, enemies to the erroneous and absurd maxims which have produced, and are still producing the subversion of order, as wicked as it is disastrous, will declare themselves the friends of their monarch, may firmly rely on his majesty for protection and support; that the troops which I have the honour to command shall observe the most strict discipline, and on no account violate the security or property of any one; that the most ample justice shall be rendered to all Frenchmen who shall have any cause of complaint against any individual of the Spanish army; and that the troops shall pay in money for all articles sold to them, or with which they may be provided.

On the other hand, all those who, imbibing false principles, and seduced by the appearance of a delusive liberty, shall be found to be the partizans of the pretended national convention, and to act against the good cause, be it by open hostilities, or by private advice and assistance only, will be proceeded against, and treated as rebels and traitors against religion, their sovereign, and their country."

Manifesto or Public Declaration of the Court of Spain, *explanatory of its Sentiments towards the* French *Nation, published in* November 1793.

HIS catholic majesty, penetrated with grief at the death of his august cousin Louis XVI. king of France, which he suffered on the scaffold, on the part of a number of his subjects, the detestation of mankind: seized with just indignation on account of so dreadful a crime; constrained to defend himself against those self-same Frenchmen who, usurping themselves the royal authority, and tyrannizing over the rest of the subjects, declared war against him, has found it necessary to resolve upon it on his own part, and to overcome the natural and decided repugnance which he felt against a rupture.

Notwithstanding the vigorous measures which the king took in the beginning, and which he will continue to take, as the dignity of his crown and the safety of his dominions may require, his majesty knew well, and still knows it, that, while he exposed the life of so great a portion of his faithful subjects, and sacrificed enormous sums to support that war, and to punish its authors, it would be impossible to avoid the effects and the ills which would result from it, for the august persons of the royal family of France shut up in prisons, and for a great number of good and worthy Frenchmen whom

whom he ſhould wiſh to ſave, by reſtoring them to the quiet enjoyment of their property and houſes.

The ties of conſanguinity, a friendſhip uninterrupted for almoſt a whole century, the intimate connexions and correſpondence between two neighbouring powers cloſely united, are as many motives which will make his majeſty more and more ſenſible at being compelled to make war upon France, in which he knows there exiſts a number of families, towns, and even whole provinces, which abominate the deteſtable principles of other Frenchmen.

Unfortunately there has been a great derangement of ideas among ſome, as much fear among others, and as much anxiety reſpecting the fate which awaited them. Violence forced a conſiderable number of them to take up arms, to enforce, againſt their own will, the execution of the decrees of thoſe very men whoſe government they detested and abhorred.

But the vigour and conſtancy with which others found means to ſhake off the yoke of their oppreſſors, and to defend themſelves againſt their efforts, have evinced how juſt and worthy it is of the magnanimous heart of the king, to uſe all poſſible means, not only to ſupport the French faithful to their ſovereign, but alſo to bring back to reaſon and reconciliation, all thoſe which his majeſty only conſiders as miſled by the brilliant appearance of liberty, which does not exiſt in fact, by hopes which, far from being realized, dig their grave, or by threats, and the conſtant exertion of rigours which they are obliged to ſuffer, and which bereaves them of the courage of taking the part of juſtice, loyalty, and their own preſervation.

His majeſty believes, that one of thoſe means would be that of uniting together the whole ſound part of the French nation, in the ſame manner as the city of Toulon has done, to eſtabliſh, from the preſent moment, a form of government in favour of hereditary monarchy, reſerving, till the ceſſation of the preſent troubles, the modifications which might be deemed convenient for its moſt ſolid eſtabliſhment.

His majeſty is perſuaded, that this is likewiſe the meaning of his Britannic majeſty, his ally; and he does not doubt but the other powers who have taken up arms to make one common cauſe againſt France, will contribute towards the ſame end, by receiving and protecting thoſe Frenchmen who ſhall be ready to profit by theſe beneficial diſpoſitions.

The catholic king, for his part, announces thoſe diſpoſitions to them from the preſent moment in the moſt ſincere manner, and promiſes to hear peaceably every idea which may conciliate itſelf with the dignity of his reſolutions, wiſhing as ſoon as poſſible to ſee the moment when, after the deſtruction of that anarchy which cauſes ſo many ills to France, there may be in that kingdom a body or claſs of men, whom he may conſider as having ſufficient power and authority to deliberate upon an object ſo important to France herſelf.

Then will his majeſty conſider her as a power which has recalled into her boſom the principles of religion, morality, and civil intercourſe, which thoſe who have veſted themſelves with ſupreme power contributed to baniſh with ſo much violence; then the civilized nations

may treat with her, and renew the bonds of friendſhip and commerce which ſubſiſted till now; and then the horrors of war having entirely vaniſhed, Spain may afford to France all thoſe good offices which become a good neighbour, a generous nation, and a king of the ſame family.

Memorial preſented to the States General of the United Provinces, *by Lord* Auckland, *Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his* Britannic *Majeſty*, Jan. 25.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE underſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, in conſequence of expreſs orders which he received from the king, has the honour to lay before your high mightineſſes copies of all the papers which have been exchanged from the 27th of December laſt, to the 20th of this month, between lord Grenville, ſecretary of ſtate of his Britannic Majeſty, and M. Chauvelin.

High and mighty lords, the king is fully perſuaded that the ſentiments and principles expreſſed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly the ſame with thoſe which animate your republic, and that your high mightineſſes are diſpoſed to concur fully in the meaſures which the preſent important criſis calls for, and which are the neceſſary conſequences of thoſe ſentiments and principles.

The circumſtances which brought us to that criſis are too recent, and the conduct of the king too well known, to oblige the underſigned to enter into ſuperfluous details.

Not four years ago, ſome wretches, aſſuming the title of philoſophers, had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it neceſſary to overthrow and deſtroy all received notions of ſubordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto founded all the ſecurity, happineſs, and conſolation of the human race.—Their deſtructive projects have but too well ſucceeded. But the effects of the new ſyſtem which they endeavoured to introduce, ſerved only to ſhew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which ſo rapidly followed each other ſince that epoch, ſurpaſs in atrocity all which had ever polluted the pages of hiſtory. Property, liberty, ſecurity, even life itſelf, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are the ſlaves of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition.

The annals of mankind preſent no epoch when, and in ſo ſhort a time, ſo many crimes were committed, ſo many misfortunes cauſed, and ſo many tears ſhed; even at this moment theſe horrors ſeem to be at their height.

During all that time, the king, ſurrounded by his people, who by divine providence enjoy an unexampled proſperity, could not look on the misfortunes of others but with a ſentiment of indignation and pity; but, faithful to his principles, his majeſty never wiſhed to interfere with the interior affairs of foreign nations; he never deviated from the path of neutrality which he had preſcribed to himſelf. This conduct, which the king with pleaſure ſaw obſerved likewiſe by your high mightineſſes, and the good faith of which

which all Europe acknowledged, together with his peaceable diſpoſition, which ought to have been reſpected on every ground, was not ſufficient to ſecure his majeſty, his loyal ſubjects, and this republic, from the moſt dangerous and criminal plots.

For ſeveral months paſt ambitious projects of aggrandizement, alarming to the tranquillity and ſafety of all Europe, were planned in the moſt public manner; endeavours were made to ſpread in the interior parts of England, and of this country, maxims detrimental to all ſocial order: they were not even aſhamed to call theſe horrible attempts "*revolutionary power.*"

Ancient and ſolemn treaties guaranteed by the king, were infringed; and the rights and territory of the republic have been violated. His majeſty, therefore, in his wiſdom, thought proper to make ſuch warlike preparations as ſeemed to him proportioned to the circumſtances of the times. The king has conſulted his parliament, and the meaſures which his majeſty thought fit to adopt, were approved by the ſpirited and unanimous conſent of a people who abhor anarchy and irreligion, and love their king and conſtitution.

Such are, high and mighty lords, the motives of a conduct, the wiſdom and equity of which have till now inſured to the king your concurrence and co-operation. His majeſty has, in every reſpect, conſtantly kept a watchful eye on the ſupport of the rights and ſafety of the United Provinces. The declaration which the underſigned had the honour to make to your high mightineſſes on the 13th of November laſt, and the arrival of a ſmall ſquadron deſtined for the protection of the ſhores of the republic, during the time when its own naval forces were aſſembling, prove it inconteſtably. Your high mightineſſes have acknowledged theſe diſpoſitions of his majeſty in what he has done already. You will not find them abated in the preparations that are now making. In conſequence of which, his majeſty is perſuaded that he ſhall continue to experience on the part of your high mightineſſes a perfect conformity of principles and conduct. That conformity can alone give to the united efforts of the two countries the neceſſary energy for their common defence, which will alſo oppoſe a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and ſecure from every attempt the ſafety, tranquillity, and independence of a ſtate, the happineſs of which is inſured by your high mightineſſes, through the wiſdom and energy of its government.

Done at the Hague, Jan. 25, 1793.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.

Circular Letter of their High Mightineſſes, addreſſed to the States of the United Provinces.

10th Feb. 1793.

Noble and Mighty Lords,

WHEN, by the reports of the conſuls of the ſtate, we learned that an embargo had been laid in the ports of France and of Flanders, upon all the veſſels belonging to citizens of this republic, we did not know to what cauſe to attribute that unforeſeen meaſure. But very ſoon that uncertainty gave way to the greateſt ſurpriſe and indignation, when we were informed by the public newſpapers, that the French na-

tion, or rather those that govern it at this moment, had issued a decree of so extravagant a nature, that history furnishes us with no example of such a step, full of ignorance and injustice, taken in the name of the French nation, with respect to ours.

The decree we allude to appears to have passed on the first of this month, and declares that the national convention, representing the French nation, are at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces; and, as a reason for that singular declaration of war, they allege, that the stadtholder was treating with the enemies of the French nation; that he oppressed the French patriots; that he set at liberty some fabricators of false assignats; that he armed ships, in order to join those of England; that he opened a loan; and that he created obstacles to the French trade. These circumstances, they said, were evident marks of hostility, and left to France no hope any longer of preserving peace. On these grounds not only a declaration of war was made against the stadtholder, but it was immediately followed by preparations of hostilities, not against the hereditary prince stadtholder (whose principalities lie in Germany), but against this republic, and against the property of her good citizens.

All Europe, high and mighty lords, must be astonished to see such a chain of absurdities issue from an assembly, which calls itself the legislators, the reformers of their nation, and which promises to enlighten it; in short, an assembly which recommends its principles to other nations, as emanated from wisdom itself, and as the source of human happiness.

To declare war against the stadtholder of the United Netherlands, of which he is not the sovereign, but an illustrious personage attached to this republic by eminent dignities, with which he is invested under the sovereignty of the states of the provinces, the union of which represents the sovereignty of the confederation, what can it mean otherwise, than to shew, as clear as day-light, a most profound ignorance respecting the government of a state from which they pretend that they have sustained injuries. But in reflecting on the motives which are alleged for this declaration of war, one cannot attribute it merely to ignorance, but also to that spirit of domination, usurpation, violence, and universal rapine, which directs the steps of several members of the national convention. In fact, your noble mightinesses know it, every citizen knows it, there is not one of these motives which could concern the prince hereditary stadtholder, although they correspond exactly with the truth; but some of those motives are totally destitute of any foundation in fact; and there are some which may be materially true, but they are of such a nature as no independent power owes any account of to any foreign government. How can the members of the national convention think themselves offended, because this republic arms ships and makes preparations for her own defence; and that, in order to enable her to make such preparations, the one or the other province opens loans? The other motives alleged are pure falsehoods, mere fictions, solely invented in order to give some colour of justice to acts of violence.

The republic has not treated (no more has the stadtholder) with the enemies

enemies of France. She uſed the greateſt poſſible circumſpection with reſpect to the admiſſion of the emigrants; and it was only from the conſideration of not affording a pretext of diſpute with the French government, that we, as well as your noble highneſſes, were prevented from following the impulſe of our hearts, and the ſentiments of compaſſion with which the fate of thoſe unfortunate perſons inſpired us. On the other hand, where, and in what place within our country, were the French patriots' ever oppreſſed? On the contrary, perhaps they were treated with too much mildneſs, in proportion to the dangerous principles which ſeveral of them have ſpread amongſt the citizens of thoſe provinces. Beſides, we declare that we are ignorant that in any part of theſe ſtates, any of the fabricators of falſe aſſignats have ever been ſet at liberty, after they had been convicted of that crime; ſo far from it, we know that corporal puniſhments have been inflicted for ſuch offences, as ſoon as it was proved before the judges that the accuſation was well founded, and that it had not been brought forward by the French government merely to have a pretext to ſeize upon the perſons and papers of ſuch as they thought fit to proſecute for other reaſons.

Let us remember, noble and mighty lords; now that we are conſidering theſe abſurd pretences, the conduct of the ſtates, during the troubles in France, and the conduct of the French government towards us. The republic has obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality. On all occaſions ſhe has given to the French government the ſolemn aſſurance, that ſhe would meddle, neither directly nor indirectly, with the interior troubles of that country. The adminiſtrators of the French nation, on their ſide, made aſſurances alſo in England, as well as here, that they would reſpect this neutrality. During that time, and contrary to the faith of treaties, at a time when the republic had not forces ſufficient for reſiſtance, her territory upon the Scheldt was violated by armed veſſels; at the ſame time the convention of France permitted petitions to be preſented to their aſſembly, which were injurious to theſe ſtates and their government, which were by them even anſwered with approbation.

That ſame aſſembly undertook to protect certain individuals who came from theſe provinces, and who openly pretended to eſtabliſh a Batavian revolutionary committee, and who under that title fill the republic with writings, which are as inſolent as they are extravagant.

Laſtly, at the time when Europe was aſtoniſhed at the patience of the republic, and at her complaiſance towards France, the French government broke through all bounds, and declared war, in appearance againſt the perſon of the ſtadtholder, but in fact againſt the poſſeſſions of the citizens of theſe provinces.

It is with grief that we think ourſelves obliged to lay all theſe circumſtances before your noble mightineſſes. A pacific republic, who wiſhes to offend nobody, who wiſhes for the property of nobody for the purpoſe of aggrandizing herſelf, who conducted herſelf with the utmoſt circumſpection in the midſt of the tempeſts of Europe; a peaceable republic ſees herſelf all at once threatened by a torrent of deva-

as many countries as were in its vicinity. What part are we to take, noble and mighty lords? We will place our confidence in the God of our anceſtors, who made this republic grow ſtrong out of its weak origin, and often ſaved it by miracles; and afterwards, we will employ for our defence, with courage, with conſtancy, and with calmneſs, the means which the ſituation and the reſources of our country ſhall furniſh us with. It is not long ſince the confederates engaged a-new, in a ſolemn manner, to hold the dignities of hereditary ſtadtholder, captain and admiral general, as an eſſential part of the conſtitution, and form of government of the ſtate, and to guarantee it to each other reciprocally by promiſing never to make any deviation, but in one of the provinces, from this fundamental law, ſalutary and indiſpenſible for the ſafety and repoſe of the ſtate. The moment for executing this guarantee with vigour and effect is now arrived. The convention have declared war againſt his highneſs the ſtadtholder, as if he were conſtitutional ſovereign. The writings and ſpeeches of thoſe who govern the French nation are filled with the chimerical neceſſity of reforming our conſtitution, and not acknowledging in the ſtate a ſtadtholder, whom they conſider as ſovereign: they endeavour by that to detach from the ſtadtholder the people of the United Provinces, whom they know to have an averſion to monarchical government, and by theſe means to ſcatter in our country the eternally pernicious ſeeds of diſcord, in order that they may invade it with more facility, and plunder it at their eaſe. If theſe are their views, high and mighty lords, as there is no doubt, let us rally as one man around the conſtitution. This conſtitution has a free form of government and an hereditary ſtadtholder, but not a ſovereign prince.—Let all citizens, who place any intereſt in the preſervation of the civil and religious rights which they enjoy in this country, unite with heart and hand to defend themſelves and their poſſeſſions againſt unjuſt violence: let no perſon, whatever may be his mode of thinking, imagine that he will more than another eſcape the general diſorder, pillage, rapine, and aſſaſſination, which are the conſequences of the ſubverſion of the government of a country. There doubtleſs exiſt in this republic, men who, miſled by the ſpecious name of liberty, and by the falſe picture which has been exhibited to them of equality, conſider theſe chimerical ſyſtems as objects highly deſirable: but let theſe deluded men only turn their eyes to all thoſe nations who have ſuffered themſelves to be captivated by this ideal perfection; let them examine whether, ſince that period, theſe nations have become more wiſe, more civilized, or more virtuous; whether national proſperity has been increaſed, and whether their internal ſafety and repoſe have been better conſolidated. The reſult of this examination will doubtleſs not be favourable: but let them conſider, on the other hand, that this republic has been ſo long flouriſhing and happy under the conſtitution of its preſent government, and that it conſequently preſents to us an object ſufficiently intereſting to induce us to defend it.

We ſhall conclude theſe preſents, high and mighty lords, with exhorting you, by every thing that honour, duty, and intereſt require of every

every Batavian, to employ all poſſible means for a courageous defence, when the ſtate ſhall be hoſtilely attacked, and at the ſame time to purſue ſerious meaſures, that our internal repoſe may not be diſturbed under favour of foreign hoſtilities. By doing this, we can hope, under the Divine bleſſing, that our means of defence, ſupported by the aſſiſtance of our faithful allies, will be able to repel an unjuſt attack.

Declaration of his Moſt Serene Highneſs the Prince of Orange *and* Naſſau, *made to the Aſſembly of their High Mightineſſes, on occaſion of the preſent circumſtances.*

High and mighty Lords!

THE very principal part of the public adminiſtration which has been confided to me, in my different capacities, as well political as military, by your high mightineſſes, and the lords eſtates of the reſpective provinces, forbids my preſerving a ſilence under the immediate circumſtances of the general cauſe of the country.

Your high mightineſſes certainly did juſtice to my ſentiments and my conduct, when, in your letter to the ſtates of the provinces, and in your declaration relative to the manifeſto of general Dumourier, you defended this conduct and theſe ſentiments againſt the calumnies and falſehoods of my enemies. But I owe to your high mightineſſes, to the ſtates of the provinces, to the Dutch nation, for which my anceſtors ſhed their blood—I owe to the faithful allies of the ſtate, who, at ſo critical a moment, have flown to our ſuccour to fight with us for the republic—I owe to all Europe, whoſe attention is fixed on ſoinjurious an attack—and I owe it not leſs to myſelf, to make known, not only my views, but likewiſe the foundations of my confidence.

The ſtate is moſt unjuſtly attacked; the territory of the generality is invaded; and the arms of the enemy have unexpectedly met with a ſucceſs which might extend to the cities having voices in the ſtate, and the conſequences of which would be incalculable.

Such, high and mighty lords, are the dangers which either harraſs us already, or which ſtill menace us. It is not my wiſh to diſſemble them; I do not even wiſh to flatter myſelf, that the loſſes we have already ſuſtained will be the laſt. It is not ſurpriſing that this republic ſhould experience great checks at the commencement of a war; but in the midſt of theſe diſaſters ſhe elevates herſelf, as if her loſſes awakened her activity, ſupported her courage, and multiplied her ſtrength.

As little as the dangers of the ſtate ſhould be diſſembled, ſo little ought her advantages and ſuccours to be miſunderſtood. The ſituation of the country, interſected by rivers, canals, and lakes, holds out advantages capable of diſputing the ground with the enemy, even were their ſucceſſes ſtill more conſiderable. The fidelity of the citizens, their love for their country, is equally efficacious in a republican ſtate. The troops of the republic are full of courage, and burn with a zeal to try their ſtrength in the defence of their altars and fire-ſides. The ſeamen are animated by the very ſpirit that has never failed ſo honourably to diſtinguiſh the Dutch, on an element which is natural to them, and on which they have ſo often

often confounded the pride of their enemies. I ought, finally, to assure myself, that not only the allies of the state, but also the formidable powers, which, equally with the republic, have but one interest and one common enemy, will unite their efforts to ours, to repel from the frontiers of this republic violence and injustice.

But, high and mighty lords, I found my confidence more especially in the sovereign arbiter of the world, who out of nothing, has caused this country to attain its present strength, and who has preserved it by miracles, and supported the arm of my courageous predecessors.—This God is eternal: his all-puissance, his sagacity are equally so; and he is still desirous of supporting those who repose their trust in him.

Upon these foundations it is that I declare, in the face of the whole universe, that, far from being discouraged, I will watch till my last moment in the defence of the state; and that, notwithstanding a part of my possessions and domains is already occupied by the enemy, what continues to be mine, as well as my blood and my life, is still for the service of the state. With these sentiments I have been educated; they are those which have distinguished my ancestors; and these illustrious examples have been inculcated by myself, and the princess, my dear consort, to our children—they already pant to distinguish themselves in so honourable a career.

Let the nation rouse itself; let it form an union with me against an enemy desirous of seizing on its liberty, its property, and its independence. I trust to be unceasingly found in the career of honour, and the love of my country; and since I neither seek nor know any other grandeur than that of the country, I shall esteem myself happy, provided heaven shall deign to direct and bless my efforts to that end.

Done at the Hague, Feb. 28, 1793.

(Signed)

G. PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Manifesto of the States General of the United Provinces, *in answer to the Proclamation of General* Dumourier.

IF we have lately heard with the greatest surprise, and the most lively indignation, of the decree by which the national convention of France declared, in a manner the most unexpected, and without the smallest colour of justice or of reason, that she was in a state of war with the stadtholder of the United Provinces, that is to say, in fact, with the republic; with what sentiments ought we not to be penetrated at the receipt of the following letter, having for its title,

Proclamation of General Dumourier *to the* Batavians.

"Batavians!

"THE stadtholder, who, according to the principles of republicans, ought only to be your captain general, who ought not to exercise, but for your happiness, the powers with which you have invested him, subordinate to the will and decisions of the republic, holds you in oppression and slavery.

"You know perfectly well your rights, which in 1787 you attempted to recover from the ambitious house of Orange. At that time you had recourse to the French nation: but

as she herself then groaned under the despotism of a perfidious court, you were made the sport of the vile intriguers who then governed France.

"A handful of Prussians, commanded by the very duke of Brunswick whom I have since driven from Champagne, were sufficient to subjugate you once more. Many of you have been the victims of the vengeance of your despot; many others were obliged to take refuge in France; and since that time, you lost all hopes of freedom; till a revolution, the most astonishing the history of the world offers, supported by the most glorious success, has given you, in Frenchmen, allies at once powerful, generous, and free, who will second your efforts to be free, or will learn to die with you.

"Batavians! it is not against you that the French nation has declared war: friends to all nations, she has only for enemies all tyrants. The English, so proud of their liberty, suffer themselves to be misled by gold, and the falsehoods of a despot of whom they will soon be weary. The more enemies we have, the more will our principles be propagated: persuasion and victory will support the imprescriptible rights of man; and nations will be weary of exhausting their blood and treasures for a small number of individuals, who keep discord alive merely to deceive and enslave the people. We enter Holland as friends to the Dutch, and as irreconcileable enemies of the house of Orange. Its yoke appears too insupportable, for your choice to be doubtful. Do not you see that this demi-despot who tyrannises over you, sacrifices to his personal interests the best interests of your republic? Did he not engage you in 1782 to break, with a disgraceful perfidy, your treaty of alliance with us?

"Has he not since constantly favoured the English commerce at the expence of your own? At this moment, does he not deliver up your most important settlements, the Cape of Good Hope, and the island of Ceylon, and all your commerce in India, to the only nation whose incessant rivalship you have reason to fear? Do you believe that the English, insatiable after power and wealth, will ever restore to you these important possessions, which must secure them the empire of the Indies? No, Batavians! you will never rank among the first maritime powers until you are free. Send back to Germany that ambitious house, which for a hundred years has sacrificed you to its pride. Send back the sister of Frederick William, who has at his command those ferocious Prussians, who will awe you as often as you may attempt to break your chains. This calling in of the Prussians is constantly an insult to your brave troops. The house of Orange justly fears least the spirit of liberty should sway them. A republican army cannot long serve tyranny. Very soon the Dutch troops, soon the conquerors of the Dogger-bank, will join their colours and their fleets to those of France.

"The first who shall range themselves under the standard of liberty, shall not only be assured of the continuance of such employments as they enjoy under the republic, but of more consequential ones, and that at the expence of the slaves of the house of Orange.

"I am about to visit you, surrounded by the generous martyrs to the revolution of 1787. Their perseverance,

perſeverance, and the ſacrifices they have made, merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee which will increaſe in number. This committee will be extremely uſeful in the firſt moments of your revolution; and all its members, who have no other ambition than to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter into the different claſſes of ſocial order, as ſoon as your national convention ſhall be aſſembled.

"I come into Holland at the head of ſixty thouſand free and victorious Frenchmen: ſixty thouſand more defend the Belgic provinces, and are ready to follow me, ſhould I meet with any reſiſtance. We are not the aggreſſors: the party attached to the houſe of Orange has long carried on againſt us a perfidious and ſecret war. All the plots againſt our liberty have been concerted at the Hague.

"We will ſeek at the Hague the authors of our misfortunes; we have no anger nor vengeance but againſt them; we will over-run your rich provinces as friends and brothers. You will ſee the difference between the conduct of freemen who ſtretch out to you their hands, and of tyrants who inundate and lay waſte your country.

"I promiſe to the peaceable cultivators, whoſe crops are ſacrificed to the fury of tyrants, an indemnity, by the ſale of the ſubſtance of thoſe who ſhall have ordered theſe uſeleſs inundations. I promiſe alſo to deliver into their hands, and to their juſt vengeance, the perſons of thoſe wicked adminiſtrators, magiſtrates, or military commanders, who ſhall have ordered them. To avoid, however, all the deſolations which they occaſion, I exhort the inhabitants of the country, if they have ſentiments of liberty, to oppoſe theſe inundations; and I will follow my proclamation cloſely enough to ſupport the Batavians, and puniſh the wicked.

"Batavians, have confidence in a man whom you know; who has never failed to fulfil what he has promiſed; and who conducts to battle freemen, before whom have fled, and will flee, the Pruſſians, the ſatellites of your tyrants.

"The Belgians call me their deliverer: I hope to be ſoon yours.

DUMOURIER,
General in chief of the army
of the French republic."

The tenor of this paper, printed at Antwerp, in the Dutch and French languages, leads to a preſumption that it has been deſtined by general Dumourier to announce and precede the attack with which he has long threatened the republic; to expoſe to the view of Europe, and, in particular, to that of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, the aim of this enterpriſe; and, if it were poſſible, to juſtify its motives.

A writing, however, ſo filled with the groſſeſt falſehoods and abſurdities, as well as the moſt atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been publiſhed in a ſimilar conjuncture. On examining with attention the contents of this proclamation, every attentive reader will, like ourſelves, find it difficult to perſuade himſelf, that it can in reality be aſcribed to him whoſe name it carries; to a man who has the reputation of being enlightened and intelligent, and who makes a profeſſion of uprightneſs and morality. Thus we do feel no repugnance in abandoning the examination of the offenſive ſophiſms and facts alleged in it, to the good ſenſe of all the well-diſpoſed inhabitants

bitants of this country; and with this view we have not hesitated to contribute, ourselves, to the publicity of this piece, by inserting it in the present manifesto. We think it, however, a duty we owe to our honour, to the whole nation, to the present age, and to posterity, not to leave without reply, at a time when these pacific states are threatened by a most unjust invasion, all the falsehoods advanced against us; and, certainly, had we sought an occasion to discuss the present subject, we could never have found one presenting more advantages.

The author of the proclamation sets out by representing Monseigneur the prince hereditary stadtholder as a tyrant, who holds the good people of these provinces in oppression, and as one who possesses no other power than that of captain-general. It is impossible to display a more profound ignorance of our constitution, according to which the illustrious charge of captain-general and that of the hereditary stadtholder are absolutely distinct dignities. As to what regards the manner in which Monseigneur the prince hereditary stadtholder exercises those functions, which are confided to him under these two distinct relations, we appeal to the testimony of all our countrymen.—Who among them will honestly maintain, that the nature of the stadtholdership gives to him who is invested with it the power of oppressing and subjugating the citizens? Is there, besides, any one inhabitant of these provinces, unless he is entirely blinded by a party spirit, who forbears to do justice to the amiable and benevolent disposition of a prince, whose personal character and administration have constantly been marked with the stamp of benevolence, moderation, and the most scrupulous exactness in the fulfilment of his duties.

The other heads of the charge levelled against him are not less absurd and ridiculous. How can Monseigneur the prince of Orange have broken, in 1782, a treaty of alliance which was not concluded till 1785? Who has ever said or thought seriously, that he either has or could have wished to favour the trade of the English nation at the expence of our own? Is not every mercantile influence absolutely foreign to his powers, and does not commerce open a sufficiently extensive field to employ the industrious activity of two friendly and allied nations?—Who among us, lastly, has ever heard mention of the concession to the English of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the Island of Ceylon? Who therefore does not see, that all these reproaches are mere fictions; and how is it possible to allege them in a paper destined to convey to the whole universe an account of the motives which have engaged a pretended republic to declare a most unjust war against a free and independent state?

With equal falsehood does the paper now before us speak of the revolution of 1787, an event which foreigners, or, if you will, the enemies of our constitution, mistakenly represent as an act of violence and oppression. Every one knows, that the purport of all which was then done, was merely to re-establish and consolidate the ancient and legitimate constitution upon which this republic was founded, has increased from small beginnings, has so long been

been flouriſhing and happy, and which the efforts of a few ambitious men threatened with a total ſubverſion.

"It is not againſt the Batavian nation," ſays the proclamation in continuation, "that France has declared war: a friend to all nations, ſhe has for her enemies deſpots only." Let not our fellow-citizens allow themſelves to be dazzled by theſe lying expreſſions; let them not loſe ſight of the ſignal abuſe, now become ſo common, of the words liberty, ſlavery, and oppreſſion. Thoſe who at preſent govern France, and who think they have a right to diſpoſe in ſo arbitrary a way of the lot and well-being of nations, have but too clearly proved in what the friendſhip conſiſts which they profeſs to other nations, and what they mean by tyranny and deſpotiſm. They teſtify their friendſhip to theſe nations, by ſowing among them diviſion and diſcord, and by violently ſtripping them of the privileges eſſential to ſocial order, and ſanctioned by their antiquity; privileges, the remembrance of which they even ſeek to efface, by deſtroying the charters on which they are founded.

The gifts they offer under the fine titles of fraternity and liberty, are no other than the very unbridled licence, the ſelf-ſame irreligious ſpirit, in which they glory ſo openly, and theſe accompanied by all the evils which reſult from them, and under which they themſelves groan; ſuch as anarchy, murder, pillage, miſery, and famine. They blacken with the names of deſpotiſm and ſlavery, all thoſe civil and religious inſtitutions which have hitherto been reſpected by man, becauſe they are indiſpenſable to his happineſs, and to the exiſtence of civil ſociety. Men cannot live in ſociety without a government to ſuperintend their well-being; and the principles which the French, with arms in their hands, now labour to ſpread abroad, are calculated to overturn all governments, and to ſubſtitute to ſafety, repoſe, and good order, anarchy and all the evils which ſpring from it.

Among the numerous ſubjects of aſtoniſhment with which the proclamation furniſhes us, and the abſurdity of which we are more particularly called on to demonſtrate to our countrymen, we cannot ſilently paſs over what is ſaid on the ſubject of the few unknown and deſpicable men, who, under the title of "the Batavian committee," uſurp an imaginary power, and who are deſcribed to us as being charged with the proviſional adminiſtration, until we alſo, we ourſelves, ſhall, after the example of wretched France, have formed our national convention.

Shall we then be obliged to renounce the mild authority which governs us, to ſubmit our property, every thing that is dear to us, our lives themſelves, to the caprice of a few unknown, contemptible, ignorant individuals, who will diſpoſe of us and ours at their pleaſure, until the adminiſtration ſhall paſs from their hands into thoſe of the pretended convention, blindly devoted to France; of a complexion with the one we now ſee in our neighbourhood, and whoſe authority will neceſſarily be attended by the ſame diſaſtrous conſequences to us, as thoſe which have taken place in France? How can it have been conceived, that ſuch ideas would be cheriſhed by a wiſe and ſenſible people,

people, little inclined by its character to adopt these disastrous inventions of our times, and accustomed to a just and moderate administration?

We also persuade ourselves, that it is not necessary to caution the good inhabitants of this country against paying any attention to the invitation and promises made to them, to engage them to range themselves beneath the standard of this pretended liberty; or to the insignificant threats employed to intimidate them from practising the means of defence with which nature has supplied us. It is impossible that there can be found among them men so base and so degenerate as to form an union with the enemies of their country, and, conjointly with them, to spread among their fellow-citizens desolation, despair, and the long train of irreparable evils, which are a necessary effect of a most cruel rapacity, and which so many countries, subdued by the French, now experience.

We rather expect, that all citizens, laying aside any party spirit which disunites them, will unite their efforts to ours, and to those of all the true friends of their country, to defend and preserve, under the divine protection, the territory which has given them birth, and in which they have been bred; that they will snatch religion and true liberty, those guarantees of our happiness, from the insupportable yoke of foreign and barbarous hordes. We expect every thing from their courage and bravery; and we are persuaded that they will not suffer themselves to be intimidated by the exaggerated statement of the forces which are represented as advancing against them. We persuade ourselves that they will neither forget the invincible valour with which our immortal ancestors resisted successfully these very Frenchmen, at a time when the greatest powers in Europe did not, as at this day, combat with us, but on the other hand, were leagued with our enemies;—nor the situation of our country, which, more especially in this season, opposes insurmountable obstacles to an hostile invasion;—nor the diligence and energetic activity of the government, which will neglect nothing to secure the success of our common efforts;—nor, lastly, the efficacious succours we expect in a little time from our faithful allies. If, after so many important considerations, they may still need a motive to confirm them in their resolution to sacrifice every thing to the defence of their dear country, we will place before their view the example of our neighbours, the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, who have called on and welcomed as friends the very general who dares to call himself their deliverer, and those very Frenchmen he commands. These Belgians now reap the bittereſt fruits of their heedless credulity.

Deign, thou supreme and omnipotent being, who hast so often extricated this republic from the most imminent dangers—deign to preserve it at this day from such a deliverance, and from such friends!

Thus done and resolved in the assembly of their high mightinesses the lords states general of the United Provinces, Feb. 20, 1793.

(L. S.) W. F. H. VANWASSENAER, vt.
By order of the same.
(Signed) W. FAGEL.

Memorial presented by the British and Imperial Ministers to the States General of the United Provinces, April 5.

High and Mighty Lords,

IT is known that toward the end of the month of September, last year, his Britannic majesty and your high mightinesses gave, in concert, a solemn assurance, that in case the imminent danger, which then threatened the lives of their most christain majesties, and their families, should be realized, his majesty and your high mightinesses would not fail to pursue the most efficacious measures to prevent the persons who might render themselves guilty of so atrocious a crime from finding any asylum in your respective states. This event, which was with horror foreseen, has taken place, and the divine vengeance seems not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable regicides are now in such a situation that they can be subjected to the sword of the law. The rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen, induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity.

The undersigned, therefore, submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your high mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the pretended national convention, or of the pretended executive council, who have directly or indirectly participated in the said crime; and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind.

Done at the Hague, this 5th of April, 1793.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.
LOUIS C. de STARHEMBERG.

Reply to the Memorial delivered to their High Mightinesses on the 5th of April 1793, by Lord Auckland, *Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his* Britannic *Majesty, and Count* Starhemberg, *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor.*

THEIR high mightinesses perfectly well recollect the solemn declaration they made in the month of September of the last year, in reply to a requisition on the part of the count Starhemberg, relative to those who might be culpable of the highest of crimes towards his most christian majesty, or his royal family.

They have since partaken, with all honest minds, the general and profound sensation of terror and indignation which the horrible event that has taken place in France has spread throughout all Europe; and they are as determined as they ever were, to attend to the execution

cution of the measures they at that time resolved on.

The states general are the more persuaded of the necessity which exists in every well-regulated state, of efficaciously opposing the audacity of those who seek to destroy the happiness of civil societies, by tearing asunder all the bonds of a just subordination to the legitimate authority of an established government, because this republic has been taught by her own experience the bad effects of so criminal a project. Indeed it is at this time notorious, that a small number of inhabitants, emigrated from these provinces, and usurping the name and rights of sovereignty, have had the audacity to attack their country with arms in their hands, and publicly to threaten with death the members of the legitimate government, and all those who were employed in the defence of the state, provided they would not abandon their posts.—And although these acts of rebellion are neither in their nature nor in their consequences to be compared to the crimes which have been committed in France, they, notwithstanding, derive their origin from the same causes. The states general, in consequence, expect from the equity and wisdom of all the governments of Europe, and more especially from their majesties the emperor and the king of Great Britain, that they will take good care not to grant an asylum in their states to those who have taken on them to make such enormous attempts against the government of this republic, and who, by proclamations and manifestoes, signed by them, have snatched their names from the oblivion which ought to have been their lot;—but that on the contrary, should they be discovered, they will be apprehended, to the end that they may be pursued by justice, and punished with all the severity of the law.

Official Note delivered by Prince Colloredo, *Vice Chancellor of the Germanic Empire, in the Name of the Emperor, to M.* Duras, *the Palatine Chargé d'Affaires at* Vienna, *relative to the neutral Conduct hitherto observed by the Elector Palatine and of* Bavaria.

HIS majesty the emperor, as chief of the Germanic empire, observes no other motive, in judging the duties of the states of the said empire, than the precepts of the universal statutes of the Germanic constitution, and of the first fundamental law of the empire, before which every private convenience must vanish.

The invasion by the French during last year has already rendered it necessary, by virtue of the fundamental imperial laws, to impose a junction of arms as a duty upon the states. The orders of the imperial executive government, which do not only provide for the internal maintenance of peace, but also for the safety of the empire from abroad, made it already an obligation incumbent upon the states, to give assistance at the approach of danger.

The imperial conclusum of the 23d of November last, ordaining that junction of arms, is indeed nothing else but a repetition of the fundamental laws, ascertaining the duties of the states.

Whether the elector palatine has

or not acquiesced in those laws, his majesty the emperor shall leave to his highness's own conscience, to the impartial Germanic public, and to posterity.

His majesty could not but see with sorrow and displeasure, that private interest was separated from the common weal, interested plans preferred to the duties of the states towards their oppressed neighbouring colleagues, and the public safety built upon unconstitutional political principles of neutrality, instead of preparing with the true Germanic manhood, for a vigorous resistance.

His imperial majesty was still more displeased at finding the means concerted to save the oppressed empire obstructed, the operations rendered difficult, and the success of the good cause materially affected.

The present offer of his electoral highness to furnish, on certain conditions 3000 men from the garrison of Manheim, for the imperial service, is not a sufficient discharge of his duties as a state of the empire, since the elector, instead of furnishing his triple contingent, offers only small subsidies, quite inadequate to the extent of his dominions.

His majesty the emperor expects therefore in a serious manner, that the elector will no longer elude his duty under frivolous pretences, but furnish his complete contingent; and thus blot out, by a conduct correspondent with his oath of allegiance, all the unfavourable impressions which his conduct has hitherto made upon the Germanic public, and save to his imperial majesty the unpleasant trouble of breaking off his personal friendship, and of letting the empire proceed in judgment upon his late conduct.

(Signed) PRINCE COLLOREDO.

Done at Vienna,
April 30, 1793.

Imperial Official Note delivered to the Minister of the Court Palatine of Bavaria, in answer to the Note of that Court, objecting to the usual Contingents.

HIS imperial majesty is not acquainted with the circumstance, that the contingents of Treves and Brandenburg, had been employed in the manner stated in the note of the chargé d'Affaires. His majesty finds the pretext which is made use of in the above-mentioned note, namely, "That the "army of the empire had not been "assembled in the accustomed and "required formalities," extraordinary and ill founded.

How is it possible to suppose, that to join the troops of the empire to the rest of the troops who are destined to fight against the common enemy, is not conformable to the intentions of the states of the empire, or to pretend that the troops of the empire cannot act but in separate corps?

The common cause would indeed be in the most sorrowful condition, if the preservation, the liberation, and the safety of the German empire depended on the activity of an army of the empire, separated and composed but of the united contingents of the different states.

Do not the annals of the empire present us with more than one example,

example, that the troops of the empire, united with other troops in corps, more or less numerous, fought always against the common enemy, according as the military operations required it? To judge of the manner in which an interpretation is given in the same note. to a passage contained in the conclusum of the empire, of the 23d of November last, ratified by his imperial majesty, namely:—His imperial majesty will point out to the troops of the empire their respective places of assembling, under the orders of a commander in chief of the empire; and his imperial majesty will order them to march to the places of their destination, as the necessity and the safety of the country shall require; it is really an absurd interpretation of that passage to pretend, that these troops are to assemble in one body, in order to act separately, and even to the prejudice of a less expensive, more useful, and more vigorous plan of operation. The principal aim of the conclusum is, and can be nothing, but the defence and the liberation of the oppressed country, and that to effect this, the most speedy and efficacious means were to be employed.

Guided by these considerations, his majesty in approving of, and agreeing to the plans of operations which have been concerted with his majesty the king of Prussia and with the commander in chief of the troops of the empire, thought fit to unite and incorporate for the present, those contingent troops, into the armies that entered into a campaign against the common enemy, in order to make them act jointly with the latter whenever circumstances shall require; without, however, making any alteration in the interior discipline or existence of the different corps of the troops of the empire, who will always continue to act agreeable to the orders of their commander in chief, the field marshal prince Cobourg, in conformity with the conclusum of the diet, and the resolutions taken by the privy council of his imperial majesty.

After what has been sent forth in consequence of the fundamental laws of the Germanic constitution, of the decree of execution, and of the more recent resolutions taken by the general diet of the empire; his imperial majesty hopes, on the part of his electoral highness, that the latter will seriously consider the obligations which impose upon him his quality of member of the Germanic empire, which he has sworn to support and defend; and that therefore he will not hesitate any longer to lend his assistance to his country, when threatened with ruin. And that lastly, he would no longer refuse, under pretences repugnant to the fundamental principles of the empire, to furnish in full, not only his contingent for the service of his imperial majesty, but also the contingent prescribed to him in the present juncture, by the fundamental laws of the constitution, and the last resolutions taken unanimously by the states of the empire.

It is only by punctually conforming to these principles, and without loss of time, that his electoral highness can efface the bad impressions which his conduct in the present circumstances could not fail to make on the minds of all his co-estates, and on the whole German nation; and it is only by that measure that his imperial majesty could think

himself excused from exposing to the diet, in spite of his inclination and sentiments of personal friendship, how much the irregularity of the conduct of the elector was incompatible with his duties, and with his quality of member of the empire, in order that the high states might deliberate on the ulterior dispositions to be made in this case, according to the constitutional laws of this empire.

Declaration of Charles Louis, *Archduke of* Austria, *Prince Royal of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. &c.*

RIGHT reverend fathers in God, nobles, dear and well beloved, on the account which has been given to us of your representation of the 31st of May last, by which you demand of us, on the occasion of the approaching inauguration of his majesty, the emperor and king, in this province, as duke of Brabant, a clear and precise declaration, 'that the first article 'of the *Joyeuse Entrée* shall be 'maintained and observed in every 'respect, without exception, and 'without its being permitted, under 'pretence of the 55th article, or 'under any other pretence what'ever, to treat any person otherwise 'than by law and trial, agreeably 'to the first article;' We address to you these presents, to inform you, that these articles, taken either separately or combined, are too clear to require any explanation. We consequently cannot but assure you, that these articles will be punctually and faithfully observed, as well as every thing contained in the *Joyeuse Entrée*.

Of this the equity and justice which direct all the proceedings of his majesty must be to you a sure pledge. He has lately given you the most convincing proofs of it, when on the consent which the two first orders gave for levying the sum of four millions and an half, he declared, that the first of the three periods of the payment of that sum should not take place until the violations of the constitution, which under the preceding reigns were made by the suppression of convents and religious communities, and by the establishment of the council of Limbourg, should be entirely repaired, or, at least, until satisfactory arrangements should be made with the states for that purpose.

To that striking proof of his steady attachment to the constitution of this province, and to the religious observance of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, which forms the basis of it, his majesty has deigned to add that of the sincere desire inspired by the sentiments of his paternal heart, for re-establishing the reign of confidence, union, and concord, among his subjects, and of burying in eternal oblivion every thing that might recall the dismal remembrance of the disagreeable events which took place on account of the troubles between 1787 and 1790. His majesty has declared that by means of the said four millions and a half, his demands and pretensions made since the 31st of January, 1787, will be considered as satisfied, and that he will engage to indemnify equitably from this sum, according to the award of a commission to be appointed for that purpose by common consent, all those who shall have unjustly suffered any real damage on account of the said troubles.

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He has moreover declared that, in conſequence of the ſaid conſent, the amount of the public charges which were agreed to by the ſtates in 1790, ſhall remain for the benefit of the province, and that the debts and rents created for or on account of the ſaid troubles ſhall be agreed to and admitted as charges of the ſame province—diſpoſitions which will have their full and entire effect, the moment the Tiers Etat ſhall have acceded to the ſaid conſent of the two firſt orders. It is alſo known to you, that his majeſty, not loſing ſight of the liquidation opened between the different provinces, concerning the debts contracted for or on account of the ſaid troubles, has declared that this liquidation ſhall be reſumed and immediately terminated.

Finally, we repeat and confirm the declaration already given to you, that the convention of the Hague, of December the 10th, 1790, and the ſubſequent ratification publiſhed in this province on the 19th of May, 1791, ſhall in nothing oppoſe or impede the contents of the *Joyeuſe Entrée*, which will remain ſubſiſting in its full purity, and in its whole extent, as the late empreſs Maria Thereſa, and her auguſt predeceſſors, ſwore to maintain it. May God therefore, right reverend fathers in God, nobles, dear and well beloved, take you under his holy protection!

Done at Bruſſels, October 15th, 1793.

Diſpatch addreſſed to the States of the Belgic Provinces.

Charles Louis, Archduke of Auſtria, Prince Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. &c.

Bruſſels, Nov. 20, 1793.

THE moment is arrived when it is of importance to oppoſe to a deſtructive enemy, who is preparing to make a powerful and laſt effort, the moſt determined reſiſtance. The inhabitants of theſe flouriſhing provinces, in unanimity with the ſovereign who protects them, will not ſubmit to the horrid yoke of French deſpotiſm! It is here that it has found, and ſtill will find, a barrier to oppoſe it. It is to this country that Europe, perhaps, will be indebted for the preſervation of its religion and ſocial order.

The commiſſioner whom we have ſent to you, has already explained our views for a junction of all the forces of the ſtate, and he has not concealed from you, that, among the meaſures concerted, one of the moſt eſſential is, to take care that the military cheſts be kept conſtantly well provided.

The emperor has in this reſpect made great and continual ſacrifices, and he never will ceaſe to do ſo; but at a time when the other ſtates and provinces of his vaſt monarchy, leſs intereſted than the Netherlands in the ſucceſs of the arms of his majeſty in the preſent war, are alſo giving him on their part repeated proofs of their zeal for the common cauſe, and are concurring with great activity to his ſucceſs, by furniſhing men and money, we ſhould think ourſelves wanting in that confidence with which the good and loyal inhabitants inſpire us, ſhould we not at preſent give them an opportunity of diſplaying individually by voluntary and patriotic gifts, according to the deſire which many perſons

have already teſtified, their zeal for the common cauſe of all people attached to their religion, and who ſet a value on morals, juſtice, and the ſafety of perſons and property.

We invite you, therefore, to concur efficaciouſly in the execution of this meaſure, the moſt proper to procure to the ſtate a ſpeedy ſupply, ſparing at the ſame time the indigent or poorer claſſes of citizens.

It is to you who repreſent the province, that we addreſs ourſelves with confidence.

It will be ſufficient to point out to you this truth, of which you are doubtleſs already ſenſible, that a temporary ſacrifice will not be regretted for the grand object to which we invite all the provinces to concur, according to their means, riches, and good-will. The beſt diſpoſitions have been already announced to us from all quarters on this ſubject, and nothing was wanting to the well-diſpoſed, but to point out receiving offices, where each individual might realize his ſacrifice.

It is to determine the beſt means of collecting the voluntary loans and gifts above mentioned, that we have recourſe to your information. Inveſted with the confidence of your province, you know the mode beſt ſuited to it, and we entirely rely upon you, that you will find out the moſt proper in that reſpect.

But to facilitate, as much as poſſible, the means of making theſe ſacrifices, we declare to you, that all bodies and individuals may depoſit their voluntary loans or gifts in the hands of the receivers general of the finances, or governors of the royal treaſury, the directors of provincial treaſuries, and the receivers of domains in the reſpective cities, and that all theſe officers are authorized to receive both money and plate, and all articles of gold and ſilver, under whatever denomination they may be brought, either as an abſolute gift, or loan for a fixed period, or during the war, with or without intereſt. We declare alſo, that at the ſame places will be received ſubſcriptions for any ſum payable periodically, by the week, month, or quarter. Perſuaded that you will act in the ſame manner on your part, we doubt not that your members will ſet the firſt example of ſuch generous ſacrifices, as far as their private circumſtances will permit, and that you will immediately point out in all the cities, towns, and villages of the provinces, offices where you will receive theſe articles in our name, and on the ſame footing to tranſmit afterwards to the royal treaſury the amount of the contributions and liſts of the ſubſcribers every fortnight. It will not eſcape you, that an excellent means of promoting theſe ſubſcriptions, ſo noble in their object, will be to appoint in each town, and in each canton in the country, ſome individuals of reſpectability, who may take upon them to find out well-diſpoſed perſons, to collect their ſubſcriptions, and to receive the amount of the gifts, loans, and other voluntary contributions.

And, as it is of importance to give to the whole of this operation a centre, by means of which we may know at all times the reſource that will reſult to the ſtate, and be able to ſuperintend better the uſe made of the amount, we have reſolved to eſtabliſh at Bruſſels a committee, of which the viſcount Defandrouin, treaſurer general, will be the preſident, requeſting that you, on your part, will alſo eſtabliſh committees, who

who may correſpond with this central committee, in order the better to combine all the operations.

Laſtly, we inform you, that liſts of the perſons who have already made, or who ſhall ſucceſſively make, theſe generous ſacrifices to the ſtate, will be printed. Theſe liſts will contain the names, quality, and reſidence of theſe perſons, except thoſe who deſire to remain unknown, and give orders to the contrary.

We remain, &c. &c.

Note delivered by Mr. Keene, *Chargé d'Affaires from his* Britannic *Majeſty, to the Members of the Cabinet of the King of* Sweden.

THE underſigned chargé d'affaires of his Britannic majeſty has orders to communicate to the miniſters of his majeſty the king of Sweden, a copy of the orders iſſued out by his Britannic majeſty, in his privy council, concerning ſeveral meaſures relative to the trade and navigation of neutral nations during the preſent war.

The miniſter of Sweden will no doubt obſerve, that the rules preſcribed in theſe orders are more favourable to Sweden than thoſe ſtipulated in the treaty exiſting between the two courts, as in the treaty all tranſports of proviſions to an enemy are declared contraband, and ſubject to confiſcation.

The exception in favour of Sweden, in the article of theſe regulations concerning blocked-up ports, is founded upon the ſame treaty, the principles of which are perfectly conſiſtent with the preſcriptions given to the commanders of his majeſty's armed veſſels. It can certainly not be imagined that the object of this treaty has been to permit to the veſſels belonging to neutral powers to renew their attempts of entering into blocked-up ports as many times till they ſucceed in throwing proviſions into them; they have only been exempted from the puniſhment of confiſcation upon the firſt attempt.

His majeſty does not doubt but that the court of Sweden will conſider the particular attention which his Britannic majeſty, on this occaſion, paid to the intereſts of Sweden, and of which this preſent communication is not leſs a proof.

His majeſty therefore expects, on the part of Sweden, the ſtricteſt obſervance of the ſaid treaty, and that, according to the conditions expreſſed in the thirteenth article, orders will be given, that no veſſels or goods, taken by the enemy from Britiſh ſubjects, ſhould be permitted to enter into the Swediſh ports; and to prevent, in caſe an enemy's veſſel ſhould carry any veſſels or goods belonging to Britiſh ſubjects, that captured goods or veſſels ſhould be ſold in the ſtates of Sweden; and that all Britiſh ſailors, priſoners, &c. carried into the ports of Sweden, as well as the enemy's veſſels themſelves, ſhall not be permitted to make any ſtay in theſe ports; and all the Britiſh ſailors, maſters of veſſels, and all priſoners at their arrival in any Swediſh port, ſhall immediately be ſet at liberty.

The following is the Anſwer of M. Bergſtedt, *the Chargé d'Affaires from the Court of* Stockholm *to that of* London, *delivered to the Miniſter of his* Britannic *Majeſty.*

HIS royal highneſs the duke regent of Sweden, having been inſtructed of the contents of the

the note which the chargé d'affaires of his Britannic majesty at Stockholm transmitted, by order of his Britannic majesty, on the 26th of last month, to his excellency the great chancellor of the Swedish empire baron Von Sparre, has given orders to the undersigned chargé d'affaires of his Swedish majesty at the court of London, by means of this present official note to the minister of his Britannic majesty, to declare that his royal highness the duke regent of Sweden observed, with inexpressible pleasure, that he had not been mistaken in the favourable opinion which he ever entertained of the principles of justice by which the steps of the court of Great Britain are guided, and of its religious observance of treaties; his royal highness assuring, at the same time, that all the points of these treaties shall be observed on his side with not less strictness.

The undersigned, moreover, has special orders from his royal highness the duke regent, to give the strongest assurances, on his part, that not only the strictest orders will be given in the name of his majesty of Sweden, respecting the punctual execution of the articles of the treaties of neutrality, but likewise that his royal highness shall always think it his duty to seize every opportunity to convince his Britannic majesty of the friendship of the court of Sweden, and of his constant desire to preserve and strengthen the harmony and the mutual good understanding which is reigning between the two empires.

(Signed) VON BERGSTEDT.

Note delivered on the 30th of July to the High Chancellor of Sweden, *by the* Russian *Chargé d'Affairs.*

WHEREAS the undersigned chargé d'affaires of her imperial majesty of all the Russias refers to the amicable and confidential overtures which his excellency count Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador, was charged to make to the ministers of his Swedish majesty in the beginning of this year, and in concert with the envoys of other courts interested in the present war; he has the honour to declare to the said ministers, that her imperial majesty, in consequence of an arrangement made with his Britannic majesty, has resolved to set sail a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, and some frigates, which is destined to cruize in the north and east seas, to check and cut off the navigation of the French rebels, and to protect the coasts of those seas from their privateers and robbers.—The instructions with which the commander of this fleet is provided, prescribe to him to seize and capture all the ships bearing the pretended French flag, or any other flags which they may dare to hoist; and to stop also, and to compel all neutral ships bound to or freighted for France, according as they shall deem it most expedient, either to sail back, or enter some neutral harbour. After all the proofs which her imperial majesty has given of her magnanimous and most disinterested care to secure the rights of neutral states in time of war, by a code of maritime laws, which most powers have, by solemn treaties, sealed with their approbation, she cannot possibly be suspected of wishing to infringe upon this beneficent and salutary system, as it is no ways applicable

applicable to the preſent circumſtances.

In order to prove and eſtabliſh this aſſertion, it will ſuffice to mention, that the uſurpers of the government in France, after having ſubverted all order, after have embrued their murderous hands in the blood of their king, have declared themſelves, by a ſolemn decree, the friends and protectors of all thoſe who ſhould commit the ſame horrors and exceſſes againſt their own government in other ſtates; and they have not only promiſed them ſuccours and every aſſiſtance, but even attacked by force of arms, moſt of the adjacent powers.

By ſo doing, they put themſelves into an immediate ſtate of war with all the powers of Europe; and from that period, neutrality could only take place where prudence preſcribed, to conceal the reſolution preſcribed by the general intereſt. But this motive exiſts no longer, ſince the moſt formidable powers have joined in league to make theirs one common cauſe againſt the enemy of the ſafety and proſperity of nations. If there be any whoſe ſituation does not allow ſuch ſtrong and deciſive efforts as the other powers have recourſe to, it is but juſtice that they ſhould join the common cauſe by other means which are wholly in their power, and eſpecially by breaking off all commerce and intercourſe with the perturbators of public reſt. Her imperial majeſty thinks herſelf the more entitled to propoſe theſe meaſures, as ſhe firſt ſet the example of them, and introduced them in her dominions, notwithſtanding the temporary prejudice which reſulted therefrom to the exportation and ſale of the productions of her empire.—She has but too well foreſeen the inconveniencies to which the public weal would be expoſed, if the common enemy had been permitted, by means of a free ſupply of proviſions and naval ſtores, to foſter and prolong anarchy. She has but too well foreſeen thoſe inconveniencies, to heſitate about ſacrificing ſome momentary advantages, the leaſt which ſo great a cauſe exacts. Equally confident of the juſtice of theſe reaſons, and of the friendſhip of his Swediſh majeſty, the empreſs does not delay to renew her urgent repreſentation to the king her ally, to induce him to perſevere in his friendly as well as ſalutary intentions, having given orders to his admiralty to refuſe convoys to all Swediſh ſhips, which, in the preſent juncture, are bound for France; and to preſcribe to all others bound to other harbours, to ſubmit to their being ſearched by the ſhips of war of her imperial majeſty, which is at preſent a point abſolutely neceſſary, and compatible with the indulgence and reſpect that ought to take place between allies and neighbouring powers.

(Signed) NOTBEK.

Stockholm, July 30, 1793.

Note delivered by the Britiſh *Ambaſſador at the Court of* Copenhagen *to the Miniſters of the* Daniſh *Cabinet.*

IT can by no means be miſtaken how much the circumſtances of the preſent war are different from thoſe wars in which the powers of Europe can depend on the eſtabliſhed laws and rights of nations; no more can it be denied, that this palpable difference ought to have a material and powerful influence on the

the enjoyments of the privileges allowed to neutral nations, by the same general laws and rights of nations, or by particular treaties.

At this moment there is no government in France, which is either acknowledged by the neutral or by the belligerent powers. The court of Denmark has neither a minister at Paris, nor has it accepted of any from that country since the unfortunate death of his late most christian majesty the king of France. That court has justly taken particular care not to acknowledge the existence of any legal authority in France, as in fact there is none at present; and although many particular considerations prevented that court from entering openly into the hostile measures of the coalesced powers, it could never look on the government of France as a party with whom they could enter into any amicable relation, and must even find a great difficulty in preserving a strict neutrality with respect to them.

In general cases, where a neutral power keeps up a commercial relation with two belligerent powers, that neutral power in the first instance has means, either by negotiations with the two belligerent or other powers, or by the established laws of Europe, to enforce the strict observation of neutrality towards itself, equally from both the powers which are at war with each other. The two powers, on the other hand, have assurances, that the neutrality of that power will never be exerted in favour of one of the parties, and to the disadvantage of the other. And in case any of the commercial transactions of the neutral power should prove disadvantageous to one of the belligerent parties, means of amicable representations are always left open for them, in which such differences are easily settled, to the equal satisfaction of every party.

The circumstances, in this present case, are quite otherwise. Denmark, in retaining, with respect to England, all the commercial privileges of a neutral power, which are guaranteed to them by the general right of nations, as well as by standing treaties, can by no means be assured of the observance of the same regulations and laws of the rights of nations, on the part of France. In that country, this neutrality has not only already been violated, but continues to experience daily infringements. There the court of Denmark has no minister, who could keep sacred its rights, as well as the rights of its subjects. In that country there is no authority from whom justice might be expected, where in fact there are no other laws, nor courts of justice, but the will of a licentious mob.

It will be impossible for his majesty the king of Denmark, even in his quality of a neutral power, to enter with France, in an amicable manner, into a discussion respecting the measures of caution which would be necessary for him to take, consistent with what the other powers have a right to require. It is notorious, that at this moment the commerce of corn, and other provisions, between France and other nations, is no longer a private commerce in the former country; but, contrary to all former custom, it is now entirely in the hands, either of the pretended executive council, or of several municipalities. This commerce, therefore, can no longer be looked upon as a private trade, car-

ried on between peaceable and speculating subjects of the two or more nations, but as special means taken by the usurping governors of France to forward their own measures, in carrying on the war which they declared against us.

It is not less manifest, that at this present moment, one of the most effectual means, by which those who declared war against us might be forced to offer fair conditions of a peace, would be that of preventing that pretended government to supply, by means of importation, the want of provisions in that country; a want which they themselves have caused by their conduct, which undoubtedly would open the eyes of the whole industrious class of the French people, and arm them against their oppressors.

It has been acknowledged, by all those who have written upon the law, and the public rights of nations, as a principle, that it is as equitable to prevent the importation of provision into an enemy's country, in order by that means to subdue it, as in the case when the want of those necessary articles has been caused to the enemy, by the means he may have taken to annoy his opponent. And no person can deny, that this case, which is quite singular in its kind, must not be judged according to regulations and principles which have only been established with a view to such wars, the customs of which at that time had been well understood and known amongst the sovereigns of Europe.

Another circumstance is to be observed, in case his Danish majesty should permit an asylum in his majesty's ports to the French privateers and their prizes. His majesty can have no security from them, which according to the laws of nations, is requisite under such circumstances.

The courts of justice, without exposing themselves to a manifest act of contradiction in principle, cannot regard any letter of marque, or any other patent, as legitimate and valid, which took its origin from a government that his Danish majesty never acknowledged as sovereign. On account of this non-recognition of the sovereignty of the present government in France, no prizes can be condemned, nor British subjects, nor British property, can be detained in ports belonging to a friendly government, and whose protection they have an unquestionable right to claim; the refusal of which would be an infringement of the most solemn treaties.

Besides this, the accustomed laws of an impartial neutrality are totally inapplicable in the case of the present war; for there is no acknowledged authority existing in France which is able to give to their privateers the necessary instructions for their own conduct, and to which a neutral power could apply for satisfaction, in case such privateers should transgress such laws and prescriptions, the observance of which is the only means which prevent their being looked upon and treated like pirates.

(Signed) HAILES.

Answer from the Royal Court of Denmark *to the preceding Official Note.*

HIS majesty cannot, but with the most lively regret, find himself necessitated to complain of the conduct, or to combat the principles of the powers, who, for so many years, he had been used to look

look upon as his friends and allies. His majesty had always entertained hopes, that his conscientiously observing the strictest neutrality, and his adherence to the literal sense of the existing treaties, should have secured him from such unpleasing transactions as those to which he alludes; but the unexpected contents of the note delivered by Mr. Hailes, ambassador extraordinary of his British majesty, supported by a memorial delivered by count Goltz, ambassador extraordinary from his majesty the king of Prussia, do not permit him to pass it over any longer in silence.

The reasons which his majesty has to oppose to those, which have been laid before him, are contained in the inclosed memorial. The desire of maintaining an opinion which he once had expressed, is not what induces him to persevere in the same principles. His majesty is entirely directed by the interior conviction of the most important interests to preserve a peace, as being an object much desired by his majesty's subjects.

His majesty being convinced that he addresses friendly, just, and upright sovereigns, will therefore declare his sentiments with candour, and without reserve.

The question is not concerning the rights of Denmark. The rights of that kingdom are not problematical; and the king, my master, in this respect, appeals to the feelings of the sovereigns, his friends, how painful it must be for him to be obliged to enter into a controversy where there is nothing necessary but the fulfilling of the most clear treaties universally acknowledged and agreed to.

His majesty flatters himself, that no principle will prevail, or be looked upon as grounded upon justice, which would establish a principle that the particular nature of an accidental war could in any means alter the nature of mutual treaties or contracts, or that a mutual consent could be considered as a favour or privilege; or that certain powers had a right to make regulations at the expence of a third; or that powers, in order to lighten the burthen which is inseparable from the war in which they are engaged, had a right to lay the weight of it on the shoulders of innocent and neutral neighbours.

These objects may perhaps give occasion to difference; but his majesty would think it an insult against the respectable powers to whom he appeals, if he harboured the least suspicion that, after having been made acquainted with his representations, they should persevere in their former demands, or a still greater, if he manifested a fear lest they should make use of a superior force, in order to place violence in the place of proofs of a necessary consent of the interested parties. His majesty, not having had any communications upon this subject with the other neutral powers, is for this reason unacquainted with their sentiments thereupon; but is convinced, at the same time, that their opinions, as well as opposition, must be unanimous; and that they must be certain of the impossibility there is to make a system of neutrality agree with measures which are totally detrimental to such a system.

His majesty is not afraid that his conduct will appear reprehensible. He demanded nothing but what is agreeable to the sense of the existing treaties; he remained faithful to

the ſtipulations expreſſed in thoſe treaties, as well as to the neutrality itſelf. His majeſty thinks himſelf the ſuffering party, He is at a loſs to form an idea how his Britannic majeſty could have given to the commanders of his majeſty's ſhips new inſtructions, which are directly oppoſite to the former regulations, as well as to the ſenſe of the treaties exiſting between his Britannic majeſty and the court of Denmark, without the latter's knowledge or conſent.

His majeſty firſt expected, that thoſe inſtructions would only have regarded ſuch neutral powers as had not entered into any deciſive convention with England; but, on the conviction of the contrary, he could not help proteſting againſt ſuch orders and inſtructions, conſidering them as an open breach of thoſe treaties, and an infringement of one of the moſt ſacred and binding laws which were eſtabliſhed among mankind. His majeſty, therefore, intreats his Britannic majeſty to revoke ſuch inſtructions, and to iſſue orders, conformable to the ſtrict ſenſe of the ſacred engagements and treaties exiſting between the two nations.

His majeſty, at the ſame time, is willing to ſhew his Britannic majeſty, as well as his majeſty of Pruſſia and the other coaleſced powers, that his intentions are, to comply with any of their requeſts which are not contrary to the rules of ſtrict neutrality, or to the intereſts of the Daniſh nation. He therefore conſents to conſider all French ſea-ports, before which there ſhall be any conſiderable naval force belonging to England or her allies, as blocked ports. The Daniſh government will neither enter into nor favour any contract with the government of France, for the purpoſe of ſupplying their navy or army with proviſions. No ſale of prizes made by French armed veſſels will be permitted in the Daniſh ports or other parts of the dominions of his Daniſh majeſty.

His majeſty, beſides, will omit nothing in order to deſerve, in future, as well as hitherto, the friendſhip and eſteem of his Britannic majeſty, and his allies, and ſhall contribute every thing in his power, in order to ſtrengthen, if poſſible, the ties of friendſhip and alliance which have hitherto exiſted between the Britiſh nation and that of Denmark.

Given in the department for foreign affairs, at Copenhagen, July 28, 1793.

(Signed)
A. P. Von Bernstorff.

Counter Declaration of the Court of Denmark, *in Reply to the Memorial delivered by the* Britiſh *Miniſter.*

THE law of nations is unalterable. Its principles do not depend on circumſtances. An enemy engaged in war can exerciſe vengeance upon thoſe who do not expect it; but in this caſe, and without violating the rigid law, a fatal reciprocity may take place; but a neutral power, which lives in peace, cannot admit of, nor acknowledge, ſuch a compenſation; it can only ſcreen itſelf by its impartiality and by its treaties. It is not pardonable for her to renounce its rights in favour of any belligerent power. The baſis of its rights is the univerſal and public law, before which all authority muſt vaniſh: it is neither a party nor a judge; nor do the treaties

ties give room to privileges and favours. All these stipulations constitute the perfect law: they are mutual obligations. That would be a very unnatural agreement, which any of the contracting parties might at pleasure suppress, interpret, or restrain. In this manner all treaties would in general become impracticable, because they would be useless. What becomes of equity, fidelity, and safety? and how much more unjust must become oppression, when it sets aside the infringement of sacred duties, the advantages of which have been enjoyed, but only acknowledged as long as they suited self-interest!

Denmark will surely never attempt to justify the present government in France, its nature and origin; but she will neither give her judgment, and her neutrality will not permit her to express her mind on this subject. We only confine ourselves to the lamenting the disasters which befel that country, and, on its account, all Europe; and to the wishing to see them brought to a speedy termination. But this is not the moment to own or acknowledge a form of government which we have always refused to acknowledge. The nation is there, and the authority which it acknowledges is that to which application is made in cases concerning individuals. The commercial connexions subsist likewise in the same manner as they did between England and France, as long as the latter chose to preserve peace. The nation has not ceased to acknowledge her treaties with us; at least, she conforms herself agreeable to those treaties. As she appeals to them, so do we appeal to them—and frequently with good success, both for ourselves, and in favour of those subjects of the belligerent powers who commit their effects to the protection of our flag. In cases of refusal and delay, we have frequently been obliged to hear, often and reluctantly, that they only used to take reprisals, since the nations with whom they were at war shewed as little regard for their treaties with us; and thus the neutral flag becomes the victim of errors which it cannot reproach itself with. The path of justice still continues open in France. The consuls, and the mandatories of private individuals, are heard. No one is prevented from applying to the tribunals of commerce. This is sufficient in ordinary cases. No fresh negotiations are required for the maintenance of existing treaties. Ministers become quite superfluous in this respect; there are judges, and this is sufficient.

These considerations are already violated by the observation, that our grievances are frequently heard in France, and that there is no possibility of getting them redressed. The municipalities, to whom application must be made, are certainly not alike equitable; the sentences of the tribunals of commerce are not founded upon uniform principles; the extreme means of refuge to a medium of power is totally removed; and these circumstances occasion at times grievous acts of injustice. In this respect, none are greater sufferers than the neutral powers; and it would be very unequitable to punish them doubly, and also on the part of those powers who cry aloud against those unjust proceedings, and yet seem to justify it by their own imitation.

A negotiation between a neutral and a belligerent power, which would have

have for its object that the latter should not make use of neutrality to the detriment of the former, cannot be thought of. A neutral power has fulfilled all its duties, if it has never receded from the strictest impartiality, and from the acknowledged sense of its treaties. In case the neutrality should prove more advantageous to one of the belligerent powers than to another, this becomes foreign to the neutrality, and does not concern it. This depends on local situation and circumstances, and does not remain alike. The detriments and advantages are compensated and balanced by time. All that which does not absolutely depend on a neutral power, ought to have no influence upon its neutrality; otherwise a partial and frequently but momentary interest would become the interpreter and judge of existing treaties.

The difference made between private commercial speculations, and those made by a government and municipalities, appears to us equally new, as we are totally unacquainted with the fact itself. It would be unnecessary to examine the question, whether a contract between a neutral government, and a government at war, relative to a supply of a certain quantity of provisions for the benefit of armies, garrisons of towns, or armed ships, is derogatory or not to a treaty, in which such an exception is not at all stipulated? Since such a case is not in existence, the point in question is only with respect to private speculations of the sale of uncontraband articles of produce; the disposal of which is not less important to the seller, than it is to the buyer; and to the freight of the vessels of a nation, whose chief support is depending on the advantages they reap from their navigation and corn trade. If it be permitted to famish blocked-up ports, and fortified towns, belonging to an enemy, it does not appear to be justice, in the same degree, to extend similar misery to others, who are innocent; and, even in France, there are provinces that could never have deserved such an increase of misery from the hands of England, or its allies.

The want of corn, as a common consequence of the want of a supply of provisions, is not so extraordinary a circumstance in France, which could only have been produced by the late events. France has at all times been obliged to draw provisions from other nations. Africa, Italy, and America, supply that country with more provisions than the Baltic. Their necessity in applying to other nations for provisions, is so far from being new, that in the year 1709, when there was a real famine in France, England, at that time, never thought of making use of such arguments as she does at present.

On the contrary, soon after Frederick IV. was engaged in a war with Sweden, which kingdom, as well as France, is dependent for the supply of provisions on other nations, he used the same arguments to prevent the supply of provisions to an enemy, in order by these means to subdue him; and endeavoured to apply a case to a whole country, which is only applicable or justifiable with respect to blockaded towns or ports.

He was obliged to renounce that project, on account of the weighty representations made on that subject by the other courts of Europe, and

particularly by that of Great Britain, who declared this a new principle, and rejected it as unjuſt.

A war may differ from others by its inducements, its aim, its neceſſity, its juſtice or injuſtice, or its importance to the belligerent powers. This difference may, and muſt, have a great influence in the manner in which a peace can be eſtabliſhed afterwards, in the indemnities to be claimed, and in other additional circumſtances. But this can have no influence whatever with reſpect to neutral powers; theſe are undoubtedly more inclined to favour thoſe powers who have juſtice on their ſide, but it is out of their power to follow their inclinations in that reſpect. A neutrality which is not perfectly ſo, is no longer a neutrality.

The veſſels which ſail under Engliſh colours, as well as thoſe under the colours of its allies, enjoy in all the ports of his majeſty the king of Denmark all poſſible ſecurity, aſſiſtance, and protection. But amongſt this number, there do not belong ſuch of their veſſels as are captured by their enemies. The French privateers cannot be looked upon by the neutral powers as pirates; whilſt at the ſame time Great Britain, their enemy, does not look upon them as ſuch. Their priſoners are treated in that country as priſoners of war; they are exchanged as ſuch; and negotiations for that purpoſe are daily entered upon on both ſides. The accuſtomed laws of war are obſerved every where; and theſe muſt alſo direct our conduct. The three-coloured flag has been acknowledged in Denmark at the ſame epoch when it has been acknowledged almoſt every where.

Any alteration in this reſpect would draw upon us a war, without having deſerved ſuch a fate. The admittance of privateers and prizes into the ports of Norway is the conſequence of a neutrality, which is above any other conſideration. This point has been obſerved in all the wars which have afflicted Europe. Every nation has claimed that right, and enjoyed it in her turn.

The local circumſtances there do not permit a general prohibition; it would be impoſſible to enforce the execution of ſuch a meaſure in a country where there are extenſive coaſts and innumerable ports and creeks, and where there are but few inhabitants. This prohibition would not only be illuſory and uſeleſs, but even pernicious; for the French would deſtroy all thoſe veſſels, if they had no hope left of ſecuring them when taken. This object, beſides, is of little importance, and there are numerous and eaſy means to obviate the diſadvantages ariſing from it.

(Signed) A. P. VON. BERNSTORFF.

Anſwer of the Court of Denmark *to the Note delivered on the* 10th *of Auguſt ult. by the Imperial* Ruſſian *Ambaſſador.*

WHEREAS I have given an account to the king, my maſter, of the note which the ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, Baron de Kruedener, delivered on the 10th of Auguſt, 1793. I have received his majeſty's command to anſwer, That his majeſty ſees, with the greateſt ſorrow, how much the principles contained in the ſaid note militate at this time againſt his own; that his majeſty expected no intimation

that manifeſted doubts which his majeſty had not deſerved; that it could not but be known to her imperial majeſty, that the king had reſolved to give no convoys to the Daniſh ſhips bound to France, and that his majeſty never had pretended to ſend naval ſtores into that country; that his majeſty could not of courſe gueſs the meaning of a declaration which did not concern him, nor of a proceeding which applied the principles and rights of a blockade to ſituations which precluded every idea of that kind; that the reſtricted commerce in grain, as it now ſubſiſted, was a quite inſignificant circumſtance for the cauſe which her imperial majeſty had eſpouſed; but that it was not ſo with regard to Denmark, as it involved the ſacrifice of her rights, her independence, and her treaties; that his majeſty did not permit himſelf to enter into a proper enquiry in this reſpect, ſince her imperial majeſty had rejected the only judge whom his majeſty could acknowledge, namely, the univerſal and ſpecial law of nations; that his majeſty being no longer at liberty to appeal to this law, would only appeal to the friendſhip and equity of her imperial majeſty, which had been manifeſted by ſo many years, and ſo many proofs; that his majeſty acted thus with the greater confidence, as he thought to have evinced his by ſo many reciprocal and deciſive proofs, as his majeſty did not make any uſe of his inconteſtable rights to claim, with regard to the liberty of his navigation, the protection due to him in virtue of the moſt ſolemn treaties—a protection which her imperial majeſty had herſelf propoſed.

(Signed) A. P. VON BERNSTORFF.

Foreign Office, Copenhagen, Aug. 23, 1793.

Memorial preſented on the 8th of October 1793, to M. de Serriſtori, *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs at* Florence, *by lord* Hervey, *the* Engliſh *miniſter.*

ALL Europe is witneſs of the reiterated complaints made by the underſigned envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty at the court of Tuſcany, on the ſubject of the partiality which the latter government obſerves in favour of the French. The underſigned has done every thing in his power to open the eyes of his royal highneſs the grand duke upon his true intereſts, and the danger to which he expoſes himſelf by having communication with a nation of regicides, which puts every art in practice to annihilate all kind of government; which deſpiſes all laws; which deſtroys all religion; which has at length dipped its guilty hands in the blood of its king—in the blood of the clergy, of the nobility, and of other ſubjects who remained faithful to their king; and which, ſeeking to extend its calamities to all other people, is warring againſt almoſt all the ſovereigns of Europe. Notwithſtanding the generous, amicable, and plain intentions of his Britannic majeſty, which the underſigned communicated to the government of Tuſcany by his memorial of Auguſt 14th laſt, he has ſeen the evil councils and dangerous maxims of certain perſons prevail; and, as the conduct which he complains of has been perſevered in, it becomes neceſſary to take vigorous meaſures.

The underſigned is obliged to declare, in order that his royal highneſs the grand duke may be

informed of it, that admiral lord Hood has ordered an Engliſh ſquadron, in conjunction with a detachment from the Spaniſh fleet, to ſet ſail for Leghorn, there to act according to the part which his royal highneſs may take.

The unjuſt and notorious partiality of Tuſcany in favour of the French, and the vaſt ſeizure of the corn and effects belonging to merchants of Toulon at Leghorn, at a time when the armies of their Britannic and Spaniſh majeſties had occaſion for the ſame articles, evidently prove the injury which enſues from ſuch a neutrality to the operations of the allies. In conſequence, admiral lord Hood declares, in the name of the king his maſter, that if, within the ſpace of twelve hours after the repreſentation of the underſigned, his royal highneſs the grand duke does not reſolve to ſend away M. de la Flotte and his adherents from Tuſcany, the ſquadron will act offenſively againſt the port and city of Leghorn.

The unhappy conſequences of this proceeding can alone be imputed to thoſe who have had the audacity to give perfidious advice, and to make falſe repreſentations upon the preſent ſtate of affairs—they alone will have to anſwer for all that may happen henceforward.

The underſigned, who earneſtly deſires to avert ſuch a calamity from Tuſcany, and to ſpare his royal highneſs the grand duke all kind of inconvenience, again invites him to give, without delay, a clear explication of his intentions relative to the demand made by admiral lord Hood, to order the departure of M. de la Flotte and his adherents, and to break off all communication with the national convention, or the *diſant* government of France. In making a common cauſe with the allies, his royal highneſs the grand duke may rely upon the friendſhip and protection of his Britannic majeſty and his allies. The ſole way to prevent offenſive operations againſt the city and port of Leghorn, is to acquieſce in the demands now made, by giving the underſigned the royal promiſe to conform to them punctually.

It will depend then upon his royal highneſs to receive the ſaid ſquadron as a friend, or to expoſe Tuſcany to all the diſaſters which will happen if it be compelled to act offenſively. As its expedition at Genoa is concluded, it is on the point of arriving at Leghorn. For this reaſon the underſigned will haſten to prevent any offenſive meaſure, by acquainting the commanding admiral with the reſolutions of his royal highneſs.

The underſigned has thought it neceſſary to make this communication for the information of his royal highneſs the grand duke of Tuſcany. At the ſame time he ſincerely hopes that this affair will terminate amicably, and to the reciprocal ſatisfaction of the two courts.

(Signed) HERVEY.

Anſwer.

My lord,

HIS royal highneſs has ordered me to reply to the memorial which you have preſented this day, and to the explanatory note of the intentions of the king your ſovereign, that his royal highneſs has reſolved to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions that M. de la Flotte and his adherents may quit Tuſcany as ſoon

ſoon as poſſible. His royal highneſs flatters himſelf that his majeſty the king of Great Britain will conſider this proceeding as a freſh teſtimony of the particular eſteem and deference which his royal highneſs takes a pleaſure in ſhewing him on every occaſion. Such are the orders my ſovereign has given me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) SERRISTORI.

October 8, ten o'clock at night.

Declaration of the Grand Maſter of the Sovereign Order of Malta *to the Court of* Naples, *dated September* 12, 1793.

THE court of Naples having cauſed to be notified to the grand maſter of the ſovereign order of Malta, that, not wiſhing to have any thing further to do with thoſe who at preſent govern France, it ſent away all the agents of that country, who had hitherto reſided at Naples, or at the ports of his Sicilian majeſty, his eminent highneſs took the earlieſt opportunity of following that example, and of ordering the ports of Malta to be ſhut againſt all kinds of French ſhips of war or privateers, as long as the preſent war ſhall continue.

The grand maſter wiſhes to make known at the ſame time, that ſince the notification which the late king made to him of the acceptance of the conſtitution of 1791, the government of Malta has had no relation with France. The dreadful troubles which have broke out in that kingdom, and which have deprived it of a ſovereign univerſally regretted, and the violations of the rights of nations, which have been permitted there under every point of view, in regard to the ſovereign order of Malta, have induced many perſons, not acquainted with the fundamental laws of this order to think that repriſals ought to have been made; but theſe laws even preſcribe neutrality in all thoſe quarrels which ariſe between the different Chriſtian nations. The grand maſter, however, fully determined not to acknowledge the pretended French republic in the perſon of an agent which it might ſend to Malta, ordered, on the 15th of March laſt, the chevalier de Caumont, in his quality of member of the order and of its delegate, who had reſided long in this iſland as *chargé d'affaires* of the king of France, to retain the title which he held from his majeſty Louis XVI. of glorious memory, and to keep the arms of the king over his gate, which he has hitherto done, under the protection of the government of Malta.

But the grand maſter learning through an indirect channel, that a perſon named Aymar has been appointed to ſucceed the chevalier de Caumont, and that he is now on his way to Malta, formally declares at preſent, that he will neither receive nor admit the ſaid perſonage, nor any other who may be ſent to reſide at Malta, as agent, in any reſpect, of the ſaid pretended republic, which his eminent highneſs ought not, cannot, and will not acknowledge.

Proclamation by the Preſident of the United States of America.

WHEREAS it appears that a ſtate of war exiſts between Auſtria, Pruſſia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part; and France on the other; and the duty and

intereſt of the United States require that they ſhould with ſincerity and good faith adopt and purſue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers;

I have therefore thought fit, by theſe preſents, to declare the diſpoſition of the United States to obſerve the conduct aforeſaid towards theſe powers reſpectively; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatſoever which may in any manner tend to controvert ſuch diſpoſition.

And I do hereby alſo make known, that whoſoever of the citizens of the United States ſhall render himſelf liable to puniſhment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hoſtilities againſt any of the ſaid powers, or by carrying to any of them thoſe articles which are deemed contraband by the modern uſage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States againſt ſuch puniſhment or forfeiture; and farther, that I have given inſtruction to thoſe officers to whom it belongs, to cauſe proſecutions to be inſtituted againſt all perſons who ſhall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations with reſpect to the powers at war, or any of them.

In teſtimony whereof I have cauſed the ſeal of the United States of America to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia the 22d of April 1793, and of the independence of the United States of America the 17th.

G. WASHINGTON. (L. S.)

By the preſident,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Citizen Genet, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the* French *Republic, to General* Waſhington, *Preſident of the United States.*

New York, Auguſt 13, 1793, 2d Year of the Republic.

SIR,

INTRUSTED in this part of the world with the intereſts and rights of the French people, as you are with thoſe of the citizens of America, I have ſworn to my country, and impoſed it as a ſacred duty on myſelf, never to permit private conſiderations, or other motives foreign from the general weal, to impede me in what I conceive the line of duty. My conduct has accordingly been marked with all the energy and frankneſs which ever characteriſe a true republican. To you alone, through the ſecretary of ſtate, have I complained of the principles you have adopted, and remonſtrated againſt deciſions which have reſulted therefrom. To you alone have I declared that the federal government, far from manifeſting any regard for our generous conduct towards this country for the new advantages which we were offering to her commerce, or for the reiterated demonſtrations of our real and diſintereſted friendſhip, were ſacrificing our intereſts to thoſe of our enemies, by their interpretation of the treaties which exiſt between us. To you have I repreſented, without reſerve, that this conduct did not appear to correſpond with the views of the people of America, with their deſire to obſerve with fidelity their public engagements, or with their affectionate regard for the cauſe of liberty, upon which their very exiſtence and proſperity depend. Certain deciſions

of

of your tribunals, and verdicts of your juries, added to the sentiments of your fellow citizens, publicly expressed, might permit me without a crime to draw this inference.

Nevertheless, certain persons, actuated by views which time will develope, despairing to attack my principles, have descended to personal abuse, in hopes of withdrawing from me that esteem which the public feel and avow for the representative of the French republic. They publish, with great warmth, that I have insulted you, and that I have threatened you with an appeal to the people; as if you would permit any one with impunity to treat you with disrespect; or, as if the slightest hint of an appeal, which a magistrate deserving of his high office should ardently desire, was to you the greatest offence I could offer.

It is become necessary, sir, to dissipate these dark calumnies by truth and publicity; I dare, therefore, to expect from your candour and probity an explicit declaration, that "I have never intimated to you an "intention of appealing to the pub-"lic; that it is not true that a dif-"ference in political sentiments has "ever betrayed me to forget what "was due to your character, or to "the exalted reputation you had "acquired by humbling a tyrant, "against whom you fought in the "cause of liberty." A publication of your answer will be the only reply which shall be given to those party men who never fail to confound the individual with affairs of state, which they too often make use of as a pretext for their zeal, and a reason for dastardly appearing under anonymous signatures.

As to myself, I have always openly declared what I thought, and signed what I had written; and if others have supposed they could advance my views by newspaper publications and paragraphs, they are much deceived. A good cause needs no advocate—Time and truth will make it triumph, in spite of its implacable enemies, and the present cold indifference of some who were its ancient friends.

I have the honour, &c.

Mr. Jefferson's *Answer.*

SIR, Philadelphia, Aug. 16, 1793.

THE president of the United States has received the letter which you addressed to him from New York, on the 13th instant; and I am desired to observe to you, that it is not the established course for the diplomatic characters residing here to have any direct correspondence with him. The secretary of state is the organ through which their communications should pass.

The president does not conceive it to be within the line of propriety or duty for him to bear evidence against a declaration, which, whether made to him or others, is perhaps immaterial; he therefore declines interfering in the case.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France.

George Washington, *President of the United States of* America, *to all to whom it may concern.*

THE Sieur Antoine Charbonet Duplaine, heretofore having produced to me his commission as

vice conſul for the republic of France, within the ſtates of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, and Rhode Iſland, and having thereon received from me an exequatur, bearing date the 5th day of June, 1793, recognizing him as ſuch, and declaring him free to exerciſe and enjoy ſuch functions, powers, and privileges, as are allowed to vice conſuls of the French republic by the laws, treaties, and conventions in that caſe made and provided; and the ſaid Sieur Duplaine having, under colour of his ſaid office, committed ſundry incroachments and infractions of the law of the land, and particularly having cauſed a veſſel to be reſcued with an armed force out of the cuſtody of an officer of juſtice, who had arreſted the ſame by proceſs from his court, and it being therefore no longer fit, nor conſiſtent with the reſpect and obedience due to the laws, that the Sieur Duplaine ſhould be permitted to continue in the exerciſe and enjoyment of the ſaid functions, privileges, and powers, theſe are therefore to declare, that I do no longer recognize the ſaid Antoine Charbonet Duplaine as vice conſul of the republic of France in any part of theſe United States, nor permit him to exerciſe or enjoy any of the functions, powers, or privileges allowed to the vice conſuls of that nation; and that I do hereby wholly revoke and annul the ſaid exequatur heretofore given, and do declare the ſame to be abſolutely null and void from this day forward.

In teſtimony whereof I have cauſed theſe letters to be made patent, and the ſeal of the United States of America to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand this 10th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1793, and in the independence of the United States of America the eighteenth.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the Preſident,

THO. JEFFERSON.

Citizen Genet, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the* French *Republic, to Mr.* Jefferſon, *Secretary of State.*

New York, Oct. 27, 1793, 2d year of the French Republic.

I HAVE juſt received, together with your letter of the 3d inſtant, the diſmiſſion of citizen Duplaine, vice conſul at Boſton, and I haſten to declare to you, that I do not acknowledge its validity, becauſe the conſtitution of the United States has not given the Preſident the right which he now appears deſirous to exerciſe—it has empowered him, as firſt miniſter of the American people, to admit and to receive the miniſters of foreign nations, ſent to the great American confederation, and their conſulary agents, diſtributed to the particular ſtates; but, in confiding to him this official function, it has not given him the power of diſcharging them, to ſend them away, or to ſuſpend them, when once they have been admitted. Such an authority cannot be exerted, ſir, but by the ſovereign of the agent, or by the one to which he is ſent. On the part of their own ſovereign, their recal can only be the object of his particular will, or a conſequence of negotiations began with him for that object. On the part of the ſovereign to whom he is ſent, a diſmiſſion can be the reſult only of an act of regular juſtice, or of an arbitrary act. If it is a national act of juſtice, the ſovereign ſhould

ſhould be furniſhed with every poſſible light upon ſo important an object, that he may be enabled to prove to the foreign ſovereign, that his miniſter was unworthy of his confidence, and that the diſmiſſion or ſuſpenſion was indiſpenſable. If it is an act merely arbitrary, it is among the claſs of acts of aggreſſion, and becomes a cauſe of war; and you know, ſir, that in this reſpect the conſtitution of the United States has reſerved to the repreſentatives of the people the right of declaring it. I do not recollect what the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel ſay on this ſubject—I thank God I have forgot what theſe hired juriſprudiſts have written upon the rights of nations, at a period when they were all enchained. But the fundamental points of your liberty, and our own, are engraven in my memory in characters not to be effaced; and the rights of man are incloſed in my breaſt with the ſource of life. I have inceſſantly before my eyes your conſtitution, and our own; and it is becauſe I fully feel the juſt and wiſe intentions of thoſe who founded them, that I demand of you, ſir, to aſk the preſident of the United States to procure an examination, by the legiſlature repreſenting the ſovereign people of Maſſachuſetts, of the conduct of citizen Duplaine, in the ſame manner as I have demanded an examination of my own in the enſuing congreſs.

In governments like ours, political affairs can only be judged by political bodies, and if the vice conſul Duplaine has infringed the particular laws of Maſſachuſetts, or the general laws of the union, which that government is bound to ſupport, to that ſtate the cognizance of a crime againſt the majeſty of the nation belongs, in the firſt inſtance, and it is for her officers to announce it to the federal government, in order that the foreign agent, found to have violated the laws of the country, may receive puniſhment from his ſovereign if he merits it. I inſiſt with the more confidence upon this ſtep, ſir, as the attorney for the diſtrict of Boſton made three efforts to procure a bill to be found at the circuit court againſt citizen Duplaine, and three times a popular and virtuous jury threw out his complaint, and this vice conſul was finally acquitted in the moſt honourable manner. How could, in fact, any room for accuſation againſt him be found, ſince he only acted in conformity to the treaties, to his inſtructions, to the deciſions of the federal government, communicated to all the ſtates, which even truſt to the care of the French conſuls the prizes ſuppoſed to be made within the juriſdiction of the United States, and as he proved inconteſtably that he never had any intention of reſiſting, by force, the orders intimated to him by judicial authority, although they were contrary to the political rights of the French nation.

GENET.

Speech of General Waſhington, *in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, December* 3, 1793.

Fellow citizens of the ſenate and of the houſe of repreſentatives,

SINCE the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called into office, no fit occaſion has ariſen for expreſſing to my fellow citizens at large, the deep and reſpectful ſenſe which I feel of the renewed

renewed testimony of public approbation. While, on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality with which I have been honoured by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions the proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equipped in a warlike form, within the power of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of congress to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of protection; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

When individuals shall, within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war, or enter upon military expeditions or enterprizes within the jurisdiction of the United States, or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties or violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate, these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it.

In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United

United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property; and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last-mentioned cases, it is hoped that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war. The documents which will be presented to you will shew the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected, as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger.

Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an enquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act, "more effectually to provide for the national defence, by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several states has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be obtained by practice alone?

The connexion of the United States with Europe has become extremely interesting. The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the executive, will be exhibited to congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality, having no restriction but the essential interest and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops

have

have marched to act offenſively. Although the propoſed treaty did not arreſt the progreſs of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the ſeaſon, before good faith juſtified active movements, may retard them during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence, which relate to this important ſubject, you will determine whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, ſhall be compenſated by ſuccours of militia, or additional encouragements ſhall be propoſed to recruits.

An anxiety has been alſo demonſtrated by the executive for peace with the Creeks and Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offenſive meaſures againſt them prohibited during the receſs of congreſs. To ſatisfy the complaints of the latter, proſecutions have been inſtituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, diſcloſe the critical footing on which we ſtand in regard to both thoſe tribes; and it is with congreſs to pronounce what ſhall be done.

After they ſhall have provided for the preſent emergency, it will merit their moſt ſerious labours to render tranquillity with the ſavages permanent, by creating ties of intereſt. Next to a vigorous execution of juſtice on the violators of peace, the eſtabliſhment of commerce with the Indian nations, in behalf of the United States, is moſt likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion; with conſtant and plentiful ſupplies; with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a ſtated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not purſue ſuch a traffic, unleſs they be allured by the hopes of profit; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimburſed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of congreſs, they will recollect, that it cannot be accompliſhed by any means yet in the hands of the executive.

Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

The commiſſioners charged with the ſettlement of the accounts between the united and individual ſtates, concluded their important functions within the time limited by law; and the balances ſtruck in their report, which will be laid before congreſs, have been placed on the books of the treaſury.

On the 1ſt day of June laſt, an inſtalment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjuſted by a prolongation of the period of reimburſement, in nature of a new loan, at an intereſt of five per cent. for the term of ten years; and the expences of this operation were a commiſſion of three per cent.

The firſt inſtalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States has been paid, as was directed by law. For the ſecond it is neceſſary that proviſion ſhould be made.

No pecuniary conſideration is more urgent than the redemption and diſcharge of the public debt: on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveneſs of the public revenues hitherto has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed

formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made consistently with due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of the public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, nothing can conduce more than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused, without restraint, throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to congress.

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

THE several subjects to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberation, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists of freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candour, so shall not the public happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1793.

Message from General Washington *to the House of Representatives, Dec. 5th, 1793.*

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

AS the present situation of the several nations of Europe, and especially of those with which the United States have important relations, cannot but render the state of things between them and us, matter of interesting enquiry to the legislature, and may indeed give rise to deliberations to which they alone are competent, I have thought it my duty to communicate to them certain correspondences which have taken place.

The representatives and executive bodies of France have manifested generally a friendly attachment to this country; have given advantages to our commerce and navigation; and have made overtures for placing these advantages on permanent ground; a decree, however, of the national assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy's goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time, as to the United States, has been since extended to their vessels also, as has been recently stated to us. Representations on this subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result

fult ſhall be communicated to the legiſlature.

It is with extreme concern I have to inform you, that the proceedings of the perſon whom they have unfortunately appointed their miniſter plenipotentiary here, have breathed nothing of the friendly ſpirit of the nation which ſent him; their tendency, on the contrary, has been to involve us in a war abroad, and diſcord and anarchy at home. So far as his acts, or thoſe of his agents, have threatened our immediate commitment in the war, or flagrant inſult to the authority of the laws, their effect has been counteracted by the ordinary cognizance of the laws, and by an exertion of the powers confided to me. Where their danger was not imminent, they have been borne with, from ſentiments of regard to his nation, from a ſenſe of their friendſhip towards us, from a conviction that they would not ſuffer us to remain long expoſed to the action of a perſon who has ſo little reſpected our mutual diſpoſitions, and I will add, from a reliance on the firmneſs of my fellow-citizens in their principles of peace and order. In the mean time I have reſpected and purſued the ſtipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true ſenſe; and have withheld no act of friendſhip which their affairs have called for from us, and which juſtice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further, rather than employ force for the reſtitution of certain veſſels which I deemed the United States bound to reſtore, I thought it more adviſeable to ſatisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that if reſtitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compenſation. The papers now communicated will more particularly appriſe you of theſe tranſactions.

The vexations and ſpoliation underſtood to have been committed on our veſſels and commerce, by the cruizers and officers of ſome of the belligerent powers, appeared to require attention. The proofs of theſe, however, not having been brought forward, the deſcription of citizens ſuppoſed to have ſuffered were notified, that on furniſhing them to the executive power, due meaſures would be taken to obtain redreſs of the paſt, and more effectual proviſions againſt the future. Should ſuch documents be furniſhed, proper repreſentations will be made thereon, with a juſt reliance on a redreſs proportioned to the exigency of the caſe.

The Britiſh government having undertaken, by orders to the commanders of their armed veſſels, to reſtrain generally our commerce in corn and other proviſions to their own ports and thoſe of their friends, the inſtructions now communicated were immediately forwarded to our miniſter at that court. In the mean time ſome diſcuſſions on the ſubject took place between him and them, theſe are alſo laid before you; and I may expect to learn the reſult of his ſpecial inſtructions in time to make it known to the legiſlature during their preſent ſeſſion.

Very early after the arrival of a Britiſh miniſter here, mutual explanations on the execution of the treaty of peace were entered into with that miniſter; theſe are now laid before you for your information.

On the ſubjects of mutual intereſt between this country and Spain, negotiations and conferences

are

are now depending. The public requiring that the present state of these should be made known to the legislature in confidence only, they shall be the subject of a separate and subsequent communication.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Declaration of the King of Prussia respecting the March of his Troops into Poland.

IT is known to all Europe, that the change of government which took place in Poland on the 3d of May, 1791, without the knowledge or participation of the neighbouring friendly powers, has excited the displeasure and dissatisfaction of a great part of the nation; and that those who remained faithful to the ancient form of government, implored the assistance of the elevated princes who had guaranteed it.

Her Russian imperial majesty listened to the call, and flew to their assistance with a considerable body of troops, which were sent by divisions into those provinces, where their presence appeared to be most necessary. Under their protection, the principal members of nobility entered into a general confederacy, whose present labours are devoted to the suppression of the abuses of introduced innovations, and tending to restore virtue to the constitution of their country.

From that moment Prussia could not but feel a concern for the fate of Poland, partly as a neighbour, partly on account of the references which mutually subsist between these two states. Those great events could not but excite her attention; but the king always cherished hopes that the troubles would soon be happily terminated; and believed, therefore, to be able to forego his interference, especially in a moment when objects, momentous and worthy of his solicitude, occupied him in another quarter.

His expectation was however disappointed. The so called patriotic party, instead of yielding to the salutary designs of the court of Russia, had even the temerity to make an obstinate resistance against the imperial troops; and although their weakness soon forced them to renounce the chimerical idea of an open war, they still continued to create private combinations, visibly tending to subvert order and public tranquillity. Even the king's own dominions feel their consequences by repeated excesses and violations of territory. But what still more requires the serious attention of the king and all the neighbouring powers, is the propagation of French democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction who seek to make proselytes every where, and who have already been so well received in Poland, that the enterprises of the Jacobin emissaries are not only most powerfully seconded there, but even revolution societies established, who make an open profession of their principles.

Great Poland is chiefly infected with that dangerous poison, and contains the greatest number of the zealous professors of mistaken patriotism. Their connexions with the French clubs must inspire his majesty with a just distrust on account of the safety of his own dominions, and therefore put him under the necessity of taking effective measures.

His majesty being necessitated, in combination with the allied courts,

to

to continue the war, and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg; and their imperial majesties could not forbear owning, that from sound policy, it should not be allowed that the factious should be suffered to be free in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprises might become a source of fresh troubles.

His majesty has therefore resolved to get the start of them, by sending a sufficient body of troops, under the command of M. de Mollendorf, general of infantry, into the territories of the republic, and especially into several districts of Grand Poland.

These measures of precaution have for their aim to cover the Prussian territories; to suppress the ill-disposed incendiaries and disturbers of tranquillity; to restore and maintain order and tranquillity; and lastly, to afford efficacious protection to the well-disposed inhabitants. It will only depend on them to merit that protection, by a tranquil and prudent conduct, by giving to the Prussian troops a friendly reception and treatment, and by assisting them with whatever they may want, and facilitating their subsistence. The commanding general shall, on his own part, not be wanting to maintain good and severe discipline, to disburden the inhabitants as much as in his power shall be, to redress all their grievances, and to pay punctually for the supplies which he may have occasion for. The king is fond of cherishing the hope, that, with sentiments so pacific, he may depend on the good will of a nation, whose prosperity cannot be indifferent to his majesty, and to whom his majesty wishes to give real proofs of his affection and good wishes.

Berlin, Jan. 6, 1793.

Protest of the Serene confederated Republic of Poland *against the violent Entrance of the* Prussian *troops into its Territories.*

FAVOURABLE events, or great misfortunes have, in turns, raised Poland to an eminent degree of splendour, or plunged it into a state of weakness and oppression: but amidst these changes of opposite circumstances, unshaken constancy has always proved the elevation of its national character.

The short interval of the four last years has seen obscured this aspect, honourable for the nation. The diet of 1788 assembled at an epoch which, by a fortunate concourse of circumstances, presented to Poland both the hopes and means of securing the basis of its republican government, became to it a source of evils, aggravated by their contrast with its vanished hopes. Seduction misled confident patriotism, and distorted its pure and beneficent views.

The revolution of the 3d of May 1791, planned and effected without the support of the national will, without the concurrence of its neighbours, by transforming a republic into a monarchy, made despotism prevail within it, together with the dread of external storms, excited by the discontent of neighbouring courts.

A constitution which infringed the ancient prerogatives of citizens, cemented with the blood of their ancestors,

anceſtors, and incompatible with the political convenience of the powers who ſurround us, was deſtitute of the baſis neceſſary to give it ſolidity.

Faithful to her engagements, her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, that auguſt ally of Poland, and the guarantee of its government, deigned to offer to the nation, in the generous aſſiſtance of her power, a flattering proſpect of the re-eſtabliſhment of its liberties, its independence, its ſovereignty, and its integrity.

Virtuous citizens, determined to prefer death to ſlavery, did not heſitate to adhere to views ſo conſoling to their country, while others, retiring from their homes, and yielding to circumſtances, waited only for that favourable moment which every thing ſeemed to preſage to them. The declaration of the court of Peterſburg ſecured to the Poles their republic, a free government, national independence, and the integrity of their domains. Peace and liberty preceded the banners of the Ruſſian troops, who entered the territories of the republic as friends and auxiliaries. The abuſive employment, however, of the national forces, in oppoſing an imprudent reſiſtance, ſoon filled every virtuous citizen with grief, on ſeeing the blood of his brethren laviſhed without reflection.

The reign, however, of error and diſorder ſoon diſappeared, ſentiments of fraternity brought together every heart. The king, the army, and the whole nation, adhered to the band of confederation formed at Targowitz on the 14th of May 1792. Trouble and conſternation then gave place to emotions of hope and joy. The calm re-eſtabliſhed at home—the ſupport of foreign aſſiſtance—confidence, founded on the juſtice of the cauſe, and on the good diſpoſition of our neighbours, all concurred to baniſh uneaſineſs. The national character excluded every idea of perſecution. The perſons and property, therefore, of individuals moſt diſtinguiſhed by their oppoſition to the ſalutary views of the confederation were reſpected—Ruſſian troops cantoned in the different provinces every where obſerved ſtrict diſcipline; and if ſome citizens now and then experienced acts of oppreſſion, theſe ſingle injuries, from which people are not entirely free on the part of national troops, even in the time of peace, were the work only of ſome ſubaltern commanders, and were redreſſed as ſoon as known.

The confederation already imagined that it was about to accompliſh its end; its labours tending to regenerate the republican government, were already about to ſecure the liberty of the citizen, and to eſtabliſh friendſhip and good underſtanding between it and neighbouring ſtates; already had the republic arrived at the period when it was about to enjoy in the boſom of peace the fruits of the active zeal of citizens, who had the courage to ſeize the helm of affairs at ſo difficult a criſis.

The purity of their intentions unveiled, diſperſed the clouds of prejudice, and the nation waited with confidence for the reſult of labours undertaken for the public happineſs.

Such was the ſtate of things in Poland when the declaration of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia froze every heart with terror and ſurprize.

The motives assigned for the entrance of the Prussian troops into the territories of the republic could not fail to give rise to uneasy suspicions in the minds of the Poles, whose character is as loyal as their conduct is open.

Alarmed by the pretended progress of democracy in Poland, and still more by the rise of clubs destined to propagate it, "the king "of Prussia," says the declaration, "when about to open a second cam- "paign, thought it would not be "proper to leave behind him an "enemy from whom he had every "thing to fear. He consequently "considered it as an indispensable "precaution, to cause a part of his "troops to enter the territories of "the republic."

A continued correspondence between the military commanders, the palatinal confederations, the civil magistrates, and the general confederation, having enabled the latter to assure itself, that perfect tranquillity prevailed from one end of the kingdom to the other, all extraordinary measures of precaution have hitherto appeared to it superfluous. On seeing the declaration of his Prussian majesty, the general confederation, though astonished only at the assertions therein announced, and no ways convinced of the reality of their object, discharged in every respect what it thought due to a neighbour, a friend, and an ally.—It declared in its answer, that no symptoms of disturbance appeared in the country; that all revolutionary clubs were proscribed; and, in short, that the public force, supported by the presence of the Russian troops, was more than sufficient to suppress all commotions. It therefore demanded, that his Prussian majesty would revoke the orders he had given for a body of his troops to enter the territories of the republic. In consequence of this answer, the general confederation, in deference rather to the uneasiness manifested by his majesty the king of Prussia, than to the existence of any necessity, sent strict orders to every body of troops to hold themselves always in readiness to march, wherever the smallest symptom of ferment might require their presence.

These steps being taken, the general confederation and whole nation entertained no doubt that his Prussian majesty, assured by so many motives, would order the march of his troops to be stopped. This deference seemed as consistent with the laws of good neighbourhood, as with the dignity of a free nation.

Notwithstanding, however, these solemn assurances, and notwithstanding the evidence of the facts alledged in support of them, the Prussian army advanced, and one of its detachments appeared under the walls of Thorn. Its inhabitants, faithful to their duty, having refused entrance to the Prussian troops experienced an open attack. Cannons were planted against it; the gates were broken open, the municipal guards were dislodged from their post; a defenceless city exhibited the spectacle of a place taken by assault, and the Prussian regiments entered it, making the air resound with shouts of joy. There were no soldiers of the republic in it to make resistance; the city depended for security on public faith, and that was violated. At the same epoch different Polish detachments, dispersed throughout Great Poland, were

were attacked and driven from their posts by superior forces.

Confiding in solemn engagements, and in the faith of treaties, we could never imagine that we had occasion to apprehend a surprize or open violence, where every thing ought to have assured to us, that we should find only friendship and assistance. The few troops therefore cantoned on these frontiers, being destined only to watch over the internal tranquillity, instead of being armed for war, were even unprovided with cannon.

The high idea which we have formed of the justice and magnanimity of his majesty the king of Prussia, increases our hopes, that that prince, enlightened by our answer, will stop the consequences of his first resolution, and that, instead of wishing to give support to a violation already made on the Polish territories, he will rather endeavour to convince the nation of his constant good will, by causing his troops to evacuate the domains of the republic. Resting on the goodness of our cause, we have not to fear any kind of pretensions injurious to any part of the states of the republic, guaranteed by so many treaties, and particularly by that of 1775, which binds his Prussian majesty, as it does the two other neighbouring courts.

Faithful, therefore, to our oath, faithful in our attachment to the ancient prerogatives of our ancestors, and faithful to our vocation, we protest in the most solemn manner, in the face of the universe, against all usurpation of the smallest part of the states of the republic. We openly declare, that we enter into nothing, nor in any manner into any concern whatever, which may tend to dismember any part of the Polish domains; but that, on the contrary, we are ready to sacrifice even the last drop of our blood in defence of our liberty and integrity. In short, we hope that the two imperial courts connected by their guarantee, and that even all powers, in consequence of the reciprocity of national interests, will not behold with an eye of indifference a manifest violation of the right of nations, violent attempts made against the tranquillity of a neighbouring and friendly state, and the open invasion of its domains. We expect, above all, that the august sovereign in whom we have placed all our confidence, and who, in the face of Europe, has vowed to us good will, will not suffer the splendour of her renown to be obscured, and will rather think it becoming the magnanimity of her soul to add to the multitude of memorable acts which have immortalized her, one no less glorious, that of stretching out, at this critical period, the hand of assistance to a free nation, worthy in every respect to excite general interest.

In thus manifesting the purity of our intentions, we declare, in short, that our efforts are animated by no other views than those of transmitting to our posterity a free, independent, and well organized republic; and that we will either preserve entire this republic, which we have regenerated, or that not one of us will survive its destruction.

Done at Grodno, in the sitting of the general confederation of the two nations, 3d February, 1793.

(L. S.) Signed by *Stanislaus Felix Potocki*, grand master of artillery, and marshal of

the general confederation of the crown; *Alexander Prince Sapieha*, grand chancellor of Lithuania, and marshal of the general confederation of that duchy.

And by a great number of the counsellors of the confederation, and of other citizens.

Edict of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, *addressed to her Senate, on the 8th of* February, 1793.

THE troubles which have prevailed in France since the year 1789, cannot fail to have excited the attention of every regular government. As long as there remained any hope that time and circumstances would contribute to bring to a sense of their duty the minds of those that were misled, and that order and legitimate authority would there recover their ancient vigour, we tolerated the residence of the French in our territories, and permitted our subjects to communicate with them. But having observed in their country a still greater and greater progress of insurrection and disobedience towards their sovereign, accompanied by an obstinate intention, not only to consolidate among them the principles of impiety, of anarchy, and of every description of immorality, but also to propagate them over the whole extent of the globe: we have interrupted our political correspondence with France, by recalling our minister with his suite, as well as by dismissing from our court the charge d'affaires of that power; a measure to which we are determined by this new confideration, that the respective missions having been established between us and the king; it was incompatible with our dignity, after the latter had been deprived of his authority, and kept, under a scandalous constraint, in continual apprehensions, to have in any manner whatever the appearance of wishing to treat with the usurpers of his rights and government. Now that the measure of the atrocities which have soiled that unhappy land, and the universal horror they have inspired, are at their height—now that more than seven hundred monsters have been found, who have abused the power they had arrogated to themselves by the most criminal means, and that to such an extent as to lay their parricidal hands on the life of the Lord's anointed, of their lawful master, cruelly and inhumanly immolated on the 21st of January last, we think ourelves bound by God and our conscience, until the justice of the Most High shall have confounded the authors of so horrible a crime, and it shall have pleased his holy will to terminate the calamities by which France is now afflicted, not to permit, between our empire and that kingdom, any of the relations which subsist between civilized and legitimately constituted states. We, in consequence, order as follows:

The suspension of the effects of the treaty of commerce concluded on the 30th of December 1786, between us and the defunct king of France, Louis the Sixteenth, until the above cited period of the re-establishment of order and legitimate authority in that kingdom.

The prohibition, until the same epoch, of the entry of French vessels, under their own flag or any other, into our ports situated on different

ferent ſeas; equally prohibiting our merchants and ſhip-maſters from ſending their veſſels into the ports of France.

The diſmiſſal of the heretofore French conſuls, vice-conſuls, agents, and thoſe attached to their ſervice, from our two capitals, and other places where they may reſide—announcing to each of them, that he is allowed the term of three weeks to arrange his affairs, at the end of which time he is bound infallibly to quit the place of his preſent reſidence, and to quit the Ruſſian frontiers by the time expreſſed in his paſſport. As to thoſe among them, who having been merchants in Ruſſia, have been inveſted with conſular titles or functions, and who ſhall wiſh to remain to employ themſelves ſolely in commercial affairs, the procedures with reſpect to them ſhall be regulated as is expreſſed below in the ſixth article.

It is equally enjoined to our conſuls, vice-conſuls, to thoſe who are attached to their ſervice, and in general to all the Ruſſians of both ſexes in that kingdom, inſtantly to quit France on the receipt of the orders which ſhall to that effect be forwarded to them. As theſe orders however, from the preſent interruption of all direct correſpondence, may not reach the hands of our conſuls, they ſhall nevertheleſs be equally bound to conform to them, as ſoon as they ſhall be poſſeſſed of their purport, by the medium of the foreign gazettes, in which they ſhall be faithfully and literally inſerted.

We order that the French of both ſexes, without any exception, ſhall not be ſuffered in our empire, and ſhall be driven from thence, whether they exerciſe commerce or any other induſtrious calling, ſuch as artiſts, workmen, domeſtics in the ſervice of individuals (here are comprehended teachers and governeſſes)—all, in ſhort, who acknowledge and ſubmit to the preſent government of their country; allowing to each the term of three weeks to arrange their domeſtic affairs, with an injunction to quit the Ruſſian frontiers within the ſpace determined in their paſſport, and not to enter them again in future under penalty of inevitably incurring the puniſhment provided by the law.

We except from this regulation all the French of both ſexes, who being called by the government from the place where they are ſettled, to hear the notification of our preſent will, ſhall manifeſt their intention and ſincere deſire of abjuring, by the oath, the form of which is annexed, the principles of impiety and ſedition at this time profeſſed in their country, and which have been introduced by the uſurpers of the government and legitimate authorities—that they regard the crime theſe monſters have recently committed againſt the perſon of their King, with the averſion and horror it inſpires in the breaſt of every ſound thinking man and every good citizen—and who, teſtifying a ſincere zeal for the Chriſtian religion in which they have been bred, and a ſimilar wiſh to be faithful and ſubmiſſive to the king, to whom the crown devolves by right of ſucceſſion, ſhall engage in future to break, during the whole of their ſtay in Ruſſia, and until the re-eſtabliſhment of good order in their country, all correſpondence with thoſe of their countrymen who have ſubmitted to the uſurpatory

and monſtrous government which now ſubſiſts in France. All theſe French of both ſexes may freely reſide in Ruſſia under the ſafeguard of our laws, and there exerciſe, without any dread, their commerce, profeſſion, trade, or induſtrious calling, the following of which is not prohibited. To the end, however, that no one among them may fancy he can make an hypocritical and illuſory abjuration, with the hope of concealing it from the knowledge of his countrymen, it ſhould be declared to them, that this abjuration ſhall be publiſhed in the Ruſſian and foreign gazettes, with the names of thoſe who ſhall have ſigned it.

This abjuration is to be made in a catholic church, where any ſuch is to be found, and in the preſence of the magiſtrates of the place. After having pronounced the oath, each is to confirm it by kiſſing the croſs, and ſigning his name. He ſhall then receive a certificate from the hands of the governor of the place, having annexed to it the ſignature of the prieſts who ſhall have aſſiſted at this pious act. In the places where there is no church, in which the Roman rites are exerciſed, the ſaid oath ſhall be taken in the hall of the magiſtracy, in the preſence of thoſe who compoſe it. This certificate will entitle him who ſhall receive it to a free reſidence in Ruſſia, there freely to manage his affairs conformably to the laws. Thoſe of the above mentioned Frenchmen who profeſs the proteſtant religion, ſhall make the ſame abjuration in the churches of their worſhip, and, where there are none, in the hall of the magiſtracy belonging to the place where they reſide.

This ordinance is to be put in execution immediately after its publication in our two capitals; and, in conſequence, a ſummons ſhall be made at the hotel of police, to all the French who reſide in the different quarters of the city. After our will ſhall have been ſignified to them, the day and the hour in which they ſhall take the oath ſhall be fixed for thoſe who wiſh to make the preſcribed abjuration. Thoſe who ſhall refuſe it, ſhall be forthwith pointed out, to the end that the neceſſary meaſures for their tranſportation may be taken in time, conformably to the fifth article of this ordinance. Our college of foreign affairs ſhall for the occaſion furniſh, on the requiſition of government, thoſe whom this college, as well as the police, may need to ſerve as interpreters to the French.

The term of three weeks allowed to the aforeſaid refractory French, for the arrangement of their domeſtic affairs, agreeably to the tenor of the third and fifth articles of this ordinance, ſhall be reckoned from the day when it ſhall be notified to them to quit our frontiers. It ſhall be eſpecially expreſſed in their paſſports, by what route, and in what ſpace of time they ſhall paſs the Ruſſian frontiers; and the term fixed ſhall be calculated in proportion to their diſtances, and agreeably to a regulation of ſtrict poſſibility.

All our ſubjects are prohibited from travelling in France, or from having the leaſt communication with the French, either in their own country, or in the territories into which they have carried their arms, until we ſhall grant permiſſion to that effect, after the re-eſtabliſh-

ment

ment in that kingdom, of order and legitimate authority.

The introduction into Ruſſia, of gazettes, journals, and other periodical works publiſhed in France, is prohibited.

Laſtly, we forbid, in the moſt ſtrict and ſevere manner, the permiſſion of entry into our empire, either by land or by ſea, to any French native—to him or to her excepted, who, abhorring the furious delirium of their guilty fellow-countrymen, ſhall wiſh to live under the protection of our laws, and in the profeſſion of the chriſtian religion in which they were bred. They cannot, however, be received, without producing a certificate from the French princes, and eſpecially from monſieur the count of Provence, and the count d'Artois, brothers of the deceaſed king, and alſo from the prince de Condé—and after having, through the medium of our Miniſters reſiding neareſt to the place of their reſidence, ſolicited before-hand our permiſſion to come into Ruſſia, there to enter on ſervice, or to exerciſe ſome art or trade; it being well underſtood, that on reaching our frontiers, they ſhall be obliged to make the abjuration mentioned in the ſixth article of the preſent edict.

Form of the Oath.

I, the underſigned, ſwear before Almighty God, and on his holy evangeliſts, that having never adhered, either in deed or will, to the impious and ſeditious principles introduced and now profeſſed in France, I regard the government eſtabliſhed there as an uſurpation and a violation of every law, and the death of his moſt chriſtian majeſty Louis the Sixteenth, as an act of abominable wickedneſs and ſcandalous treaſon againſt their legitimate ſovereign, which devotes all its authors to the execration they ought to inſpire in the breaſt of every reflecting man: that my conſcience is intimately penetrated by the holineſs of the ——— religion, which I have inherited from my anceſtors, and by my obligation of fidelity and obedience to the king, to whom, according to the rights of ſucceſſion, the crown of France ſhall have devolved; and that conſequently, enjoying the aſſured aſylum her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias deigns to grant me in her territories, I promiſe and engage to live there in the obſervance, as aforeſaid, of the ——— religion in which I have been bred, and in a profound ſubmiſſion to the laws and adminiſtration eſtabliſhed by her Imperial majeſty—to ceaſe all correſpondence in my own country with the French who acknowledge the preſent monſtrous government in France—and not to reſume it, until, after the re-eſtabliſhment of legitimate authority, tranquillity, and good order in that kingdom, I ſhall have received to that effect the expreſs permiſſion of her Imperial majeſty. In caſe of any procedures of mine contrary to this preſent oath, I bow ſubmiſſively to all the rigours of the law in this life, and in the other to the terrible judgment of God; and to ſeal this oath, I kiſs the words and the croſs of my Saviour.—*Amen.*

Manifeſto and Declaration of his Pruſſian Majeſty to the City of Dantzick.

THE ſame motives which induced his majeſty the king of Pruſſia to order a corps of his troops

troops to enter a district of Great Poland, put his majesty also under the necessity of making sure of the city of Dantzick and its dependencies.

Forbearing to mention the quite unamicable dispositions which this city has for many years evinced against Prussia, it has now become the seat of an audacious sect, which proceeds from transgression to transgression, and seeks to propagate them by the polluted services of its votaries and accomplices.

One of those villains has met with an open reception at Dantzick itself, after having laboured in vain to circulate the venom of his doctrine in the bosom of a happy and loyal nation, and he could not be wrested from the hands of his protectors but by dint of remonstrances.

This recent example, other frequent abuses of a liberty ill understood, the close connexions which the rebels in France and Poland keep up with a party, which by the boldness of its principles predominates over the plurality of well-disposed citizens; and lastly, the facility with which the common enemy procures to himself, by means of his adherents at Dantzick, all kinds of provisions, and especially corn; these were ever so many objects which ought to have drawn the king's notice to this city, and to have induced him to keep it within its proper bounds, and to take care of the safety and tranquillity of the neighbouring provinces of Prussia.

To this end his Prussian majesty, after having agreed with other powers interested in this, has charged his lieutenant-general M. de Raumez to take possession of the city of Dantzick and its dependencies, with a sufficient body of troops, with a view of preserving there good order, and public tranquillity.

It only rests with the inhabitants to gain the king's good-will, by a quiet and prudent conduct, in receiving and treating his majesty's troops in a friendly manner, and granting them necessary succour and assistance.

The general and commandant will not be remiss on his own part to observe the most rigorous discipline, and to grant his protection to all those who in this case may require it.

Whereas these are the sentiments of his Prussian majesty, the king flatters himself that the magistrates of Dantzick will not hesitate to accede to them, and to second in this manner the salutary views, of which they will be the first to feel the effects.

Done at Berlin, Feb. 24, 1793.

Declaration of the Emperor of Germany.

Francis II. by the Grace of God, &c.

ALTHOUGH we do not interfere in the domestic concerns of Poland, nor deem it necessary to give any direct precepts on that head to our Gallician subjects, yet since the king and republic of Poland have solemnly declared themselves in favour of the maintenance of the former relations guaranteed by the imperial court of Russia in alliance with us, still we are bound by a neighbourly and friendly regard to see that no concerted measures or counter-operations against those lawful relations, in our hereditary

ditary dominions, ſhould be tolerated.

We do therefore put our moſt gracious confidence in the docility and love of order and peace which we have always perceived with pleaſure in our Gallician ſubjects, that they will totally forbear participating in any projects or efforts to create new changes or fermentations in Poland.

We expect, in the ſame manner, on the part of thoſe ſubjects who reſide in our dominions, that by a ſimilar tranquil conduct they will render themſelves worthy of the protection they enjoy. But ſhould, againſt all expectation, any Poliſh ſubjects dare to counteract, in our dominions, the preſent operations in Poland by mediation of the imperial court of Ruſſia, we do hereby declare, that in caſe of ſuch a participation in deſigns againſt the republic of Poland being diſcovered, all reſidence and abode in all our hereditary dominions ſhall be refuſed them; and we do further ordain to all our governments and public offices, to exert the moſt careful and moſt rigorous vigilance, that our ſentiments for the maintenance of public tranquillity, thus openly declared by theſe our commands, be by every one, without exception, duly obſerved and attended to.

Given at Vienna, Feb. 14, 1793.

Ukaſe of the Empreſs of Ruſſia *relative to the Partition of* Poland.

BY her imperial majeſty, my moſt gracious ſovereign, I Michael Krechetnicoff, general in chief, ſenator, general governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the Poliſh republic to the Ruſſian empire, commander of all the armies there, and in the three governments of Little Ruſſia, in the place of governor general of thoſe three governments, inſpector of the armies, knight of the order of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neſſky, St. Vladimir, of the firſt claſs, the Poliſh white Eagle, and St. Staniſlaus, and the Holſtein order of St. Anne, hereby make known the ſupreme will and command of my moſt gracious ſovereign her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias to all the inhabitants in general, and to every one in particular, of whatever rank or denomination, of the countries and places now united for ever to the Ruſſian empire from the Poliſh republic.

The ſhare her imperial majeſty has hitherto taken in the affairs of Poland, has always been tending in the moſt direct and fundamental manner to the intereſts of both empires. It has not only been unſucceſsful, but proved a fruitleſs burden; and her endeavours to maintain peace, quiet, and freedom amongſt her neigbours, have been attended with innumerable loſſes.

Thirty years experience have ſhewn this in the numerous quarrels and eternal diſputes amongſt themſelves, which have torn the Poliſh republic. Her imperial majeſty has viewed their ſufferings in the towns and cities bordering on her empire with great grief, conſidering them as deſcended from the ſame race, and profeſſing the holy chriſtian religion.

At preſent even ſome unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been aſhamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to requeſt

requeſt their aſſiſtance to involve their country alſo in bloody civil wars.

The true chriſtian religion, and the very well being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would ſuffer from the introduction of ſuch deteſtable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the political and ſocial bonds of ſociety, to overthrow all ſafety, property, and proſperity. Theſe enemies of peace and quiet, following the deteſtable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmoſt of their power, which would deſtroy for ever their own and neighbours' happineſs.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty, my moſt gracious miſtreſs, as well to indemnify herſelf for her many loſſes, as for the future ſafety of her empire and the Poliſh dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future diſturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleaſed now to take under her ſway, and to unite for ever to her empire the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants; namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dvina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; from thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodſhip of Vilna to Stolptſa, to Neſvij, and then to Pinſk; from thence paſſing Kuniſh, between Viſkero and Novogreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; from thence to the river Dnieſter, and laſtly running along the river till it enters the old border of Ruſſia and Poland, at Yegertic; in ſuch manner, that all the cities, lands, and countries, lying within this line of demarcation, the new border of Ruſſia and Poland, ſhall from henceforward for ever come under the ſceptre of the Ruſſian empire, and the inhabitants and poſſeſſors, of all ranks whatever, be ſubjects thereof.

Therefore I being appointed by her imperial majeſty, governor general of theſe countries, by her ſupreme order, have to aſſure, in her ſacred name, and in her own words, as by this manifeſto I make known to every body, and declare I will fulfil, to all her imperial majeſty's new ſubjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her moſt gracious majeſty is pleaſed, not only to confirm and enſure to all the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and full ſecurity of property and poſſeſſion, but to unite and affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole Ruſſian empire, an example of which is to be ſeen in her faithful ſubjects the inhabitants of White Ruſſia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wiſe and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every one of them ſhall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old ſubjects, and that from this day every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of theſe benefits through the whole extent of the Ruſſian empire.

Her imperial majeſty expects from the gratitude of her new ſubjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Ruſſians, ſhall, in return, transfer their love of their former country to the new one, and live in future attached to ſo great and generous an empreſs.

I, therefore, now inform every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that, within one month, they

they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immoveable property, regardless of their own interest, shall refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immoveables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

Clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath; and in the daily service in their churches, they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the formula which shall be given them.

In the above-mentioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the Jews, living in these countries united to the Russian empire, shall remain on their former footing, protected in their religion and property: for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness under the protection of God, so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades as handicrafts like true and faithful subjects. Law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places, with the utmost strictness and equity.

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline; their taking possession therefore of the various places, and changing the government, shall not in the least alter the course of trade or living; for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts, is the intention of her imperial majesty.

This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 27th of the present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full faith may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers entrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed the seal of my arms, at the head quarters of the army under my command at Polona.

(Signed)

MICHAEL KRECHETNICOFF.

Prussian Declaration.

We, Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c.

MAKE known by these presents to the respective states, bishops, abbots, prelates, voivodes, castle keepers, starosts, chamberlains, and country judges, the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the voivodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, Siradia, the city and monastery of Czentochova, the province of Vielun; the voivodship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Dobrzyn, the voivodships of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of

of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all ſorts of good, and give them the following moſt gracious notice.

It is univerſally known that the Poliſh nation never ceaſed to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the Pruſſian ſtate, frequent reaſons of juſt diſcontentment. Not ſatisfied (contrary to all rules of a good neighbourhood) with hurting the Pruſſian territory, by frequent invaſions, with moleſting and ill-uſing the ſubjects on this ſide the frontiers, and with almoſt continually refuſing them juſtice and lawful ſatisfaction; this nation has beſides, always buſied itſelf with pernicious plans, which muſt needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. Theſe are matters of fact which could not eſcape the eye of an attentive obſerver of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the ſerious conſideration of the neighbouring powers, was the ſpirit of rebellion continually increaſing in Poland, and the viſible influence which was obtained by thoſe abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties, would have been diſſolved, and the inhabitants of Poland expoſed to all the tremendous conſequences of anarchy, and plunged into miſeries, the end of which could not be ſeen.

If in every country the adoption and ſpreading out of ſuch deſtructive principles is always attended with the loſs of the tranquillity and happineſs of its inhabitants, its deſtructive conſequences are chiefly, and the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland, ſince this nation have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſturbances and party ſpirit, and *are powerful enough of themſelves to become dangerous to their neighbours by theſe diſturbances.*

It would certainly militate againſt the firſt rules of a ſound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preſervation of tranquillity in our ſtate, if, in ſuch a ſtate of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive ſpectators, and ſhould wait for the period when the faction feel themſelves ſtrong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be expoſed to ſeveral dangers, by the conſequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have therefore, in conjunction with her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the aſſent of his majeſty the Roman emperor, acknowledged, that the ſafety of our ſtates did require to ſet the republic of Poland ſuch boundaries as are more compatible with her interior ſtrength and ſituation, and to facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well ordained, ſolid, and active form of government, of maintaining herſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of the ſame, and preventing by theſe means the diſturbances which have ſo often ſhaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the ſafety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preſerve the republic of Poland from the dreadful conſequences which muſt be the reſult of her internal diviſions, and to reſcue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the deſtructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough perſuaſion, to which alſo her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias accedes in the moſt perfect congruity

gruity with our intentions and principles, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our ſtates, and for this purpoſe immediately to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might ariſe from the continuance of the reciprocal diſturbances.

Wherefore we have reſolved, with the aſſent of her Ruſſian majeſty, to take poſſeſſion of the abovementioned diſtricts of Poland, and alſo of the cities of Dantzick and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them to our ſtate.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unſhaken reſolution, and expect that the Poliſh nation will very ſoon aſſemble in the Diet, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures to the end of ſettling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the ſalutary end of ſecuring to the republic of Poland an undiſturbed peace, and preſerving her inhabitants from the terrible conſequences of anarchy. At the ſame time we exhort the ſtates and inhabitants of the diſtricts and towns which we have taken poſſeſſion of as already mentioned, both in a gracious and ſerious manner, not to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ordered for that purpoſe, but rather tractably to ſubmit to our government, and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and ſovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient ſubjects, and to renounce all connexion with the crown of Poland.

We do not doubt but every body whom this may concern will attend to this with obedience; but in caſe, and contrary to all expectation, ſome one or other ſtate and inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts and towns ſhould refuſe to obey the contents of this our open letter, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor ſubmit to our government, or even attempt to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ſuch perſon or perſons have unavoidably to expect the puniſhments uſual in ſuch like caſes, ſhall be inflicted upon them without any diſtinction.

In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed this patent with our own hand, and cauſed our royal ſeal to be ſet to it to be publiſhed in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin, the 25th March, 1793.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, (L. S.)
(FINKESTEIN,)
(ALVENSLEBEN.)

Ruſſian Declaration.

THE intentions which her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias has cauſed to be announced in the declaration deliveted on the 7 18th May, laſt year, by her miniſter at Warſaw, upon the occaſion of her troops entering Poland, were without contradiction of a nature for obtaining the ſuffrage, deference, and one might even add, thankfulneſs of the whole Poliſh nation. However, all Europe has ſeen in what manner they have been received and appropriated.

To open to the confederation of Targovich the road by which they might attain the exerciſe of their rights and legal power, it was neceſſary to take up arms, and the authors of the revolution of the 3d of May, 1791, and their adherents, have not quitted the career by which they have provoked the Ruſſian troops, until after they were vanquiſhed by their efforts.

But

But if open reſiſtance ceaſed, it was only to make room for ſecret machinations, whoſe ſecret ſprings are the more dangerous, as they often eſcape the moſt attentive vigilance, and even the activity of the law.

The ſpirit of faction and diſturbance has ſhot ſuch deep roots, that thoſe who miſchievouſly foment and propagate them, after having been unſucceſsful in their cabals at foreign courts to render the views of Ruſſia ſuſpicious to them, have endeavoured to delude the multitude, always eaſy to be led away, and ſucceeded in making them ſhare in the hatred and animoſity they have conceived againſt this empire, for having fruſtrated them in their criminal expectations.

Without ſpeaking about ſeveral facts of public notoriety, that prove the miſchievous diſpoſition of the greateſt number of the Polanders, let it ſuffice to mention, that they have been known to abuſe even the principles of humanity and of moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empreſs's army, purſuant to the expreſs orders they had received, have conformed their conduct and actions; and to burſt out againſt them in all manner of inſults and bad proceedings, inſomuch that the moſt audacious have even gone ſo far as to threaten them with renewing upon them the Sicilian Veſpers.

Such is the reward which theſe enemies of tranquillity and of good order, whom her imperial majeſty was willing to re-eſtabliſh and ſecure in their native country, reſerved for her generous intentions.

From this, one may gueſs at the ſincerity of the acceſſion of moſt among them to the now exiſting confederation, and alſo at the duration and ſolidity of the peace, both abroad and in the boſom of the republic.'

But the empreſs, accuſtomed for theſe thirty years to ſtruggle againſt the continual agitations of this ſtate, and truſting to the means providence gave her to contain within their bounds the diſſenſions which have reigned there until this day, would have perſevered in her diſintereſted exertions, and continued to bury in oblivion all the grievances ſhe has to lay to its charge, and alſo the lawful pretenſions to which they entitle her, if inconveniencies of a ſtill more ſerious nature were not to be apprehended. The unnatural delirium of a people of late ſo flouriſhing, now diſhonoured, rent, and on the brink of an abyſs ready to ſwallow them, inſtead of being an object of horror for thoſe factious perſons, appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the boſom of the republic this infernal doctrine, which a ſect, altogether impious, ſacrilegious, and abſurd, has engendered, for the deſtruction of all religious, civil, and political principles.

Clubs, which are connected with the jacobin clubs at Paris, are already eſtabliſhed in the capital, as well as in ſeveral provinces of Poland; they diſtil their poiſon in a ſecret manner, fill the people's minds with it, and cauſe them to ferment.

The eſtabliſhment of a focus ſo dangerous for all powers whoſe ſtates border upon the dominions of the republic, muſt naturally excite their attention. They have in conjunction taken the moſt proper meaſures for ſtifling the evil in its birth, and pre-

preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers. Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Prussia, with the assent of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, have found no other effectual ones for their respective safety than to confine the republic of Poland in narrower bounds, by awarding to her an existence and propositions, which suit an intermediary power best, and which facilitate to her the means of securing and preserving herself, without prejudicing her former liberty, and a government that is wisely regulated, and at the same time active enough to prevent and repress all disorders and disturbances that have so often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpose, their majesties the empress of all the Russias and the king of Prussia, being united with a perfect concert of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire subversion the republic is threatened with, after the discord that has divided it, and especially of these monstrous and erroneous opinions that begin to manifest themselves, than by uniting to their respective states those of the provinces which actually border upon the same, and by taking an immediate and effective possession of them, in order to shelter them in time from the fatal effects of these very opinions which people seek to propagate there.

Their said majesties, by announcing to the whole Polish nation in general the firm resolutions they have taken on this head, invite them to assemble as soon as possible in a diet, to the end of proceeding to an amicable regulation concerning this object, and to concur with the salutary intention they have for securing to her in future a state of undisturbed peace fixed on a stable and solid basis.

Given at Grodno, the 29th of March, O. S. 9th April, 1793.

JAMES DE SIEVERS,
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias.

Note delivered on the 28th of April, *by the General Confederation, to H. E. M.* De Sievers, *Ambassador Extraordinary of Her Majesty the Empress of* Russia, *in Answer to his of the 18th ult.*

THE general confederation of the two nations having given orders to the under-signed to answer the notes of his excellency M. De Sievers, ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty the empress of all the Russias, dated the 9th and 18th of the present month, they find themselves charged with a weighty task, and constrained to confess, that the confederation never expected a declaration announcing to it the occupation of the Polish provinces, and that on the receipt of the first note it found itself in a very embarrassing and very critical position. How can the painful feelings with which it is penetrated be reconciled with the just respect which it owes to the allied powers. The confederation believes, from the purport of the notes that have been presented to it, as well on the part of her imperial majesty as on that of his Prussian majesty, that it may conclude that the taking possession of the wealthiest provinces of

of the republic (of which provinces the extent is far greater than of those that are left to her) can no longer be considered as the object of a negociation, or a reciprocal arrangement, but rather as a declaration of what the two powers have found it convenient to themselves to submit to their domination; that in consequence, as there is no power, not even that of the diet, which is in a state capable of averting the calamity which has thus fallen unawares upon the republic, there remains to the confederation, which is engaged by a solemn oath sworn at the altar to maintain the indivisibility of the republic, even in its smallest part, but one duty to fulfil, that of taking no part whatever in any thing which may justly render them guilty of perjury. Since that the confederation has seen itself without the power of successfully attempting any thing for the service of the country, the deliberations have only turned upon the best means of securing the honour of a pure and irreproachable conscience, and by a legal declaration, in a conjuncture on which it has no reproach to make to itself, and with regard to which it trusts an equitable and compassionate public will do it justice, of meriting rather to be pitied than overwhelmed with contempt.

In the midst of this perplexity, the second note of his excellency the ambassador, dated the 18th of April was given in to the general confederation, at the very moment even when it had reason to fear the reproaches of the nation for its inactivity, especially after having received advices that all that had been furnished to the numerous armies of her imperial majesty should remain unpaid for, till it had published the universals for the convocation of an extraordinary diet. It has, finally, taken the resolution of enjoining the undersigned to declare on the part of the general confederation, and by its express orders, in presence of the Supreme Being, and before the allied and confederated powers who should compassionate its fate, as well as in the face of the nation, or its just and impartial members, that the said confederation regards itself as perfectly free from all blame with respect to the part taken in the dismemberment of Poland, and also as to the measures which it takes, pursuant to the laws guaranteed by these same powers, in recalling the members of the permanent council who have not yet given an account of their past administration, in replacing those who have been legally excluded, and lastly after completing the number according to the law of 1775, in reinstating this magistracy in all its powers, that it may act for the assistance of the republic in its pressing emergencies, and provide for the other cares of government.

The underwritten flatter themselves that his excellency the ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty, will find this reply no less sincere than just and reasonable, as all the other steps of the confederation have been; that he will make it known to his court, and that he will justify to it what is the effect of a solemn oath, taken by the said confederation, which prescribes strict bounds to its authority.

(Signed) POTOCKI,
Vice-marshal of the confederation of the crown.
ZABIELLO,
Marshal of the confederation of Lithuania.

Remonstrance

Remonſtrance made to the Count de Sievers, *the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, on the Part of the King and the States of* Poland, *by the Chancellor of the Crown, and of the Grand Duchy of* Lithuania.

WE the king, and the confederated ſtates of the republic, having had notice of a ſecond violence committed to-day upon the deputies of the nation, of whom many have been arreſted at their houſes—feeling with ſorrow the injuries which a free and independent nation has ſuffered from a foreign power, and not being able to continue legally our deliberations without the preſence of thoſe members of the diet, we have ordered unanimouſly the chancellor to preſent, in our name, a note to the Ruſſian ambaſſador, to repreſent to him the general ſenſation which ſuch a proceeding has occaſioned, and to demand the immediate enlargement of the perſons arreſted.

Having alſo learned, that the ambaſſador had ordered the proviſions deſtined for the uſe of the king to be intercepted, and the eſtates of M. Tyſkieviech, marſhal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, to be ſequeſtrated, which gives us reaſon to apprehend that in future ſuch violences may be increaſed, we have reſolved unanimouſly, that the chancellor ſhall make to the ambaſſador ſuitable repreſentations on the ſubject, inſiſting that ſuch orders ſhould be countermanded, as well with regard to the king's domains, as the ſequeſtration of the eſtates of the marſhal Tyſkieviech; and with reſpect to other eſtates of which the violation has not yet come to our knowledge, the ambaſſador will henceforth be pleaſed to abſtain from giving ſuch orders.

A copy of this note ſhall be communicated to all the foreign miniſters reſiding near the king's perſon, and the ſtates aſſembled.

Done at Grodno, July 11, 1793.

Note delivered to M. de Sievers.

THE underſigned have the honour, by the expreſs command of the king and the confederate diet, to diſplay to the ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the empreſs of Ruſſia, the reaſons which plainly militate againſt the ceſſion of the provinces of the republic of Poland, taken poſſeſſion of in the courſe of the preſent year by the Pruſſian troops, and demanded by the court of Berlin.

It is notorious, that the treaties of 1773 and 1790, on the part of the court of Berlin, ſecured not only the poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, but alſo guaranteed their defence.

No infringement of thoſe treaties on the part of Poland has been adduced, nor can be adduced; whereas, on the contrary, the republic, ſince 1773, has not ceaſed, by various reiterated notes, to complain of open tranſgreſſions reſpecting the non-performance of ſeveral articles of the treaty of 1773, which aſſure to the ſubjects of the republic of Poland the free commerce in all the Pruſſian territories, and likewiſe the free paſſage of their productions through the ſame territories into other ſtates.

The event of the 31ſt of May

1791, cannot be adduced by the court of Berlin as a motive for ſeizing the provinces of the republic, ſince there are authentic documents, by which the king of Pruſſia expreſſed, in the moſt marked terms, his approbation of that event, and even intimated that he found it much to his advantage.

With regard to the charge of Jacobiniſm, we have already ſufficiently evinced, by the many circumſtantial anſwers given, that this pernicious doctrine has never yet infected the boſom of the Poliſh nation, and that government has taken the moſt vigorous and moſt energetic meaſures that it ſhould not ſpread in Poland by any foreign emiſſary that might have been uſed for that purpoſe.

The confederate ſtates of the republic being thus convinced that they have given no reaſon to the king of Pruſſia which can warrant the taking poſſeſſion of the Poliſh provinces by his troops, have expreſsly charged the underſigned to have recourſe, by a note, in the moſt urgent manner, to the generoſity and equity of the empreſs of Ruſſia, to induce her to interpoſe in the moſt powerful manner with the king of Pruſſia, in order to avert the misfortunes with which Poland is threatened, and already unfortunately overwhelmed.

The confederate diet apply with this requeſt, and with the more hope to the empreſs of Ruſſia, ſince they have quite recently given the moſt convincing proofs to that great princeſs, of the confidence they repoſe in, and the reſpect they feel for her.

Of this charge the underſigned acquit themſelves, in virtue of the expreſs orders of the king and the confederate ſtates, in diet aſſembled.

(Signed)

PRINCE SULKOFFSKY,
Grand chancellor of the crown.

CASIMIR PLATER,
Vice chancellor of Lithuania.

Grodno, July 27, 1793.

Anſwer of the Ruſſian *Ambaſſador.*

THE underſigned, however flattering he finds the new proofs of confidence which the ſtates of the republic repoſe in her imperial majeſty, his miſtreſs, can as little agree to the leaſt delay reſpecting the overture of the negotiations with the Pruſſian ambaſſador. The ſtates ought immediately to furniſh the delegation with the deſired inſtructions and powers. The readineſs which will be ſhewn for that purpoſe, will ſerve as the meaſure of the interference which her imperial majeſty will make, in order to complete thoſe affairs which lie ſo near to the heart of the republic. This readineſs will likewiſe induce the king of Pruſſia to make favourable commercial arrangements, and to regulate other important objects.

The underſigned is ready to interpoſe his mediation whenever he ſhall be called upon in the ſaid negotiation, the ſpeedy concluſion of which has been quite recently preſcribed to him by the empreſs his ſovereign.

(Signed)

JAMES DE SIEVERS.

Decree of the Diet, passed on the 2d of September, *at* Grodno, *empowering the Deputation to treat with the* Prussian *Minister.*

WE the king, together with the confederate states of the republic assembled in diet, having heard the report of the deputation appointed to negotiate with the minister of the king of Prussia, and seen the plan of the proposed treaty—Whereas it appears, that, notwithstanding the mediation of the Russian ambassador, the court of Berlin persists in measures detrimental to the republic, and that hardly a modification of some of the articles in that treaty was obtained, whereby we find ourselves in the highest degree oppressed: Therefore, far from acknowledging the pretended legality of right, whereby the court of Berlin endeavours to justify its violence exerted towards the republic, but, on the contrary, adhering most strictly to our former declaration by the note given in answer to those of the two allied courts—Declare before all Europe, to which we have repeatedly appealed, That, founded on the faith of treaties most sacredly observed on our part, as well as on that of the treaty recently entered into with his majesty the king of Prussia, and *at his own desire*, in the year 1790 (whereby the independence and the integrity of Poland were guaranteed in the most solemn manner) being deprived of free-will, surrounded at this very moment of the present act by an armed foreign force, and threatened with a further invasion of the Prussian troops, to the end of ruining our remaining territories, we are forced to commission and authorize the said deputation to sign the treaty, such as it was planned and amended under the mediation of the Russian ambassador, containing in particular this clause: "That it "shall be guaranteed by her majesty "the empress of Russia, his sove- "reign, with all separate articles "relating thereto, especially in re- "gard to commerce, clergy, secu- "rity of the republic, and of the "inhabitants, either wholly com- "prised under foreign dominion, "or possessing property in both "countries; namely, that the pre- "sent prince primate of Poland "might reside constantly within the "republic, so attending to his high "office, and enjoy his entire re- "venues; also, that in case of the "family of princes Radzivil being "extinct, the house of Brandenburgh should not form any pre- "tension to their succession, which "shall belong to the republic." With the following alteration, however, of the last article in the said treaty; "That we the king will not "ratify such treaty of cession, both "in our and in the republic's name, "unless the treaty of commerce, and "all separate articles mutually "agreed on, under the accepted "mediation and guarantee of the "court of Russia by both parties, "shall be finally settled and signed "by the contracting powers."

Declaration of the Diet, King, and Republic of Poland, *assembled at* Grodno, *protesting against the forcible Partition of* Poland.

SURROUNDED closely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the republic

public by the Prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the states in diet assembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed, in pity, to approve of. But with grief and surprise we find, by the sad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see fresh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us; and, in order to support it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force, with addressing to us notes full of menaces, seize from among us, and carry off our members, and by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age, and under such manifold misfortunes, and us the states of the republic, confined and imprisoned in the senate.

Thus situated, we do declare in the most solemn manner, that unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effects of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier perhaps than ourselves, those means of saving our dear country, whereof we are at present bereft; and thus the project sent to us by the Russian ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno, the 24th of September.—Signed and ingrossed in the public records according to law.

Report of the Secretary of State, on the Privileges and Restrictions on the Commerce of the United States in Foreign Countries.

[Published by order of the House of Representatives.]

Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1793.

Sir,

According to the pleasure of the House of Representatives, expressed in their resolution of Feb. 23, 1791, I now lay before them, a Report on the Privileges and Restrictions on the Commerce of the United States in Foreign Countries. In order to keep the subject within those bounds, which I supposed to be under the contemplation of the House, I have restrained my statements to those countries only with which we carry on a commerce of some importance, and to those articles also of our produce, which are of sensible weight in the scale of our exports; and even these articles are sometimes grouped together, according to the degree of favour or restriction with which they are received in each country, and that degree expressed in general terms, without detailing the exact duty laid on each article.

To have gone fully into these minutiæ would have been to copy the tariffs and books of rates of the different countries, and to have hidden under a mass of detail, these general and important truths, the extraction of which in a simple form, I conceived, would best answer the inquiries of the House, by condensing material information within those limits of time and attention, which this portion of their duties may justly claim. The plan, indeed, of minute details, would have been impracticable with some countries for want of information.

Since

Since preparing this Report, which was put into its preſent form, in time to have been given in to the laſt Seſſion of Congreſs, alterations of the condition of our commerce with ſome ſovereign nations have taken place, ſome of them independent of the war, ſome ariſing out of it. France has propoſed to enter into a new treaty of commerce with us, on liberal principles; and has, in the mean time, relaxed ſome of the reſtraints mentioned in the Report. Spain has, by an ordinance of June laſt, eſtabliſhed New-Orleans, Penſacola, and St. Auguſtine into free ports, for the veſſels of friendly nations *having treaties of commerce* with her, provided they touch for a permit at Corcubion in Gallicia, or at Alicant: and our rice is by the ſame ordinance excluded from that country. The circumſtances of the war have neceſſarily given us freer acceſs to the Weſt Indian iſlands, while they have alſo drawn on our navigation, vexations and depredations of the moſt ſerious nature.

To have endeavoured to deſcribe all theſe, would have been as impracticable as uſeleſs, ſince the ſcenes would have been ſhifting, while under deſcription; I, therefore, think it beſt to leave the report as it was formed, being adapted to a particular point of time, when things were in their ſettled order, that is to ſay, to the ſummer of 1792.

I have the honour to be,
With the moſt profound reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant,
TH. JEFFERSON.

To the Speaker of the
Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, the Report of a Committee on the written Meſſage of the Preſident of the United States, of the 14th of February 1791, with Inſtructions to report to Congreſs the Nature and Extent of the Privileges and Reſtrictions of the Commercial Intercourſe of the United States with Foreign Nations, and the meaſures which he ſhould think proper to be adopted for the improvement of the Commerce and Navigation of the ſame, has had the ſame under Conſideration, and thereupon made the following

REPORT:

THE countries with which the United States have had their chief commercial intercourſe, are, Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American poſſeſſions: and the articles of export which conſtitute the baſis of that commerce, with their reſpective amounts, are—

	Dols.
Bread ſtuff, that is to ſay, bread-grains, meals, and bread, to the annual amount of	7,649,887
Tobacco	4,349,567
Rice	1,753,796
Wood	1,263,534
Salted fiſh	941,696
Pot and pearl aſh	839,093
Salted meats	599,130
Indigo	537,379
Horſes and mules	339,753
Whale oil	252,591
Flax ſeed	236,072
Tar, pitch, and turpentine	217,177
Live proviſions	137,743
Ships	
Foreign goods	620,274

To deſcend to articles of ſmaller value than theſe, would lead into a minuteneſs of detail neither neceſſary

ceſſary nor uſeful to the preſent object.

The proportions of our *Exports*, which go to the nations beforementioned, and to their dominions reſpectively, are as follows:

	Dols.
To Spain and its dominions	2,005,907
Portugal and its dominions	1,283,462
France and its dominions	4,698,735
Great Britain and its dominions	9,363,416
The United Netherlands and their dominions	1,963,880
Denmark and its dominions	224,415
Sweden and its dominions	47,240

Our *Imports* from the ſame countries, are—

Spain and its dominions	335,119
Portugal and its dominions	595,763
France and its dominions	2,068,348
Great Britain and its dominions	15,285,428
United Netherlands and their dominions	1,172,692
Denmark and its dominions	351,394
Sweden and its dominions	14,325

Theſe *Imports* conſiſt moſtly of articles on which induſtry has been exhauſted.

Our *Navigation*, depending on the ſame commerce, will appear by the following ſtatement of the tonnage of our own veſſels, entering into our ports, from thoſe ſeveral nations, and their poſſeſſions, in one year, that is to ſay, from October 1789, to September 1790, inclusive, as follows:

	Tons.
Spain	19,695
Portugal	23,576
France	116,410
Great Britain	43,580
United Netherlands	58,858
Denmark	14,655
Sweden	750

Of our commercial objects, Spain receives favourably, our bread ſtuff, ſalted fiſh, wood, ſhips, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On our meals, however, as well as on thoſe of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately impoſed duties, of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being ſo proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the conſtant ſum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not diſcourage our rice, pot and pearl aſh, ſalted proviſions, or whale oil; but theſe articles being in ſmall demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a ſmall degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increaſing. Neither tobacco nor indigo are received there. Our commerce is permitted with their Canary Iſlands, under the ſame conditions.

Themſelves, and their colonies, are the actual conſumers of what they receive from us.

Our navigation is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods being received there in our ſhips, on the ſame conditions as if carried in their own, or in the veſſels of the country of which ſuch goods are the manufacture or produce.

Portugal receives favourably our grain and bread, ſalted fiſh and other ſalted proviſions, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine.

For flax-ſeed, pot and pearl aſh, though not diſcouraged, there is little demand.

Our ſhips pay 20 per cent. on being ſold to their ſubjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods (except thoſe of the

the East Indies) are received on the same footing in our vessels, as in their own, or any others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and consequently our navigation unobstructed by them.—Tobacco, rice and meals are prohibited.

Themselves and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd islands, except that in these, meals and rice are received freely.

France receives favourably our bread stuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the kental, or nearly four and an half cents is paid on our tar, pitch, and turpentine. Our whale oils pay six livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. Our indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own two and an half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for home consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

Our ships are free to carry thither all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other vessels, except tobaccoes not of our own growth; and they participate with their's the exclusive carriage of our whale oils and tobaccoes.

During their former government, our tobacco was under a monopoly; but paid no duties, and our ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first National Assembly took from our ships this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own vessels, and twenty-five livres carried in ours, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

They and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

Great Britain receives our pot and pearl ashes free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and threepence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of our bar iron, of which article, however, we do not produce enough for our own use. Woods are free from us, whilst they pay some small duty from other countries. Our tar and pitch pay 11d. sterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Our tobacco, for their own consumption, pays 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, custom and excise, besides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

Our salted fish, and other salted provisions, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; so are our grains, meals, and bread, as to internal consumption, unless in times of such scarcity as may raise the price of wheat to 50s. sterling. the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

Our ships, though purchased and navigated by their own subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in their trade with us.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, which

cannot be altered but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the Britiſh legiſlature, in carrying thither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any veſſels, ours, with the ſame prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a ſtanding law (12 Car. II. 28. §. 3.) from carrying thither all and any of our own domeſtic productions and manufactures. A ſubſequent act, indeed, authoriſed their executive to permit the carriage of our own productions in our own bottoms, at its ſole diſcretion; and the permiſſion has been given from year to year by proclamation, but ſubject every moment to be withdrawn on that ſingle will, in which event, our veſſels having any thing on board, ſtand interdicted from the entry of all Britiſh ports. The diſadvantage of a tenure which may be ſo ſuddenly diſcontinued was experienced by our merchants on a late occaſion, when an official notification that this law would be ſtrictly enforced, gave them juſt apprehenſions for the fate of their veſſels and cargoes diſpatched or deſtined to the ports of Great Britain. The miniſter of that court, indeed, frankly expreſſed his perſonal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and ſo he afterwards officially informed us; but the embarraſſments of the moment were real and great, and the poſſibility of their renewal lays our commerce to that country under the ſame ſpecies of diſcouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a ſingle legiſlator; and the diſtinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that our navigation is excluded from the ſecurity of fixed laws, while that ſecurity is given to the navigation of others.

Our veſſels pay their ports 1s. 9d. ſterling per ton, light and trinity dues, more than is paid by Britiſh ſhips, except in the port of London, where they pay the ſame as Britiſh.

The greater part of what they receive from us is re-exported to other countries, under the uſeleſs charges of an intermediate depoſit and double voyage. From tables publiſhed in England, and compoſed, as is ſaid, from the books of their cuſtom-houſes, it appears that of the indigo imported there in the years 1773—4—5, one-third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we learn that of the rice and tobacco imported there before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. We are aſſured, indeed, that the quantities ſent thither for re-exportation ſince the war, are conſiderably diminiſhed, yet leſs ſo than reaſon and national intereſt would dictate. The whole of our grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The United Netherlands prohibit our pickled beef and pork, meals and bread of all ſorts, and lay a prohibitory duty on ſpirits diſtilled from grain.

All other of our productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

They conſume but a ſmall proportion of what they receive; the reſidue is partly forwarded for conſumption in the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-ſhipped to other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between us and the conſumer ſo much of the

value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East India articles, are received in vessels of any nation.

Our ships may be sold and naturalized there with exceptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

Denmark lays considerable duties on our tobacco and rice carried in their own vessels, and half as much more if carried in ours; but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such as amount to prohibitions on our indigo and corn.

Sweden receives favourably our grains and meals, salted provisions, indigo, and whale oil.

They subject our rice to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight, carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22,410 mills, carried in ours or any others. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume more of our tobaccoes, which they take circuitously through Great Britain, levying heavy duties on them also; their duties of entry, town duties, and excise, being 4 dols. 34 cents the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in our own or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether our bread, fish, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, (except oak timber and masts) and all foreign manufactures.

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, our navigation with them is reduced almost to nothing.

With our neighbours, an order of things much harder presents itself.

Spain and *Portugal* refuse to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours must be carried to be exchanged in some port of the dominant country, and the transportation between that and the subject state must be in a domestic bottom.

France, by a standing law, permits her West India possessions to receive directly our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rice, and maize, and prohibits our other bread stuff; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures in times of scarcity, it was formerly suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

Our fresh and salted provisions (except pork) are received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and our vessels are as free as their own to carry our commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

Great Britain admits in her islands our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rice, and bread stuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits our salted fish, and other salted provisions: she does not permit our vessels to carry thither our own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but under such circumstances as to be little used by us. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited,

prohibited, and our veſſels forbidden to enter their ports; their governors however, in times of diſtreſs, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in ours.

Our citizens cannot reſide as merchants or factors within any of the Britiſh plantations, this being expreſsly prohibited by the ſame ſtatute of 12 Car. II. C. 18. commonly called the Navigation act.

In the Daniſh-American poſſeſſions a duty of five per cent. is levied on our corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, ſalted fiſh, indigo, horſes, mules, and live ſtock; and of ten per cent. on our flour, ſalted pork and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the *American* iſlands of the *United Netherlands* and *Sweden*, our veſſels and produce are received, ſubject to duties, not ſo heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch poſſeſſions on the continent.

To ſum up theſe *Reſtrictions*, ſo far as they are important:

1ſt. *In Europe*—

Our bread ſtuff is at moſt times under prohibitory duties in England, and conſiderably dutied on exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Our tobaccoes are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Our rice is heavily dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Our fiſh and ſalted proviſions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Our whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And our veſſels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

2d. *In the Weſt Indies.*

All intercourſe is prohibited with the poſſeſſions of Spain and Portugal.

Our ſalted proviſions and fiſh are prohibited by England.

Our ſalted pork, and bread ſtuff (except maize) are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our ſalted fiſh pays there a weighty duty.

3d. *In the Article of Navigation.*

Our own carriage of our own tobacco is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the Britiſh ports in Europe.

Nor even our own produce to her American poſſeſſions.

Such being the reſtrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the queſtion is, in what way they may beſt be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur, 1. By friendly arrangements with the ſeveral nations with whom theſe reſtrictions exiſt: or, 2. By the ſeparate act of our own legiſlatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of theſe two, friendly arrangement is the moſt eligible. Inſtead of embarraſſing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its ſhackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has beſt fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual ſurpluſſes for mutual wants, the greateſt maſs poſſible would then be produced of thoſe things which contribute

bute to human life and human happineſs; the numbers of mankind would be increaſed, and their condition bettered.

Would even a ſingle nation begin with the United States this ſyſtem of free commerce, it would be adviſable to begin it with that nation; ſince it is one by one only that it can be extended to all. Where the circumſtances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impoſt, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent meaſures, preſerving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, might ſtill be willing to mollify its reſtrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourſe with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each ſide, or in compenſating any exceſs of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favour in moſt countries. The commodities we offer, are either neceſſaries of life, or materials for manufacture; or convenient ſubjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the laſt finiſh of art and induſtry, or mere luxuries. Such cuſtomers may reaſonably expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market; cuſtomers too, whoſe demands, increaſing with their wealth and population, muſt very ſhortly give full employment to the whole induſtry of any nation whatever, in any line of ſupply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But ſhould any nation, contrary to our wiſhes, ſuppoſe it may better find its advantage by continuing its ſyſtem of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties, and regulations alſo. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for reſtrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves ſtill higher conſiderations. As a branch of induſtry, it is valuable; but, as a reſource, eſſential.

Its value, as a branch of induſtry, is enhanced by the dependence of ſo many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in tranſportation, and ſo keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to ſay, when thoſe nations who may be our principal carriers, ſhall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourſelves the means of tranſportation, our produce muſt be exported in belligerent veſſels at the increaſed expenſe of war-freight and inſurance, and the articles which will not bear that, muſt periſh on our hands.

But it is as a reſource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The poſition and circumſtances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to deſire beyond their preſent rights. But on their ſea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which muſt be protected. This can only be done by poſſeſſing a reſpectable body of citizen-ſeamen, and of artiſts and eſtabliſhments in readineſs for ſhipbuilding.

Were the ocean, which is the common

common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of our own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists whom it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation are ours in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs, first burthening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions on our agri-

agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occaſion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population at home.

2d. Where a nation refuſes permiſſion to our merchants and factors to reſide within certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it ſhould be thought expedient, refuſe reſidence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their tranſactions.

3d. Where a nation refuſes to receive in our veſſels any productions but our own, we may refuſe to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions. The firſt and ſecond clauſes of the bill reported by the committee are well formed to effect this object.

4th. Where a nation refuſes to conſider any veſſel as ours, which has not been built within our territories, we ſhould refuſe to conſider as theirs, any veſſel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuſes to our veſſels the carriage even of our own productions to certain countries under their domination, we might refuſe to theirs, of every deſcription, the carriage of the ſame productions to the ſame countries. But as juſtice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that thoſe who have no part in impoſing the reſtriction on us, ſhould not be the victims of meaſures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the reſtriction to veſſels owned or navigated by any ſubjects of the ſame dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the ſaid productions are to be carried.—And to prevent all inconvenience to the ſaid inhabitants, and to our own, by too ſudden a check on the means of tranſportation, we may continue to admit the veſſels marked for future excluſion, on an advanced tonnage, and for ſuch length of time only, as may be ſuppoſed neceſſary to provide againſt that inconvenience.

The eſtabliſhment of ſome of theſe principles by Great Britain alone has already loſt us in our commerce with that country and its poſſeſſions, between eight and nine hundred veſſels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to ſtatements from official materials, in which they have confidence. This involves a proportional loſs of ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and ſhip building, and is too ſerious a loſs to admit forbearance of ſome effectual remedy.

It is true we muſt expect ſome inconvenience in practice, from the eſtabliſhment of diſcriminating duties. But in this, as in ſo many other caſes, we are left to chuſe between two evils. Theſe inconveniencies are nothing when weighed againſt the loſs of wealth and loſs of force, which will follow our perſeverance in the plan of indiſcrimination.—When once it ſhall be perceived that we are either in the ſyſtem or the habit of giving equal advantages to thoſe who extinguiſh our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to thoſe who treat both with liberality and juſtice, liberality and juſtice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and juſtice of others we are to truſt for fair and equal acceſs to market with our productions, or for our due ſhare in the tranſportation of them; but to our means of independence, and the firm will to uſe them. Nor do the inconveniencies of diſcrimination merit conſideration.

ſideration. Not one of the nations before mentioned, perhaps, not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our caſe, one diſtinction alone will ſuffice, that is to ſay, between nations who favour our productions and navigation, and thoſe who do not favour them. One ſet of moderate duties, ſay the preſent duties, for the firſt, and a fixed advance on theſe as to ſome articles, and prohibitions as to others, for the laſt.

Still it muſt be repeated, that friendly arrangements are preferable with all who will come into them; and that we ſhould carry into ſuch arrangements all the liberality and ſpirit of accommodation, which the nature of the caſe will admit.

France has, of her own accord, propoſed negociations for improving, by a new treaty on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal diſturbances have hitherto prevented the proſecution of them to effect, though we have had repeated aſſurances of a continuance of the diſpoſition.

Propoſals of friendly arrangement have been made on our part by the preſent government to that of Great Britain, as the meſſage ſtates; but, being already on as good a footing in law, and a better in fact, than the moſt favoured nation, they have not as yet diſcovered any diſpoſition to have it meddled with.

We have no reaſon to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the other nations, with whom we have ſuch commercial intercourſe as may render them important. In the mean while, it would reſt with the wiſdom of Congreſs to determine whether, as to thoſe nations, they will not ſurceaſe ex-parte regulations, on the reaſonable preſumption that they will concur in doing whatever juſtice and moderation dictate ſhould be done.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CHARACTERS.

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CHARACTERS.

The Life of Dr. Blacklock, *by Mr.* Mackenzie, *Author of the Man of Feeling, &c.*

From Poems by the late Rev. Thomas Blacklock, *D.D. &c.*

OF thoſe whoſe writings have delighted the feelings, or attracted the admiration of mankind, it has generally happened that the lives have afforded but very few materials for biography. The "ſequeſtered vale," as one of themſelves has termed it, in which genius nouriſhes the ſwelling thought, or ſtudy purſues its elaborate reſearch, has ſcarce any objects for deſcription to embelliſh, or events to which narrative could give importance. The diſpoſitions of ſuch perſons are generally as averſe, as their ſituations are unfavourable, to the purſuits of intereſt or ambition, to thoſe active purſuits which lead men through conſpicuous events, or aſſociate them with conſpicuous characters. The lives of literary men are often the mere meaſure of a certain portion of time in which their works were produced, and have only that ſubordinate and unnoticed relation to thoſe productions which the canvas of Guido had to his paintings, or the marble of Michael Angelo to his ſculpture. Without the materials, the work would not have exiſted; but the material is of ſo little value in proportion to the work, that in the contemplation of the latter the former is forgotten.

Yet a ſhred of that canvas, or a fragment of that marble on which either of thoſe great men wrought, would bear a value in the imagination of a lover of the arts in which they excelled. And in like manner, they who have peruſed with pleaſure the works of an author, are ſolicitous to know the particulars of his life, to learn the employment of thoſe hours in which he did not write, and to ſee him in that ordinary ſtate in which he left the elevation of genius, to concern himſelf with common things; to trace him back from that period when his fame was at its full, with the ſame ſort of curioſity with which we follow up the track of ſome mighty ſtream, to the little rill that is acknowledged for its ſource.

This propenſity, which is always natural, may ſometimes lead to more than amuſement. Beſides the general advantage which reſults from examining, in whatever direction, the progreſs and powers of the human mind, particular circumſtances

may exist to render the situation in which an author was placed, a theme for interesting speculation, or a study of useful example. In the powers, or in the weakness, in the attainments, or the defects, in the enjoyments, or the distresses of men eminent for intellectual endowments, their successors may learn a better direction of their own talents, or a juster value of their own pursuits; to abate the pride by which genius is hurtfully misled, or to overcome the mortification by which it is unnecessarily depressed; may be taught to avoid those fair-seeming paths that lead to disquiet and disappointment, and be led to sources of content and consolation amidst prospects the most gloomy and unpromising.

The life of Dr. Thomas Blacklock, may, I think, assert a claim to notice beyond that of most authors, to whose story the public attention has been called by the publication of their works. He who reads his poems with that interest which their intrinsic merit deserves, will feel that interest very much increased when he shall be told the various difficulties which their author overcame in their production; the obstacles which nature and fortune had placed in his way to the possession of those ideas which his mind acquired, to the communication of those which his poetry unfolds.

He was born in the year 1721, at Annan, in the county of Dumfries in Scotland. His parents were natives of the bordering English county of Cumberland. His father was by trade a bricklayer; his mother the daughter of a considerable dealer in cattle; both respectable in their characters; and, it would appear, possessed of a considerable degree of knowledge and urbanity; which, in a country where education was cheap, and property then a good deal subdivided, was often the case with persons of their station.

Before he was six months old he lost his eye-sight in the small-pox. This rendered him incapable of any of those mechanical trades to which his father might naturally have been inclined to breed him, and his circumstances prevented his aspiring to the higher professions. The good man therefore kept his son in his house, and, with the assistance of some of his friends, fostered that inclination which the boy early shewed for books, by reading, to amuse him, first, the simple sort of publications which are commonly put into the hands of children, and then several of our best authors, such as Milton, Spencer, Prior, Pope, and Addison. His companions, whom his early gentleness and kindness of disposition, as well as their compassion for his misfortune, strongly attached to him, were very assiduous in their good offices, in reading to instruct and amuse him. By their assistance he acquired some knowledge of the Latin tongue, but he never was at a grammar-school till at a more advanced period of life. Poetry was even then his favourite reading; and he found an enthusiastic delight in the works of the best English poets, and in those of his countryman Allan Ramsay. Even at an age so early as twelve he began to write poems, one of which is preserved in this collection, and is not, perhaps, inferior to any of the premature compositions of boys assisted by the best education, which are only recalled into notice by the future fame of their authors.

He

He had attained the age of nineteen when his father was killed by the accidental fall of a malt-kiln belonging to his son-in-law. This loss, heavy to any one at that early age, would have been, however, to a young man poſſeſſing the ordinary means of ſupport, and the ordinary advantages of education, comparatively light; but to him—thus ſuddenly deprived of that ſupport on which his youth had leaned—deſtitute almoſt of any reſource which induſtry affords to thoſe who have the bleſſings of ſight—with a body feeble and delicate from nature, and a mind congenially ſuſceptible, it was not ſurpriſing that this blow was doubly ſevere, and threw on his ſpirits that deſpondent gloom to which he then gave away in the following pathetic lines, and which ſometimes overclouded them in the ſubſequent period of his life:

Dejecting proſpect! ſoon the hapleſs hour
May come; perhaps this moment it impends,
Which drives me forth to penury and cold,
Naked, and beat by all the ſtorms of heav'n,
Friendleſs and guideleſs to explore my way;
Till, on cold earth this poor unſhelter'd head
Reclining, vainly from the ruthleſs blaſt
Reſpite I beg, and in the ſhock expire.

Though dependent, however, he was not deſtitute of friends: and heaven rewarded the pious confidence, which a few lines after, he expreſſes in its care, by providing for him protectors and patrons, by whoſe aſſiſtance he obtained advantages, which, had his father lived, might perhaps never have opened to him.

He lived with his mother for about a year after his father's death, and began to be diſtinguiſhed as a young man of uncommon parts and genius. Theſe were at that time unaſſiſted by learning; the circumſtances of his family affording him no better education than the ſmattering of Latin which his companions had taught him, and the peruſal and recollection of the few Engliſh authors, which they, or his father in the intervals of his profeſſional labours had read to him. Poetry, however, though it attains its higheſt perfection in a cultivated ſoil, grows perhaps as luxuriantly in a wild one. To poetry, as we have before mentioned, he was devoted from his earlieſt days; and about this time ſeveral of his poetical productions began to be handed about, which conſiderably enlarged the circle of his friends and acquaintance. Some of his compoſitions being ſhewn to doctor Stevenſon, an eminent phyſician of Edinburgh who was accidentally at Dumfries on a profeſſional viſit, that gentleman formed the benevolent deſign of carrying him to the Scotch metropolis, and giving to his natural endowments the aſſiſtance of a claſſical education. He came to Edinburgh in the year 1741, and was enrolled a ſtudent of divinity in the univerſity there, though at that time without any particular view of entering into the church. In that univerſity he continued his ſtudies under the patronage of doctor Stevenſon till the year 1745, and in the following year a volume of his poems in octavo was firſt publiſhed. During the national diſturbances, which prevailed during thoſe years, he returned to Dumfries, where he reſided with Mr. M'Murdo, a gentleman who had married his ſiſter, in whoſe houſe he was not only treated with all the kindneſs and affection of a brother, but had an

opportunity, from the ſociety which it afforded, of conſiderably increaſing the ſtore of his ideas. After the cloſe of the rebellion, and the compleat reſtoration of the peace of the country, he returned again to the metropolis, and purſued his ſtudies for ſix years longer. During this laſt reſidence in Edinburgh, among other literary acquaintance, he obtained that of the celebrated David Hume, who, with all that humanity and benevolence for which he was diſtinguiſhed, attached himſelf warmly to Mr. Blacklock's intereſts, and was afterwards particularly uſeful to him in the publication of the 4to edition of his poems, which came out by ſubſcription in London in the year 1756. Previouſly to this, a ſecond edition in 8vo had been publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1754. To the 4to edition Mr. Spence, profeſſor of poetry at Oxford, who had conceived a great regard for the author, prefixed a very elaborate and ingenious account of his life, character, and writings; an account which would have rendered the preſent imperfect ſketch equally unneceſſary and aſſuming, had it not been written at a period ſo early as to include only the opening events of a life for which it was meant to claim the future notice and favour of the public.

In the courſe of his education at Edinburgh, he acquired a proficiency in the learned languages, and became more a maſter of the French tongue than was common there, from the ſocial intercourſe to which he had the good fortune to be admitted in the houſe of provoſt Alexander, who had married a native of France. At the univerſity he attained a knowledge of the various branches of philoſophy and theology, to which his courſe of ſtudy naturally led, and acquired at the ſame time a conſiderable fund of learning and information in thoſe various departments of ſcience and *belles lettres*, from which his want of ſight did not abſolutely preclude him.

In 1757, he began a courſe of ſtudy, with a view to give lectures in oratory to young gentlemen intended for the bar or the pulpit. On this occaſion he wrote to Mr. Hume, informed him of his plan, and requeſted his aſſiſtance in the proſecution of it. But Mr. Hume doubting the probability of its ſucceſs, he abandoned the project; and then, for the firſt time, adopted the decided intention of going into the church of Scotland. After applying cloſely for a conſiderable time to the ſtudy of theology, he paſſed the uſual trials in the preſbytery of Dumfries, and was by that preſbytery licenſed a preacher of the goſpel in the year 1759. As a preacher he obtained high reputation, and was fond of compoſing ſermons, of which he has left ſome volumes in manuſcript, as alſo a treatiſe on morals, both of which it is in contemplation with his friends to publiſh.

The tenor of his occupations, as well as the bent of his mind and diſpoſition, during this period of his life, will appear in the following plain and unſtudied account, contained in a letter from a gentleman, who was then his moſt intimate and conſtant companion, the rev. Mr. Jameſon, formerly miniſter of the epiſcopal chapel at Dumfries, afterwards of the Engliſh congregation at Dantzic, and who now reſides at Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne.

His

His manner of life (says that gentleman) was so uniform, that the history of it during one day, or one week, is the history of it during the seven years that our personal intercourse lasted. Reading, music, walking, conversing, and disputing on various topics, in theology, ethics, &c. employed almost every hour of our time. It was pleasant to hear him engaged in a dispute, for no man could keep his temper better than he always did on such occasions. I have known him frequently very warmly engaged for hours together, but never could observe one angry word to fall from him. Whatever his antagonist might say, he always kept his temper. 'Semper paratus et refellere 'sine pertinacia, et refelli sine ira-'cundia' He was, however, extremely sensible to what he thought ill usage, and equally so whether it regarded himself or his friends. But his resentment was always confined to a few satirical verses, which were generally burnt soon after.

The late Mr. Spence (the editor of the quarto edition of his poems) frequently urged him to write a tragedy; and assured him that he had interest enough with Mr. Garrick to get it acted. Various subjects were proposed to him, several of which he approved of, yet he never could be prevailed on to begin any thing of that kind. It may seem remarkable, but as far as I know, it was invariably the case, that he never could think or write on any subject proposed to him by another.

I have frequently admired with what readiness and rapidity he could sometimes make verses. I have known him dictate from thirty to forty verses, and by no means bad ones, as fast as I could write them; but the moment he was at a loss for a rhime or a verse to his liking, he stopt altogether, and could very seldom be induced to finish what he had begun with so much ardour.

This account sufficiently marks that eager sensibility, chastened at the same time with uncommon gentleness of temper, which characterised Dr. Blacklock, and which indeed it was impossible to be at all in his company without perceiving. In the science of mind, this is that division of it which perhaps one would peculiarly appropriate to poetry, at least to all those lighter species which rather depend on quickness of feeling, and the ready conception of pleasing images, than on the happy arrangement of parts, or the skilful construction of a whole, which are essential to the higher departments of the poetical arts. The first kind of talent is like those warm and light soils which produce their annual crops in such abundance; the last, like that deeper and firmer mould on which the roots of eternal forests are fixed. Of the first we have seen many happy instances in that sex which is supposed less capable of study or thought; from the last is drawn that masculine sublimity of genius which could build an Iliad, or a Paradise Lost.

All those who ever acted as his amanuenses, agree in this rapidity and ardour of composition which Mr. Jameson ascribes to him in the account I have copied above. He never could dictate till he stood up; and as his blindness made walking about without assistance inconvenient or dangerous to him, he fell insensibly into a vibratory sort of motion of his body, which increased as he warmed with his subject, and

was pleaſed with the conceptions of his mind. This motion at laſt became habitual to him, and though he could ſometimes reſtrain it when on ceremony, or in any public appearance, ſuch as preaching, he felt a certain uneaſineſs from the effort, and always returned to it when he could indulge it without impropriety. This is the appearance which he deſcribes in the ludicrous picture he has drawn of himſelf. Of this portrait the outlines are true, though the general effect is overcharged. His features were hurt by the diſeaſe which deprived him of ſight; yet even with thoſe diſadvantages, there was a certain placid expreſſion in his phyſiognomy which marked the benevolence of his mind, and was etremely calculated to procure him attachment and regard.

In 1762 he married Miſs Sarah Johnſton, daughter of Mr. Joſeph Johnſton, ſurgeon in Dumfries, a man of eminence in his profeſſion, and of a character highly reſpected; a connection which formed the great ſolace and bleſſing of his future life, and gave him, with all the tenderneſs of a wife, all the zealous care of a guardian and a friend. This event took place a few days before his being ordained miniſter of the town and pariſh of Kircudbright, in conſequence of a preſentation from the crown, obtained for him by the earl of Selkirk, a benevolent nobleman, whom Mr. Blacklock's ſituation and genius had intereſted in his behalf. But the inhabitants of the pariſh, whether from that violent averſion to *patronage*, which was then ſo univerſal in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, from ſome political diſputes which at this time ſubſiſted between them and his noble patron, or from thoſe prejudices which ſome of them might naturally enough entertain againſt a paſtor deprived of ſight, or perhaps from all thoſe cauſes united, were ſo extremely diſinclined to receive him as their miniſter, that after a legal diſpute of nearly two years, it was thought expedient by his friends, as it had always been wiſhed by himſelf, to compromiſe the matter, by reſigning his right to the living, and accepting a moderate annuity in its ſtead. With this ſlender proviſion he removed in 1764 to Edinburgh; and to make up by his induſtry a more comfortable and decent ſubſiſtence, he adopted the plan of receiving a certain number of young gentlemen, as boarders, into his houſe, whoſe ſtudies in languages and philoſophy, he might, if neceſſary, aſſiſt. In this ſituation he continued till the year 1787, when he found his time of life and ſtate of health required a degree of quiet and repoſe which induced him to diſcontinue the receiving of boarders. In 1767 the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him by the univerſity and Mariſchal college of Aberdeen.

In the occupation which he thus exerciſed for ſo many years of his life, no teacher was ever more agreeable to his pupils, nor maſter of a family to its inmates, than Dr. Blacklock. The gentleneſs of his manners, the benignity of his diſpoſition, and that warm intereſt in the happineſs of others which led him ſo conſtantly to promote it, were qualities that could not fail to procure him the love and regard of the young people committed to his charge; while the ſociety, which eſteem and reſpect for his character and his genius often aſſembled at his houſe, afforded them an advantage

tage rarely to be found in eſtabliſhments of a ſimilar kind. The writer of this account has frequently been a witneſs of the family-ſcene at Dr. Blacklock's; has ſeen the good man amidſt the circle of his young friends, eager to do him all the little offices of kindneſs which he ſeemed ſo much to merit and to feel. In this ſociety he appeared entirely to forget the privation of ſight, and the melancholy which, at other times, it might produce. He entered, with the chearful playfulneſs of a young man, into all the ſprightly narrative, the ſportful fancy, the humorous jeſt that roſe around him. It was a ſight highly gratifying to philanthropy, to ſee how much a mind endowed with knowledge, kindled by genius, and above all, lighted up with innocence and piety, like Blacklock's, could overcome the weight of its own calamity, and enjoy the content, the happineſs, and the gaiety of others. Several of thoſe inmates of Dr. Blacklock's houſe retained, in future life, all the warmth of that impreſſion which his friendſhip at this early period had made upon them: and in various quarters of the world he had friends and correſpondents from whom no length of time or diſtance of place had ever eſtranged him.

Muſic, which to the feeling and the penſive, in whatever ſituation, is a ſource of extreme delight, but which to the blind muſt be creative, as it were, of idea and of ſentiment, he enjoyed highly, and was himſelf a tolerable performer on ſeveral inſtruments, particularly on the flute. He generally carried in his pocket a ſmall flageolet, on which he played his favourite tunes; and was not diſpleaſed, when aſked in company to play or to ſing to them; a natural feeling for a blind man, who thus adds a ſcene to the drama of his ſociety.

Of the happineſs of others, however, we are incompetent judges. Companionſhip and ſympathy bring forth thoſe gay colours of mirth and chearfulneſs which they put on for awhile, to cover perhaps that ſadneſs which we have no opportunity of witneſſing. Of a blind man's condition we are particularly liable to form a miſtaken eſtimate; we give him credit for all thoſe gleams of delight which ſociety affords him, without placing to their full account thoſe dreary moments of darkſome ſolitude to which the ſuſpenſion of that ſociety condemns him. Dr. Blacklock had from nature a conſtitution delicate and nervous, and his mind, as is almoſt always the caſe, was in a great degree ſubject to the indiſpoſition of his body. He frequently complained of a lowneſs and depreſſion of ſpirits, which neither the attentions of his friends, nor the unceaſing care of a moſt affectionate wife, were able entirely to remove. The imagination we are ſo apt to envy and admire ſerves but to irritate this diſorder of the mind; and that fancy, in whoſe creation we ſo much delight, can draw, from ſources unknown to common men, ſubjects of diſguſt, diſquietude, and affliction. Some of his later poems, now firſt publiſhed, expreſs a chagrin, though not of an ungentle ſort, at the ſuppoſed failure of his imaginative powers, or at the faſtidiouſneſs of modern times, which he deſpaired to pleaſe.

Such were his efforts, ſuch his cold reward,
Whom once thy partial tongue pronounc'd a bard;
Excurſive, on the gentle gales of ſpring,
He rov'd, whilſt favour imp'd his timid wing;

Exhauſted genius now no more inſpires,
But mourns abortive hopes, and faded fires;
The ſhort-liv'd wreath, which once his temples grac'd,
Fades at the ſickly breath of ſqueamiſh taſte;
Whilſt darker days his fainting flames immure
In chearleſs gloom, and winter premature.

Theſe lines are, however, no proof of 'exhauſted genius,' 'or faded fires.' 'Abortive hopes,' indeed, muſt be the lot of all who reach that period of life at which they were written. In early youth the heart of every one is a poet; it creates a ſcene of imagined happineſs and deluſive hopes; it clothes the world in the bright colours of its own fancy; it refines what is coarſe, it exalts what is mean; it ſees nothing but diſintereſtedneſs in friendſhip; it promiſes eternal fidelity in love. Even on the diſtreſſes of its ſituation it can throw a certain romantic ſhade of melancholy that leaves a man ſad, but does not make him unhappy. But at a more advanced age, 'the fairy viſions fade,' and he ſuffers moſt deeply who has indulged them the moſt.

One diſtreſs Dr. Blacklock was at this time firſt afflicted with, of which every one will allow the force. He was occaſionally ſubject to deafneſs, which, though he ſeldom felt it in any great degree, was ſufficient, in his ſituation, to whom the ſenſe of hearing was almoſt the only channel of communication with the external world, to cauſe very lively uneaſineſs. Amidſt theſe indiſpoſitions of body, however, and diſquietudes of mind, the gentleneſs of his temper never forſook him, and he felt all that reſignation and confidence in the ſupreme Being which his earlieſt and his lateſt life equally acknowledged. In ſummer 1791 he was ſeized with a feveriſh diſorder, which at firſt ſeemed of a ſlight, and never roſe to a very violent kind; but a frame ſo little robuſt as his, was not able to reſiſt it, and after about a week's illneſs it carried him off on the 7th day of July 1791. His wife ſurvives him, to feel, amidſt the heavy affliction of his loſs, that melancholy conſolation which is derived from the remembrance of his virtues.

Account of Mr. John Smeaton, *by Mr.* John Holmes, *Watchmaker, of the Strand.*

MR. John Smeaton was born the 28th of May 1724, old ſtyle, at Auſthorpe, near Leeds, in a houſe built by his grandfather, and where his family have reſided ever ſince.

The ſtrength of his underſtanding and the originality of his genius appeared at an early age; his playthings were not the playthings of children, but the tools men work with; and he appeared to have greater entertainment in ſeeing the men in the neighbourhood work, and aſking them queſtions, than in any thing elſe. One day he was ſeen (to the diſtreſs of his family) on the top of his father's barn, fixing up ſomething like a windmill; another time he attended ſome men fixing a pump at a neighbouring village, and obſerving them cut off a piece of bored pipe, he was ſo lucky as to procure it, and he actually made with it a working pump that raiſed water. Theſe anecdotes refer to circumſtances that happened while he was in petticoats, and moſt likely before he attained his ſixth year.

About his fourteenth and fifteenth year,

year, he had made for himself an engine to turn rose work, and made several presents to his friends of boxes in ivory or wood, turned by him in that way.

In the year 1742, I spent a month at his father's house, and being intended myself for a mechanical employment, and a few years younger than he was, I could not but view his works with astonishment; he forged his iron and steel, and melted his metal; he had tools of every sort, for working in wood, ivory, and metals. He had made a lathe, by which he had cut a perpetual screw in brass, a thing little known at that day, and which I believe was the invention of Mr. Henry Hindley, of York, with whom I served my apprenticeship. Mr. Hindley was a man of the most communicative disposition, a great lover of mechanics, and of the most fertile genius; Mr. Smeaton soon became acquainted with him, and they spent many a night at Mr. Hindley's house till day-light, conversing on those subjects.

Thus had Mr. Smeaton, by the strength of his genius, and indefatigable industry, acquired, at the age of eighteen, an extensive set of tools, and the art of working in most of the mechanical trades, without the assistance of any master, and which he continued to do a part of every day when at the place where his tools were; and few could work better.

Mr. Smeaton's father was an attorney, and desirous of bringing him up to the same profession; Mr. Smeaton therefore came up to London in 1742, and attended the courts in Westminster Hall; but finding (as his common expression was) that the law did not suit the bent of his genius, he wrote a strong memorial to his father on that subject, whose good sense from that moment left Mr. Smeaton to pursue the bent of his genius in his own way.

Early in 1750, I came up to Mr. Smeaton's lodgings in Great Turnstile; he was then about commencing mathematical instrument maker, and soon became acquainted with most of the ingenious men of that time.

In 1751 he began a course of experiments to try a machine of his invention to measure a ship's way at sea, and also made two voyages in company with Dr. Knight to try it, and a compass of his own invention and making, and which was made magnetical by Dr. Knight's artificial magnets: the last of these was in the Fortune sloop of war, commanded at that time by captain Alexander Campbell.

In 1753, he was elected member of the royal society; the number of papers published in their transactions will shew the universality of his genius and knowledge. In 1759, he was honoured by an unanimous vote with their gold medal for his paper entitled, "An Experimental Enquiry concerning the natural powers of water and wind to turn mills, and other machines depending on a circular motion."

This paper, he says, was the result of experiments made on working models in the year 1752 and 1753, but not communicated to the society till 1759, before which time he had an opportunity of putting the effect of these experiments into real practice, in a variety of cases, and for various purposes, so as to assure the society he had found them to answer.

Here we see Mr. Smeaton in his

27th

27th and 28th year make models and experiments therewith, by which the powers of wind and water are found to be able to do more, by at leaſt one third, than it was known they could do before: this improvement, without any other, ſhews the value of his life to this country. To enable mills, and all other circular motions depending on water and wind, to do at leaſt one third more buſineſs than they did before, is to this country (greatly depending on its manufactures) a benefit beyond any calculation I can make. It muſt be immenſely great.

But here I find, by purſuing the above, I have omitted an anecdote, that ſhews his great thirſt after knowledge: in the year 1754, he made a voyage to Holland, and by walking on foot, or travelling in the *treckſchuyts*, he got acquainted with moſt of the works of art there, and in the Low Countries.

In December 1755, the Edyſtone lighthouſe was burnt down; Mr. Weſton, the chief proprietor, and the others, being deſirous of rebuilding it in the moſt ſubſtantial manner, enquired of the earl of Macclesfield (then preſident of the royal ſociety), whom he thought the moſt proper to rebuild it; his lordſhip recommended Mr. Smeaton.

Mr. Smeaton undertook the work, and completed it in the ſummer of 1759. Of this Mr. Smeaton gives an ample deſcription in the volume he publiſhed in 1761: that edition has been ſome time ſold, and a ſecond is now in the preſs, under the reviſal of his much-eſteemed friend Mr. Aubert, F.R.S. and governor of the London Aſſurance Corporation. Of this work I ſhall only ſ y, it appears to me, in a great meaſure, a hiſtory of four years of his life, wherein the originality of his genius is fully diſplayed, as alſo his great alacrity, induſtry, and perſeverance.

Though Mr. Smeaton completed the building of the Edyſtone lighthouſe in 1759 (a work that does him ſo much credit), yet it appears he did not ſoon get into full buſineſs as a civil engineer; for in 1764, while in Yorkſhire, he offered himſelf a candidate for one of the receivers of the Derwentwater eſtate: and on the 31ſt of December in that year, he was appointed at a full board of Greenwich Hoſpital, in a manner highly flattering to himſelf; when two other perſons, ſtrongly recommended and powerfully ſupported, were candidates for the employment. In this appointment he was very happy, by the aſſiſtance and abilities of his partner Mr. Walton, one of the preſent receivers, who taking upon himſelf the management and accounts, left Mr. Smeaton leiſure and opportunity to exert his abilities on public works, as well as to make many improvements in the mills, and in the eſtates of Greenwich Hoſpital. By the year 1775, he had ſo much buſineſs as a civil engineer, that he wiſhed to reſign this appointment, and would have done it then, had not his friends, the late Mr. Stuart, the hoſpital ſurveyor, and Mr. Ibbetſon, their ſecretary, prevailed upon him to continue in the office about two years longer.

Mr. Smeaton having now got into full buſineſs as civil engineer, it is not my intention, nor is it in my power, to enumerate the variety of concerns he was engaged in; I ſhall touch upon ſome of the prin-

cipal

cipal ones slightly. He made the river Calder navigable; a work that required great skill and judgment, owing to the very impetuous floods in that river; he planned and attended the execution of the great canal in Scotland, for conveying the trade of the country either to the Atlantic or German Ocean; and having brought it, I believe, to the place originally intended, he declined a handsome yearly salary, in order that he might attend to the multiplicity of his other business.

On the opening of the great arch at London-bridge, the excavation around and under the sterlings was so considerable, that the bridge was thought to be in great danger of falling. He was then in Yorkshire, and was sent for by express, and arrived with the utmost dispatch; I think it was on a Saturday morning, when the apprehension of the bridge was so general, that few would pass over or under it. He applied himself immediately to examine it, and to sound about the sterlings as minutely as he could, and the committee being called together, adopted his advice, which was, to re-purchase the stones that had been taken from the middle pier, then lying in Moorfields, and to throw them into the river to guard the sterlings *. Nothing shews the apprehensions of the bridge falling more than the alacrity with which this advice was pursued: the stones were re-purchased that day, horses, carts, and barges were got ready, and they began the work on Sunday morning. Thus Mr. Smeaton, in all human probability, saved London bridge from falling, and secured it till more effectual methods could be taken.

In the summer of 1771, when, through the multiplicity of his business, he was travelling in Ireland, Scotland, and England, I concluded a joint purchase for himself and me, of the works for supplying Deptford and Greenwich with water, which, being an extensive undertaking, we saw from the first would require much pains and address to manage; and soon after, by papers put into our hands, we found that for a long series of years it had been a losing pursuit to all former proprietors; this, therefore, called forth all his skill, and our joint address in the management. His language, either in speaking or writing, was so strong and perspicuous, that there was no misunderstanding his meaning, and I had that confidence in his abilities, as never to consider any plan of improvement which he proposed, but only to see it executed with scrupulous exactness; at the same time, he was so open to reason in all matters, that during a constant communication of our opinions for upwards of twenty years, after we had laid them fully before each other, we always agreed, *never had the slightest difference*, and brought

* This method of stopping the impetuous ravages of water, he had practised before with success on the river Calder. On my calling on him in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, he shewed me the effects of a great flood, which had made a considerable passage over the land; this he stopped at the bank of the river, by throwing a quantity of large rough stones, which with the sand and other materials washed down by the river filling up their interstices, had become a barrier to keep the river in its usual course.

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this undertaking to be of general use to those it was intended for, and moderately beneficial to ourselves,

The vast variety of mills Mr. Smeaton constructed, so greatly to the satisfaction and advantage of the owners, will shew the great use he made of his experiments in 1752 and 1753; and indeed he scarcely trusted to theory in any case where he could have an opportunity to investigate it by experiment; and for this he built a steam engine at Austhorpe, and made experiments thereon, purposely to ascertain the power of Newcomen's steam-engine, which he improved and brought to a far greater degree of certainty, both in its construction and powers, than it was before.

Mr. Smeaton, during many years of his life, was a constant attendant on parliament, his opinion being continually called for; and here his strength of judgment and perspicuity of expression had its full display: it was his constant custom, when applied to, to plan or support any measure, to make himself fully acquainted with it, and see its merits before he would engage in it; by this caution, added to the clearness of his description, and the integrity of his heart, he seldom failed having the bill he supported carried into an act of parliament. No one was heard with more attention, nor had any one ever more confidence placed in his testimony; in the courts of law he had several compliments paid him from the bench by Lord Mansfield and others, for the new light he threw on difficult subjects.

About the year 1785, Mr. Smeaton's health began to decline, and he then took the resolution to endeavour to avoid all the business he could, so that he might have leisure to publish an account of his inventions and works, which was certainly the first wish of his heart; for he has often told me, "he thought he could not render so much service to his country as by doing that." He got only his account of the Edystone lighthouse completed, and some preparations to his intended treatise on mills, for he could not resist the solicitations of his friends in various works; and Mr. Aubert, whom he greatly loved and respected, being chosen chairman of Ramsgate harbour, prevailed upon him to accept the place of engineer to that harbour; and to their joint efforts the public is chiefly indebted for the improvements that have been made there within these few years, which fully appears in a report that Mr. Smeaton gave in to the board of trustees in 1791, which they immediately published.

Mr. Smeaton being at Austhorpe, walking in his garden on the 16th of September last, was struck with the palsy, and died on the 28th of October. In his illness I had several letters from him, signed with his name, but wrote and signed by another's pen; the diction of them shewed the strength of his mind had not left him.—In one, written the 26th of September, after minutely describing his health and feelings, he says, "in consequence of the foregoing, I conclude myself nine-tenths dead, and the greatest favour the Almighty can do me (as I think) will be to complete the other part; but as it is likely to be a lingering illness, it is only in his power to say when that is likely to happen."

Having given a few traits of the life and works of Mr. Smeaton, chiefly from memory, I shall now briefly sum up his character from my

my own knowledge.—Mr. Smeaton had a warmth of expreſſion that might appear to thoſe who did not know him well to border on harſhneſs; but thoſe more intimately acquainted with him, knew it aroſe from the intenſe application of his mind, which was always in the purſuit of truth, or engaged in inveſtigating difficult ſubjects. He would ſometimes break out haſtily, when any thing was ſaid that did not tally with his ideas; and he would not give up any thing he argued for, till his mind was convinced by ſound reaſoning.

In all the ſocial duties of life he was exemplary; he was a moſt affectionate huſband, a good father, a warm, zealous, and ſincere friend, always ready to aſſiſt thoſe he reſpected, and often before it was pointed out to him in what way he could ſerve them. He was a lover and encourager of merit wherever he found it; and many men are in a great meaſure indebted for their preſent ſituation to his aſſiſtance and advice. As a companion, he was always entertaining and inſtructive, and none could ſpend their time in his company without improvement.

As a civil engineer, when his works are publiſhed, they will do his talents more juſtice than I can. I have ſpent many evenings with him in the laſt twenty years, in a ſociety of civil engineers, which he was one of the firſt to promote, and where he was always heard with great attention, and held in particular eſteem. As a man I always admired and reſpected him, and his memory will ever be moſt dear to me.

P. S. Since writing the above, I perceive I have left unnoticed Mr. Smeaton's improvement of the air pump, of the pyrometer and hygrometer, and his experiments on many other philoſophical matters, which, I truſt, will appear when his life and works are publiſhed.

Sketch of the Life of Field-Marſhal Baron De Loudon. *From the European Magazine.*

GIDEON ERNEST, Baron de Laudon, or Laudohn, was deſcended from a noble and ancient family in Ayrſhire, North Britain, a part of which ſettled in Livonia in the fourteenth century. The deſcendants of this branch acquired ſeveral fiefs there on account of their ſervices, but they were diſpoſſeſſed of the greateſt part of them by Charles XI. of Sweden.—During the reign of Charles XII. the nobility of that province endeavoured to re-inſtate themſelves in their ancient rights and privileges, but that monarch put their repreſentative, the celebrated and unfortunate Patkul, to death, and on this all their hopes and projects vaniſhed.

Moſt of the male line of the family of Loudon betook themſelves to the profeſſion of arms; an uncle of the marſhal's was a captain in the royal guards of one of the kings of Sweden. He himſelf was born in 1716, at Tootten, in Livonia.

Although his education was exceedingly neglected, the extraordinary genius with which he was endowed by nature in a great meaſure ſupplied this defect; he, however, felt the inconvenience ariſing from it, frankly confeſſed, and often lamented it.

At the age of fifteen, having acquired ſome little knowledge of geography

graphy and geometry, he entered into the service of Russia, as a cadet in a regiment of infantry. A short time after, in 1733, the double election having created great disturbances in Poland, the Russians entered that country, and declared in favour of the party that supported the interest of Frederic Augustus of Saxony. Stanislaus Lescinsky, his rival, being obliged to fly to Dantzic, the Russians followed him, besieged and took that city, but the king had the good fortune to make his escape. Affairs were in this position when M. Loudon made his first essay in arms.

In 1735 the Russians appeared for the first time in the territories of the German empire. The empress Anne sent a body of troops thither, in order to succour it against the enterprizes of the French; and among those troops which had come from the banks of the Wolga to the Rhine, was our young warrior. The preliminaries of peace having been signed at Vienna, the assistance of the Russians became useless. On the other hand, their presence had become absolutely necessary in their own country, in order to repel the Tartars of the Crimea, who had made in invasion, and committed unheard-of disorders in the provinces. This was the reason that war was declared against the grand seignior, their protector.

These troops repaired with incredible celerity from the borders of the Rhine to those of the Dnieper, and on their arrival there, still found the country smoaking with the fires kindled by the Tartars. It was at this epoch, and under the command of the brave marshal de Munich, that those glorious campaigns commenced against the Turks, which continued from 1736 to 1739 Asoph was taken—the lines of Perckop were carried by assault—the Russians victorious at Oczakow, Starwoutschane, and Choczim, invaded and occupied Moldavia, and punished the inhabitants of the Crimea, by pillaging and ravaging their country.

M. de Loudon was present at all these actions. We are ignorant of the share that he had in them, but we are certain that he passed through all the intermediate ranks, to that of first lieutenant, a proof that he had done his duty, and that the talents of an able officer were already discoverable in him.

After the conclusion of the peace of 1739 between Russia and the Porte, young Loudon left the army, and repaired to Petersburgh, partly to complain of some injustice that he had experienced in the course of the late campaigns, and partly to solicit for his further advancement, but not succeeding in either of these objects, he determined to quit the service of the empress Anne, and enter into that of the empress Maria Theresa, who had succeeded her father Charles VI. and now found herself attacked on all sides.

As he passed through Berlin he happened to meet with several officers along with whom he had served in the war against the Turks, and they proposed to him to enter into the service of Prussia, offering at the same time to introduce him to the king, and to ask for a company in his behalf.

M. de Loudon consented. After the expiration of a few weeks, the day of audience at length arrives, and he is presented to the king. But Frederic II. after having considered his features very attentively, turned

turned his back upon the ſtranger, and ſaid to the officers who attended him, "The phyſiognomy of this man does not ſuit me." It was thus that he drove from his kingdom a perſon who, to judge from appearances, was of very little importance, but who, in the end, became the moſt formidable adverſary of this powerful monarch.

Was Frederic ignorant of the art of phyſiognomy, or is this manner of judging mankind deceitful? is not the genius always depicted in the features? I know not; it is ſufficient to ſay that Frederic diſdained Loudon, and conducted himſelf with regard to him, as Louis XIV. did in reſpect to prince Eugene of Savoy: that great king refuſed him (for he at that time aſſumed the dreſs of an abbé) firſt a prebendary, and afterwards a troop of dragoons, which cauſed him to leave France, in order to repair to Auſtria, juſt as M. de Loudon left Berlin on purpoſe to go to Vienna. How much muſt theſe two monarchs have afterwards repented of this error, when the names of Hockſtedt, of Turin, of Oudenarde, of Malplaquet, on one hand, and of Olmutz, of Kunerſdorff, of Landſhutt, of Glatz, of Schweidnitz, on the other, recalled theſe heroes to their memory.

Having arrived at Vienna in 1742, our young adventurer found means to be introduced to Maria Thereſa, and was ſoon after made a captain of Pandours, in the corps commanded by Francis Trenck, which, although concealed by his hiſtorian, was neither more nor leſs than a body of military free-booters, who lived upon plunder, and ſerved under the orders of a chief deſtitute of character, honour, or even common honeſty.

In a ſkirmiſh with the French advanced poſts near Zabern, captain de Loudon was wounded by a muſket-ball, which entered a little above his right breaſt, and came out near the ſhoulder blade. It is not a little remarkable that this is the only wound he ever received during the whole courſe of his life, notwithſtanding he paſſed through the midſt of ſo many thouſands of bayonets, and of ſabres, and was ſo often expoſed to the ravages of artillery and muſketry.

Having quitted the regiment of Trenck, as well as the ſervice, ſoon after the battle of Soar, he returned to Vienna, determined to leave the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in diſguſt, but his friends very fortunately diſſuaded him from carrying this reſolution into practice, and ſoon procured a majority for him in the regiment of Liccaner, at that time ſtationed on the frontiers.

In a ſhort time after this he married mademoiſelle Claire de Hagen, the daughter of an officer at Pœſing, in Hungary, by whom he had only one daughter, who died very young.

M. de Loudon profited greatly by his reſidence in Croatia. Whenever his duty would permit him, he employed his leiſure in acquiring a knowledge of the theory of the art of war, and beſtowed much pains and attention in the ſtudy of geometry and geography. He accordingly procured a great number of charts, deſigns, and military plans. The following anecdote is remarkable, becauſe it ſeems to announce that he anticipated his future grandeur.

He had one day received an excellent chart of an extraordinary ſize. Having carefully unrolled it on the floor of his chamber, he threw

himſelf

himself down upon it, in order to consider it more narrowly. Madame de Loudon, quite unhappy at his perpetual studies, cried out to him, "Ah! my dear major, why are you continually occupied with these horrid plans?"

"Let me alone, my dear madam (replied he), for my present labours will be of great service to me when I am a field marshal."

In 1756, just at the commencement of the seven years war, M. de Loudon was made a lieutenant colonel of Croats, and taken under the protection of the prince de Kaunitz, who continued to befriend him during the whole course of his life.

On marshal Brown's retreat out of Saxony, lieutenant-colonel de Loudon surprised the town of Eitchen with 500 of his troops, cut two squadrons of Prussian hussars in pieces, and took a great number of horses. This was his first exploit, and indeed the first action of any consequence during the campaign; soon after this he distinguished himself at the attack of Herschfeld, and in consequence of his conduct on that occasion, was raised to the rank of colonel in the month of February 1757.

During the campaign of 1758, he was invested with the order of Maria Theresa, and soon after distinguished himself in such a manner against the Prussians at Domstædt, that he was raised to the rank of lieutenant field marshal. Having taken possession of the town of Peitz, he was then employed in covering the flank of field marshal Daun's army, and incommoded the king of Prussia in such a manner, that he attacked him twice in person.

After the battle of Hochkirken, field marshal Daun filled his official letter to the empress with eulogiums on Loudon, who had been sent in pursuit of Frederic, and whose army he harassed unceasingly till it went into winter quarters.

Most of the generals were accustomed to pass the winter at Vienna, and the empress now testified a particular desire to see M. de Loudon in her capital. He accordingly set out for it, but he was obliged to remain for some time at Dæplitz, in Bohemia, on account of relapsing into the same malady (a colic in the stomach) which he had been seized with soon after the battle of Hochkirken. Madame de Loudon, who had remained at Vienna during the whole war, joined him there, and in company with her he soon after set out for and arrived at the place of his destination on the 24th of February 1759. The inhabitants of that immense city manifested an extreme curiosity to behold a hero, who after living among them for some time unknown, had left them but two years before with only the rank of a major, and who, after having continually excited their attention during that epoch, had done so much honour to the arms of Austria, and now returned with the cross of Maria Theresa, and the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal.

The empress gave him the most gracious reception, and entrusted the celebrated Baron Van Swieten, first physician to her majesty, with the re-establishment of his health. M. de Loudon, after his recovery, did not delay to make the necessary preparations in order to return to the army; and his royal mistress, whose greatest pleasure consisted in being generous and grateful, invested him with the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa, and

on

on purpose to give him a new testimony of the satisfaction which she had received from his services, she elevated him, and all his family, to the dignity of baron in her hereditary states, and in the Roman empire.

The victory over the King of Prussia at Kunnersdorff in 1759, is entirely to be attributed to Loudon, who was soon after raised by his sovereign to the rank of general field zeugmeister. In the campaign of 1760 he took general Fouquat prisoner, and reduced Glatz a short time afterwards, but he was obliged to raise the siege of Breslau, and once more experienced the fickleness of fortune at Kosel. Previous to the attack of Schweidnitz, he harangued his soldiers, and after prohibiting them from pillaging the enemy, he promised them 100,000 crowns by way of indemnification; on this, the Walloon grenadiers unanimously exclaimed —"No! we will not take any money from our father Loudon! lead us where honour calls, and we will obey!"

After the conclusion of the war the empress heaped new favours upon her general, who was the only officer not born a prince, or descended from an illustrious family, that had risen during the late commotions to so high a rank in such a short space of time. Besides a considerable income out of the revenues of Bohemia, she purchased for him and presented him with the lordship of Klein-Betchwar, not far from Colin. In imitation of Cincinnatus, M. Loudon, after conquering the enemies of his country, retired to his estate, in order to cultivate and improve it, and having purchased another fief in the neighbourhood, he built a noble castle, and enjoyed all the happiness arising from the repose of a peaceful and happy life.

In 1766 the empress appointed him aulic counsellor of war; in 1767 the immediate nobility of the empire received him as one of their members; and in 1769 he was appointed commandant general in Moravia.

At the interview between Frederic and the emperor Joseph in 1770, the king of Prussia always addressed him by the title of "M. Field Marechal," although he was not yet invested with that dignity; and when our hero, with his accustomed modesty, wished to place himself at the bottom of the table, that Monarch addressed him thus: "Sit next to me, M. de Loudon, I love better to see you by my side than opposite to me." At his departure he made him a present of two fine horses, and yet, notwithstanding all this, he speaks of him in rather a contemptuous manner in his works.

On the death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, a war seemed to be inevitable between the two preponderant powers in Germany, and in consequence of this M. Loudon was raised, on the 27th of February 1778 to the dignity of field marshal, and placed at the head of an army of 50,000 men: this campaign was extremely interesting to those who study military tactics.

The peace of Teschen having been concluded on the 13th of May 1779, field marshal Loudon resumed his former occupations, and addicted himself once more to the pleasures of a country life.

Hitherto he had only fought

againſt the enemies of the Houſe of Auſtria in Germany, but the emperor Joſeph called him from his retirement in 1787, on purpoſe to earn new laurels againſt the Turks, and the ſucceſſive captures of Dubitzar, Novi, Berbir, Belgrade, and Orſova, realized all the ideas that had been conceived of his talents.

We ſhall conclude this article with an account of the death of this great man, and a ſhort deſcription of his character and perſon.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that of the illuſtrious warriors who brave death at every moment, there are yet many who die in their beds. It is true, that Guſtavus Adolphus, Turenne, Charles XII. Schwerin, and Keith, periſhed in the field of battle; but did not Montecuculi, Marlborough, Eugene, Marſhal Saxe, Daun, Frederic, &c. expire tranquilly and in the boſom of peace? It was in this laſt manner that it pleaſed God to terminate the career of M. de Loudon. This hero, who had experienced ſo many fatigues, and provoked ſo many dangers, died in his bed. He had ſerved from the age of ſixteen to that of ſeventy-four, and never received but one wound, and yet he often looked death in the face. In memory of the dangers he had eſcaped from, he carefully preſerved a muſket-ball, which ſtruck againſt the edge of his ſword in the midſt of an engagement, and after being cut in two, fell upon the pommel; and alſo his Croatian ſabre, which had been knocked out of his hand by a ball from a howitzer, and bent in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible ever to ſet it ſtraight again. In the ſeven years war ſeveral officers were wounded by his ſide, and his horſes were frequently killed under him.

During the latter part of his life, he was ſubject to frequent fits of the gout, to the piles, to the colic, and to the rheumatiſm; with the laſt, he was almoſt regularly attacked every ſpring and autumn; and, in addition to all theſe, he was often afflicted with a retention of urine.

On the 18th of June 1790, he returned to the army in Moravia. On the 26th he dined at Gratz with the prince Lichnowſki, and having ate ſome food difficult of digeſtion, he was ſeized with a fever that very night, from which he recovered; but having taken too violent exerciſe, in oppoſition to the expreſs deſire of M. Græpforth, he felt himſelf afflicted with a retention of urine on the 6th of July, from which, according to his own prediction, he never recovered.

On obſerving ſome of the officers who ſurrounded his bed in tears, he conſoled them by means of many ſentiments drawn from the ſource of true philoſophy; he recommended them always to unite religion with warlike courage; and, above all things, to defend their minds from the approaches of atheiſm, adding, at the ſame time, theſe remarkable words: I owe all the ſucceſs I have had in this world to my confidence in God, as well as the conſolation I ſhall experience at the moment I appear before him.

On the 10th the field, marſhal deſired to receive the ſacrament; after this he invited the field marſhals Colloredo and Botta to witneſs his will; and previous to taking leave of them, he deſired the former to thank the officers and ſoldiers of the army for the attachment they

they had always testified towards him. On perceiving his nephew Alexander kneeling and in tears by the side of his bed, he spoke to him as follows:

"Arise, be a man, a christian; love God, and never give pain to any of your fellow-creatures. Providence has elevated me from the dust to this high degree of grandeur, which I never sought after. During my whole life I have never thought of any thing but how to fulfil my duty; let this serve you as an example."

He remained in the greatest agonies until the evening of the 14th of July, when he expired.

His corpse was inclosed in a double coffin, adorned with all the attributes of a field marshal, and carried to his estate at Haderstorf. He had formerly chosen a spot in his park, shaded with trees, where he declared that he intended to be buried; but on his return from his first campaign against the Turks, he altered his mind, and indicated another place, which he caused to be planted with trees and shrubs, in imitation of the Mussulmen sepulchres, and to this he gave the appellation of his Turkish garden. After taking Belgrade, he ordered the stones of a funeral monument he found there to be carried to Haderstorf, and with these he constructed a tomb for himself. These stones, adorned with Turkish inscriptions, and with garlands of flowers, are a species of white marble. There lies in peace M. de Loudon, in the middle of a meadow. His sepulchre is walled in, and surrounded by trees on all sides. This monument will for ever recal the memory of the siege of Belgrade, and of his victories over the fierce Ottomans.

M. de Loudon was naturally passionate; he was tranquil, misanthropical, and phlegmatic, when every-thing went according to his wishes; but warm, ardent, quick, and exceedingly hasty, when he experienced the least contradiction. His air was serious, cold, severe, reserved, pensive, reflecting. He was the living image of genius in labour. It was but seldom that a smile of complaisance was seen to unwrinkle his lofty forehead. He was as little acquainted with the real laugh as Cato. As to his character, he knew how to diversify it wonderfully. Loudon on horseback, and at the head of an army, appeared to be quite another man, and was indeed a complete contrast to Loudon in the country, or even in town. His conduct agreed perfectly with what his cold and reserved physiognomy announced; for he spoke but little, slowly, and with great reserve. From his early youth he constantly avoided the society of women.

He was uncommonly timid in the company of women, chaste, and a very good husband. Accustomed to see himself punctually obeyed on the field of battle by thousands of soldiers, at the least sign indicated by him, he required of his vassals and his servants the same obedience and docility, and he acted with great severity in respect to them; perhaps with much more than ought to have been used to men not accustomed to military discipline.

Character of John Mounsey, *Esq. of* Patterdale-hall, *in the Parish of* Barton, *in* Westmorland. *From the Gentleman's Magazine.*

MR. Mounsey was distinguished by the title of king of Patterdale; the owners of which place for time immemorial have been honoured with this appellation; a distinction which probably arose from some of the property being *allodial*, as it is independent, and held of no superior. The royal family have the titles of king, queen, prince, princess, and dukes. The palace, pleasantly situated at the head of the lake Ullswater, makes but an indifferent appearance; neglect for half a century hath left it almost a ruin. To get money with the late owner was a principle that almost absorbed every other idea. This propensity broke out very early in life, and appeared on every occasion. The wild mountains, which almost surround the village, afford the beautiful blue Westmorland slate, and lead ore in great abundance; and some of them are covered with wood. Of wood and slate he had a large share, most of which was conveyed down the lake in boats; and, when a boy, he could not be restrained by his father from the drudgery of the oar. His brother, the duke of Stybrow, was no lover of work; he was a fine jolly fellow; which made the old man, a respectable country gentleman, in his mirth observe, "he had three children of very different dispositions: the oldest son would be drowned in Ullswater; the other in the *mash-tub*; and the daughter—the devil could not beat her for pride." No change in his manner of life (at least for the better) took place at the death of his father, which brought him into the possession of more than 300l. a year; he persevered as if he daily dreaded the want of the common necessaries of life; no work or hardship was too great for him; and he was lucky enough to engage one Dick Pearson, a true and trusty slave, into his service. They loaded the boat, rowed it down the lake, unloaded, and returned, at all seasons of the year, and at all times of the night. Sometimes he would sleep in barns, or other out-houses, when a few pence would have afforded him a comfortable bed in a public house. In dress he was the figure of misery itself; his stocking heels were made of strong leather; his cloaths patch upon patch of any colour; and, according to the custom of the country, he wore wooden shoes (provincially clogs) heavily shod with iron. Nature had formed him for labour, of a strong robust make; he was almost equal to any thing. He had another happy requisite; he would never flinch from any weight he was able to stand under; and anecdotes are not wanting of his extraordinary strength. A storm, however, would set all his powers at defiance; and once, at least, the prediction of his father was nearly fulfilled. He was ferrying a load of wood down the lake with no other help than his old companion Dick Pearson; a violent and unusual hurricane arose, and they were every moment in danger of going to the bottom. To throw the wood overboard was too great a sacrifice though their lives were in the most imminent danger. They were, however, so fortunate as to reach an island, a bare rock just rising above the lake. The storm increased; for two days and nights they were exposed to all its violence; a pile

a pile of ſtones, which they induſtriouſly raiſed, was their only ſhelter; and here, it was ſaid, the king took care to ſecure what proviſion they had for his own uſe. In this there is reaſon to believe he was unfairly uſed. He contradicted the report himſelf; and, as he was not poſſeſſed of fine feelings, it is unlikely he would have given himſelf that trouble had it been true. All the *poſſe vicinitatis* were collected; but no one had courage to attempt their deliverance, notwithſtanding the temptation of a conſiderable reward from the queen dowager. The ſtorm at length abated, and they landed ſafe. This might have furniſhed him with an uſeful leſſon; but it did not, for he never deſiſted till old age compelled him to ſtop. When he had particular buſineſs to tranſact from home, where he ſaw the neceſſity of appearing decent, he would call upon a friend on the road, with whom he could take the liberty, and borrow his cloaths. In two or three days he reſtored the loan, and returned home in the dreſs he ſet out. Upon the mountains he had an extenſive right of common; and four ſhillings was the price for a beaſt-gate. When applications for joiſt were wanting, he would travel the country on foot, beating up for recruits. In one excurſion it was remarked he could only collect one ſolitary heifer, which he drove himſelf from Alſton-moor, Cumberland, a diſtance of near 40 miles. From ſuch a ſtrict œconomy, it is not to be wondered that his property was daily accumulating: his houſekeeping, it is ſuppoſed, never exceeded 30l. a year, ſome ſay not 20l.; and his annual income at the laſt was at leaſt 800l. Indeed he ſeldom ate at home, as he let his lands by ſtipulation, his tenants to give him ſo much hard caſh, and ſo many meals, ſome one a week, ſome more, and he generally took care to have them before due; even cockles, cabbage, &c. by meaſure or count, became ſometimes the conſideration for a trifling rent. In ſome things he would indulge himſelf; he was remarkably fond of ſugar, gingerbread, and all kinds of ſweetmeats, which he always kept in his pocket; and in one inſtance he agreed with a tenant to ſupply him with 36 pounds of ſugar yearly. To prevent the riſk of being robbed, he would frequently hide his money in old ſtone walls. Something or other created ſuſpicion, and he was watched. An induſtrious woman privately removed many a ſtone with little or no ſucceſs, but would not give it up; ſhe had therefore recourſe to ſtratagem; ſhe tumbled the ſtones about as he approached, and ran off with the appearance of very great ſurpriſe as if in actual poſſeſſion of treaſure. He was taken in the ſnare, and called out he would give her one-half if ſhe would return and deliver it up. This feint had the effect; ſhe was now convinced that near the place money was hid, and took the opportunity, before his majeſty was recovered from his conſternation, to make a more diligent ſearch; and by this manœuvre, which was in the end ſucceſsful, actually carried off the prize. That he recovered any part of the money is not very probable: he had ſuch an exceſſive dread of law that his ſubjects might almoſt ſay or do any thing with impunity. When more advanced in years, his dreſs was at leaſt decent; he attended markets like a common farmer, and there was nothing in

his appearance to attract the notice of a ſtranger. He nevertheleſs ſtudied economy in every ſhape, and to the laſt had his *new* ſtockings lined with leather at the heels. Once he joined with a neighbour for a horſe; but the partnerſhip ſoon broke up: the poor animal when upon travel had a ſorry time of it; provender was ſcarce, and turnpike-gates cauſed many a tedious journey; but a penny was ſaved. Riding one day to Penrith market, by the ſide of Ullſwater, he made a full ſtop, ſtripped, and into the lake he went. From the bottom he picked up an old ſtocking, which he carefully examined. "It might very likely have ſomething valuable in it as it did not ſwim to the ſide," was his reply to a clergyman who afterwards joined him upon the road, and whoſe curioſity, from this odd circumſtance, was not a little raiſed. Willſon, ſchoolmaſter of Patterdale, acted as his ſecretary; and ten-pence was the price agreed upon for making his will. After the firſt, alterations, additions, and codicils, became ſo frequent, that Willſon was tired of the price, and for once got it raiſed to a ſhilling. He afterwards made a bolder attempt, he aſked half-a-crown; this was too ſerious, and another perſon was employed. Not many years ago, he was ſo ill that his recovery was doubtful. His ſon, the prince, adviſed him to leave 200*l.* to the poor. "No; he had loſt a great deal by the poor, but he never got any thing by them in his life. Why leave any thing to them?" But the amiable youth, reaſoning with him on the awful ſcene before him, he gave way. "Well," ſays he, to his only child, his heir, and executor. "I will leave one hundred if you will be fifty of it." Whether ever in his life before he hit upon ſo curious a method of cheating himſelf is unknown to us. This was not the finiſhing of his reign: he recovered; and, in his 89th year, lamented the ſhortneſs of life: "Could we but," ſays he to his old friend Willſon, "live to the age of Methuſelah, we might then have ſome chance of getting rich: but, we no ſooner find ourſelves in the way of getting a little together, than death comes upon us and ſpoils all."—Death, however, overtook him the 15th of October 1793, in the 92d year of his age. He is ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his only child John, who has a numerous family.

Characters of ſome of the principal Pariſian *Botaniſts. From* Smith's *Sketch of a Tour on the Continent.*

'MR. Anthony de Juſſieu takes the lead among thoſe who with reſpect to ſyſtem, may be called Anti-Linnæans. He inherits his taſte for the ſcience from his uncles Bernard and Joſeph de Juſſieu; the former of whom was profeſſor at Paris, and the latter made a fine collection of plants in Peru. Their books and collections deſcended to their nephew, who has not turned his attention to botany till within theſe few years: but with what very great ſucceſs he has in that time ſtudied natural orders, is manifeſted in his Genera Plantarum, publiſhed in 1789; a work which will immortalize its author, and probably go down to poſterity with the Genera Plantarum of Linnæus, to which it is an excellent companion. Thoſe who can read and judge of his work, need not be told that he is a true philo-

philoſopher, profound in ſcience, ardent in the purſuit of truth, open to conviction himſelf, and candid in his corrections of others; nor will they be ſurpriſed to hear that his manners are gentle and pleaſing, his converſation eaſy, cheerful, and polite. Although we differed on many points, as the laws of nomenclature and the merits of the Linnæan ſyſtem, yet as truth was our common object, repeated and free diſcuſſions increaſed our eſteem for each other, and to me at leaſt were productive of inſtruction as well as pleaſure. At Mr. de Juſſieu's I ſometimes met Mr. de Lamark, who is equally devoted to botany, in which indeed he is quite abſorbed, and whoſe knowledge is undoubtedly very extenſive, but whoſe character is leſs pleaſing than that of Mr. de Juſſieu. This gentleman is engaged in the botanical part of the *Encyclopedie*, a work which I have been deterred from ſtudying ſo much as it perhaps deſerves, partly by its barbarous arrangement, and partly by the ſcorn with which it was univerſally ſpoken of by ſcientific botaniſts in France. By this inattention, and, as I am told, by neglecting to viſit him, I unfortunately incurred the public cenſure of Mr. de Lamark, to which juſtice to myſelf required a reply, and the public are already in poſſeſſion of a concluſive one*. I freely acknowledge that I ſhrunk from the ſociety of a man who always took occaſion to attack, with violence, what he knew to be my moſt favourite ſentiments, and whom I have ſeen tranſgreſs all bounds of decorum, when a plant named in his dictionary happened inadvertently to be ſpoken of in company, by a different, though uſual name. I have more than once had occaſion to obſerve, that the violence or indecorum of the French, the politeſt of nations, is peculiarly diſguſting. So the rudeneſs of certain ſets of people, who affect extraordinary gentleneſs and humility, when it occurs, is rudeneſs indeed!

'Among the Linnæan botaniſts, Mr. L'Heritier, now one of the judges for the Paris department under the new conſtitution, is eminently diſtinguiſhed by his moſt ſuperb and ſcientific publications, the plates of which are executed with a degree of elegance and accuracy rarely to be met with; nor are the deſcriptions leſs complete. To this gentleman is entruſted the publication of Dombey's plants, gathered in Spaniſh America, and it is to be hoped he will not keep the world longer in expectation than is neceſſary for the perfection of the work.

'Mr. Bulliard is well known by his Herbier de la France, the plates of which are printed in oil-colours. Several copper-plates are required for each figure, generally about four or five. On one of them is engraved all the green parts of the figure, on another, the red or blue, &c. Theſe are printed ſucceſſively on the ſame paper, care being taken that each ſhall fit exactly to the impreſſion of the other. Laſt of all, a plate with the ſhades, name, and number, in black, completes the figure. This mode ſucceeds admirably in objects of ſuch few and ſimple colours as fungi, but in other plants not ſo well. Mr. Bulliard's work principally contains fungi, and thoſe plates may be had without the others. They are a valuable acceſſion to botany.

'Mr. Desfontaines, now profeſſor of botany at the Royal Garden, was,

* 'Plant. Ic. faſc. 2. præf.'

in 1786, lately returned from Barbary with a rich harveſt of plants and inſects, all which he allowed me to examine and to partake of. It is probable he may favour the world with an account of his journey.

'Mr. Thouin, who has the ſuperintendence of the botanic garden, deſerves my warmeſt acknowledgments for the very liberal manner in which he at all times allowed me acceſs to that rich collection, as well as to his own private herbarium, which I looked over entirely with great advantage.

'Few naturaliſts equal Mr. Brouſſonet, whom I have already mentioned, for zeal and abilities; nor can it be ſufficiently regretted, that his various engagements will not allow him to finiſh his ſyſtematic work on Ichthyology, nor to continue the excellent figures and deſcriptions of Fiſhes, of which one number appeared in 1782; perhaps however his country ought rather to rejoice that he has devoted his talents to more important objects. To his indefatigable perſeverance and activity is principally to be attributed the ſucceſs of the royal ſociety of agriculture, eſtabliſhed under Louis XV. but afterwards neglected for many years, and of which he is the ſecretary. By inſtituting judicious experiments, giving premiums for uſeful undertakings, and by well-timed and ſtriking publications, calling the attention of the huſbandman and the citizen to this important ſubject, this ſociety has improved the agriculture of France more rapidly perhaps than ever happened in any other country. Among other improvements, the cultivation of turnips and potatoes has become very general. In order to reconcile the poor to the uſe of the latter as food, the example was ſet by ſeveral perſons in genteel life. I have ſeen an entire courſe compoſed of this uſeful vegetable, differently dreſſed, at the table of Mr. Parmentier of the Hotêl des Invalids, who has written a book on the cultivation and uſe of potatoes. A veterinary ſchool was inſtituted at Charenton, where Mr. Brouſſonet and others gave lectures on the ſeveral branches of rural œconomy, which were attended by farmers and huſbandmen, as well as by gentlemen, and even ladies.

Account of the Boſhieſmen *Hottentots, from* Thunberg's *Travels in* Europe, Africa, and Aſia, *Vol. II.*

THE Boſhieſmen Hottentots inhabit the moſt indifferent, poor, bare, and cold part of this ſouthermoſt point of Africa, towards the N. and E. from Namaquas-land, acroſs Roggeveld, and as far as the Snow mountains. And indeed this nation is the pooreſt and the moſt deſtitute of all. They have ſeldom or ever any cattle, and frequently no fixed abode, but wander about the country, and ſupport themſelves by plunder and theft. They often live without either clothes or huts: and I was informed by ſome farmers worthy of credit, that theſe people ſometimes creep down at night into caverns and holes in the earth, many together till the cave is full, when the uppermoſt covers himſelf with the ſkin of a daſſi (*cavia capenſis*) to keep out the cold and bad weather. They are of a yellowiſh brown colour, and ſomething leſs than the Hottentots, with very ſmall and delicate limbs. The belly, which projects extremely, conſtitutes almoſt the whole of the man.

Theſe

These Boshiesmen had, for the space of several years, molested the colonists here, as likewise in Roggeveld and near the Snow mountains. stolen their cattle, murdered many of the colonists themselves, and set fire to their farms. At different times parties had been sent out to disperse them, and last year in particular three large parties had been sent into three different quarters.

A party consisting of a hundred men, of which thirty-two were christians, and the rest Hottentots in their service, had been sent out against some Namaquas Boshiesmen, and now met us on their return. In this expedition they had killed about a hundred, and made prisoners of twenty, chiefly small children, some of whom they at this present juncture had with them. It was said that in a similar expedition in 1765, one hundred and eighty-six had been killed. None of the christians that went on this expedition were either killed or wounded.

For the protection of the property of the colonists against the ravages of the Hottentots, the company had, to the eastward, established several posts one after another; but to the westward, on the other side of the mountain, not one was established, although it is there that such posts are most necessary and important. The farmers towards this coast must therefore themselves be armed in order to defend themselves against these plundering Boshiesmen; and on this occasion the more wealthy farmers generally supply the others with powder, ball, and men. One of the farmers is commonly chosen for their leader, who is then exempted from all other borough service. When a large party is sent out, the government supplies them, on the company's account, with brandy, handcuffs, powder and shot.

The Boshiesmen exercise their violence and depredations not only on the christian colonists, but have, previous to this, by their thefts, ruined the major part of the Hottentot natives, many of whom have since gone into the service of the colonists.

The Boshiesmen sometimes make use of javelins, but the shafts are shorter and thicker than those of the Caffres Assagays; which they use not only to throw, but likewise, and indeed chiefly, for the purpose of killing the cattle they have stolen; but their principal arms, which they use in war and for their own defence in general, are bows and poisoned arrows, and these they are taught to handle with great dexterity. The arrow is armed with a thin triangular piece of iron, fastened with a string to a bone of a finger's length, to the end of which again is fastened a reed. This iron as well as the bone is afterwards rubbed with poison extracted from serpents. The Boshiesmen are the most expert marksmen of all the Hottentots, and are said to be able to shoot their arrows to the distance of two hundred and eighty paces. They also know how to avoid the arrows of others with the greatest nimbleness and dexterity, just as baboons do when stones are thrown at them; and if they could but see the musket balls of the Europeans, they would think themselves able to escape them likewise. To running the Boshiesmen Hottentots are so inured, as not to be excelled in it by any others; but can almost hold out longer than a horse. On the level plains they are easily overtaken by a man on horseback; but very seldom if the road be stony, and never in mountainous places,

They

They can endure hunger a long time; but when they have a plentiful ſupply, will eat ſo immoderately as to diſtend their bellies to an amazing ſize. When oppreſſed by hunger, they tie a belt round their bodies, which they gradually draw tighter, till the navel is brought cloſe to the back bone.

When a Boſhieſman has caught a ſerpent, and killed it, he does not, according to report, cut off its head, but bites it off, and then cutting out the veſicle containing the poiſon, dries it in the ſun till it becomes viſcid and tough, and mixes it with the juice of a poiſonous tree, (frequently the *ceſtrum venenatum*) which makes the poiſon adhere the faſter to the arrow.

The Hottentots and Boſhieſmen are ſaid to fortify themſelves againſt poiſoned darts and the bite of venomous animals, by ſuffering themſelves to be gradually bitten by ſerpents, ſcorpions, and other venomous creatures, till they become accuſtomed to it; but theſe trials ſometimes coſt them their lives. The urine of an Hottentot thus prepared is eſteemed an excellent antidote or counterpoiſon, and is therefore drunk by ſuch as have been bitten by ſerpents.

When it thunders, the Boſhieſmen are very angry, and curſe bitterly, thinking that the ſtorm is occaſioned by ſome evil being.

We fell in here with another party that had been in purſuit of the Boſhieſmen quite up into Roggeveld. This party conſiſted of about ninety odd perſons, of whom forty-ſeven were chriſtians. They had killed and taken priſoners nearly two hundred and thirty Boſhieſmen. One of the coloniſts had been ſhot in the knee with an arrow, which had coſt him his life. The third detachment, which had been ſent to the Snow mountains, had killed four hundred Boſhieſmen; of this party ſeven had been wounded by arrows, but none died.

It ſometimes happens, that the Boſhieſmen take away at once the farmer's whole herd whilſt grazing, and frequently even kill the herdſmen. They afterwards drive their booty higher up into the country, night and day, as faſt as they can, till they arrive at a place where they think themſelves perfectly ſecure. What they cannot take with them they kill with their javelin; and, in their flight place ſpies on the heights of the mountains, to look out carefully, and ſee whether they are purſued by the coloniſts. Theſe ſpies are relieved by others, and give intelligence if the party is purſued; in which caſe they all hide themſelves if poſſible, in the mountains. In their flight they kill, roaſt, and eat, by turns. When they have ſtolen a conſiderable number of cattle, and are arrived at ſome place where they think themſelves tolerably ſecure, they encamp there with their cattle, and make huts (*kraals*) of meſembryanthemum buſhes or of mats, in which they live together as long as their food laſts. The detachment had ſeen one of theſe kraals, or encampments formed of huts in two rows, like a village, in which they had counted on one ſide upwards of fifty huts, from which all the Boſhieſmen had removed.

In Roggeveld alone the Boſhieſmen had, in the laſt two years, ſtolen more than ten thouſand ſheep, beſides oxen, and murdered many of the coloniſts, their ſlaves, and Hottentots.

When the Boſhieſmen are purſued by the coloniſts on horſeback, they

they retreat to the mountains, where, like baboons, they poſt themſelves on the edges of the ſummits and in the inacceſſible places, and are always afraid of the plains. They ſometimes creep into the clefts, and from theſe bulwarks let fly their arrows.

The weapons with which they defend themſelves againſt their enemies, are bows and poiſoned arrows. By way of defence againſt theſe, the coloniſts cauſe a ſkin to be held before them, in which the arrows ſtick faſt, that frequently come like a ſhower of rain. The Boſhieſmen, when they perceive that their arrows do not penetrate, forbear to fire a ſecond volley. A Boſhieſman who is mortally wounded by a ball, is never found either crying or lamenting in any ſhape whatever.

Theſe people firſt chew canna (*meſembryanthemum*), and afterwards ſmoke it. They beſmear themſelves with greaſy ſubſtances, and over that with red chalk; in times of ſcarcity they feed on ſerpents, lizards, the fleſh of zebras, lions, and baboons, upon bulbous roots, ants' eggs, &c.

Deſcription of the Perſons, Genius, Diſpoſition, and Manners of the Inhabitants of Japan, *from* Thunberg's *Travels in* Europe, Africa, *and* Aſia. *Vol. III.*

"THE people of this nation are well made, active, free, and eaſy in their motions, with ſtout limbs, although their ſtrength is not to be compared to that of the northern inhabitants of Europe. The men are of the middling ſize, and in general not very corpulent; yet I have ſeen ſome that were ſufficiently fat. They are of a yellowiſh colour all over, ſometimes bordering on brown, and ſometimes on white. The lower claſs of people, who in ſummer, when at work, lay bare the upper part of their bodies, are ſun-burnt, and conſequently brown. Ladies of diſtinction, who ſeldom go out in the open air without being covered, are perfectly white. It is by their eyes that, like the Chineſe, theſe people are diſtinguiſhable. Theſe organs have not that rotundity which thoſe of other nations exhibit, but are oblong, ſmall, and are ſunk deeper in the head; in conſequence of which theſe people have almoſt the appearauce of being pink-eyed. In other reſpects their eyes are dark-brown, or rather black, and the eye-lids form in the great angle of the eye a deep furrow, which makes the Japaneſe look as if they were ſharp-ſighted, and diſcriminates them from other nations. The eye-brows are alſo placed ſomewhat higher. Their heads are in general large, and their necks ſhort, their hair black, thick, and ſhining, from the uſe they make of oils. Their noſes, although not flat, are yet rather thick and ſhort.

"The Japaneſe are in general intelligent and provident, free and unconſtrained, obedient and courteous, curious and inquiſitive, induſtrious and ingenious, frugal and ſober, cleanly, good-natured and friendly, upright and juſt, truſty and honeſt, miſtruſtful, ſuperſtitious, proud, and haughty, unforgiving, brave, and invincible.

"The Japanaſe nation ſhews *ſenſe* and ſteadineſs in all its undertakings, ſo far as the light of ſcience, by whoſe brighter rays it has not as yet had the good fortune to be illumined, can ever guide it. This nation is ſo far from deſerving to be ranked with ſuch as are called ſavage, that it rather merits a place amongſt the moſt civilized. Their preſent mode

mode of government, regulations for foreign commerce, their manufactures, the vaſt abundance, even to ſuperfluity, of all the neceſſaries of life, &c. give convincing proofs of their ſagacity, ſteadineſs, and undaunted ſpirit. That idle vanity, ſo common amongſt other Aſiatic as well as many African nations, who adorn themſelves with ſhells, beads, and glittering pieces of metal, is never to be obſerved here; nor are theſe unneceſſary European trappings of gold and ſilver lace, jewels, and the like, which ſerve merely to catch the eye, here prized at all; but they endeavour to furniſh themſelves from their own manufactures with decent clothing, palatable food, and excellent weapons.

"*Liberty* is the ſoul of the Japaneſe, not that which degenerates into licentiouſneſs and riotous exceſs, but a liberty under ſtrict ſubjection to the laws. It has been ſuppoſed, indeed, that the common people of Japan were merely ſlaves under a deſpotic government, as the laws are extremely ſevere. But a ſervant, who hires himſelf to a maſter for a year, is not therefore a ſlave; neither is a ſoldier, who has inliſted for a certain number of years, and over whom a much ſtricter hand is kept, a ſlave, although he is obliged implicitly to obey his ſuperiors' commands. The Japaneſe hate and deteſt the inhuman traffic in ſlaves carried on by the Dutch, and the cruelty with which theſe poor creatures are treated.

"The rights and liberties of the higher and lower claſs of people are equally protected by the laws; and the uncommon ſeverity of theſe laws, joined to the inevitable execution of them, ſerves to keep every one within proper bounds. With regard to foreigners, no nation in the whole extenſive tract of the Indies is more vigilantly attentive to their liberties than this; and none more free from the encroachments, fraudulent attempts, or open attacks of others.

"The regulations they have adopted in this particular are not to be paralleled in the whole world. The inhabitants have been forbidden to leave the empire on pain of death; and no foreigners are ſuffered to come into the country, except a few Dutchmen and ſome Chineſe, who, during the whole time of their ſtay, are watched like ſtate-priſoners. The people of diſtinction, and thoſe that are rich, have a great number of attendants; and every one, in general, has ſome attendant in his houſe, to wait upon him, and when he goes abroad, to carry his cloak, ſhoes, umbrella, lantern, and other things that he may want of a ſimilar nature.

"With reſpect to *courteſy* and ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors, few can be compared to the Japaneſe. Subordination to government, and obedience to their parents, are inculcated into children in their early infancy; and in every ſituation of life they are in this reſpect inſtructed by the good example of their elders, which has this effect, that the children are ſeldom reprimanded, ſcolded, or chaſtiſed. The inferior claſs of people ſhew their reſpect to thoſe of a higher rank and to their ſuperiors, by bowing very low, and in the moſt reverential manner; and at the ſame time pay implicit obedience to them cheerfully, and without the leaſt heſitation. Their equals they always ſalute with great politeneſs, both at meeting and parting. In general they bend their backs, with their heads downward, and lay their

hands

hands either on their knees, or else on their legs below their knees, and sometimes bring them down to their feet, accordingly as a greater or less degree of respect is to be shewn; and the greater the veneration, the nearer do their heads approach the ground. If any one speaks to them, or they are to present any thing to another, they bow in the same manner. If a person of inferior rank meets his superior in the street, he remains in the posture above-mentioned, till the latter has passed him. If they are equals, they both make the same obeisance, standing still, and then go on with their backs bent for a short time after they have passed each other. On entering any house, they fall on their knees, and bow their heads more or less low; and before they rise to go away, perform the same obeisance.

"This nation, as well as many others, carry their *curiosity* to a great length. They examine narrowly every thing that is carried thither by the Europeans, and every thing that belongs to them. They are continually asking for information upon every subject, and frequently tire the Dutch out with their questions. Among the merchants who arrive here, it is chiefly the physician of the embassy that is considered by the Japanese as learned; and consequently, on the little island set apart for the factory, and particularly in the journey to court, as also during the residence of the Dutch in the metropolis, they look up to him as an oracle, whom they suppose capable of giving them information upon every subject, particularly on those of mathematics, geography, natural philosophy, pharmacy, zoology, botany, and physic.

"During the audience we had of the emperor, the privy counsellors, and others of the highest officers of state, we were surveyed from head to foot, as also our hats, swords, clothes, buttons, lace, watches, canes, rings, &c, nay, we were even obliged to write in their presence, in order to shew them our manner of writing and our characters.

"In *mechanical ingenuity* and invention, this nation keeps chiefly to that which is necessary and useful; but in industry it exceeds most others.

"Their works in copper and other metals are fine, and in wood, both neat and lasting; but their well-tempered sabres, and their beautiful lacquered ware, exceed every thing of the kind that has hitherto been produced elsewhere. The diligence with which the husbandman cultivates the soil, and the pains they bestow on it, are so great as to seem incredible.

"*Frugality* has its principal seat in Japan. It is a virtue as highly esteemed in the imperial palace, as in the poorest cottage. It is in consequence of this, that the middling class of people are contented with their little pittance; and that accumulated stores of the rich are not dissipated in wantonness and luxury. It is in consequence of this, that dearth and famine are strangers to this country; and that in the whole extent of this populous empire, scarcely a needy person or beggar is to be found. The people in general are neither parsimonious nor avaricious; and have a fixed dislike to gluttony and drunkenness. As the soil is not wasted upon the cultivation of tobacco, or of any other useless plant, neither is the grain employed in the distillation of spirits, or other idle, not to say pernicious, purposes.

"*Cleanliness*

"*Cleanlineſs* and *neatneſs* are attended to as well with regard to their bodies, as to their cloathing, houſes, food, veſſels, &c. and they uſe the warm bath daily.

"Of their *friendly diſpoſition* and good nature, I have frequently with aſtoniſhment ſeen manifeſt proofs; even at a time when, as now, they have every reaſon in the world to hate and deſpiſe the Europeans who traffic there, for their bad conduct and fraudulent dealings. This nation is lofty, it is true, but good-natured and friendly withal; with gentleneſs and kindneſs, it may be ſoothed and brought to hear reaſon; but is not to be moved in the leaſt by threats, or any thing like defiance.

"*Juſtice* is held ſacred all over the country. The monarch never injures any of his neighbours; and no inſtance is to be found in hiſtory, ancient or modern, of his having ſhewn an ambition to extend his territories by conqueſt. The hiſtory of Japan affords numberleſs inſtances of the heroiſm of theſe people in the defence of their country againſt foreign invaſions, or internal inſurrections; but not one, of their encroachments upon the lands or properties of others. The Japaneſe have never given way to the weakneſs of conquering other kingdoms, or ſuffering any part of their own to be taken from them. They have ever followed, and ſtill continue to follow, the uſages and cuſtoms of their forefathers, and never adopt the manners of other nations. Juſtice conſtantly preſides at their tribunals, where cauſes are adjudged without delay, and without intrigues or partiality. The guilty finds no where an aſylum; no reſpect is paid to perſons, nor can any one preſume to flatter himſelf with hopes of pardon or favour. Juſtice is held ſacred, even with reſpect to engagements with the Europeans, inſomuch, that treaties once concluded are neither broken, nor even a ſingle letter of them altered, unleſs the Europeans themſelves give occaſion to ſuch procedures.

"*Honeſty* prevails throughout the whole country; and perhaps there are few parts of the world where ſo few thefts are committed as here. Highway robberies are totally unknown. Thefts are ſeldom heard of; and in their journey to the court, the Europeans are ſo ſecure, that they pay very little attention to their baggage; although in the factory the common people think it no ſin to pilfer a few trifles, particularly ſugar and tea-cups, from the Dutch, while theſe articles are carrying to or from the quay.

"It is highly probable that theſe people have not been always ſo *ſuſpicious* as they are at preſent; poſſibly their former internal commotions and civil wars, but ſtill more the frauds of the Europeans, have called forth and increaſed their miſtruſt, which now, at leaſt in their commerce with the Dutch and the Chineſe, is without bounds.

"*Superſtition* is more common with them, and riſes to a higher degree, than in any other nation; which is owing to the little knowledge they have of moſt ſciences, and the abſurd principles inculcated into them by their prieſts, together with their idolatrous doctrines. This ſuperſtitious diſpoſition is diſplayed at their feaſts, their public worſhip, in the making of ſolemn promiſes, in the uſe of particular remedies, the chuſing of lucky or unlucky days, &c.

"*Pride*

"*Pride* is one of the principal defects of this nation. They believe that they are honoured with *that facred origin from gods*, from heaven, the ſun and moon, which many Aſiatic nations as arrogantly as abſurdly lay claim to. They conſequently think themſelves to be ſomewhat more than other people, and, in particular, conſider the Europeans in a very indifferent light. Whatever injury a Japaneſe might be inclined to put up with, he can never bear to have his pride touched. It was pride that expelled the Portugueſe from the country, and this alone may in time ruin the preſent flouriſhing traffic carried on by the Dutch.

"Beſides the circumſtance of this nation having never (not even in the remoteſt ages) been conquered or ſubjected to any foreign power, we read in the annals of its hiſtory ſuch accounts of its *valour* and *unconquerable ſpirit*, as might rather be taken for fables, and the produce of a fertile imagination, than the ſober dictates of truth, did not latter years furniſh us with convincing proofs of their reality. In the year 799, the Tarters having, for the firſt time, over-run part of Japan with an innumerable army, and their fleet having been loſt in one night in a hard gale of wind; the Japaneſe commander in chief, on the day following, raiſed the camp, attacked the enemy, routed and put them all to the ſword, ſo that not a man was left alive to return with the tidings of ſo unparalleled a defeat, and ſo complete a victory. In like manner, when, in the year 1281, they were again attacked by the Tartars, to the amount of 240,000 men, the victory was equally great and glorious. The expulſion of the Portugueſe, and the extirpation, at the ſame time, of the Chriſtian religion in the ſeventeenth century, was ſo complete, that ſcarcely any traces are now to be found of their former exiſtence in the country. The war and devaſtation continued for the ſpace of 40 years: ſeveral millions were victims to its fury; and at the laſt ſiege 37,000 men fell. Theſe victories are not the only proofs of the courage and intrepidity of the Japaneſe. I ſhall here adduce another inſtance ſtill more to the purpoſe. The affair happened in the year 1630. A ſmall Japaneſe veſſel arrived for the purpoſe of trading at the iſland of Formoſa, which at that time belonged to the Dutch Eaſt-India company. One Peter Nuytz, who was at that time governor, treated the Japaneſe merchants ill, who arrived there in this veſſel, and who, on their return home, complained to their prince of the ill-treatment they had received. As the prince took fire at this inſult, and the more ſo, as it came from foreigners whom he deſpiſed, and at the ſame time he did not find himſelf in a condition to revenge himſelf, his guards addreſſed him in the following manner: 'We do not conſider ourſelves worthy any longer to have the care of your highneſs's perſon, unleſs you permit us to retrieve your honour. Nothing can efface this ſtain but the blood of the offender. You have only to command, and we will cut off his head, or bring him hither alive, to be treated as you ſhall think proper, and according to his deſerts. Seven of us will be ſufficient for the purpoſe. Neither the danger of the voyage, the ſtrength of the caſtle, nor the number of his guards, ſhall ſcreen him from our vengeance.' Accordingly, having

having received the prince's permiſſion, and conſulted upon the meaſures proper to be taken, they arrived at Formoſa. They were no ſooner introduced to the governor, in order to have an audience, than they all drew their ſabres, made him priſoner, and carried him on board of the veſſel that had brought them. This happened in broad day-light, in the ſight of his guards and domeſtics, and without any one offering to ſtir in defence of their maſter, or to reſcue him from his bold conductors; who, with their ſwords drawn, threatened to cleave his head in two, the moment the leaſt oppoſition ſhould be made. This anecdote may be ſeen in KÆMPFER's Deſcription of Japan, *Appendix*, p. 56.

"Any one that, from what has been ſaid above, has formed to himſelf a notion of the pride, juſtice, and courage of the Japaneſe, will not be much aſtoniſhed, when he is told, that this people, when injured, are quite *implacable*. As they are haughty and intrepid, ſo they are reſentful and unforgiving; they do not ſhew their hatred, however, with violence or warmth of temper, but frequently conceal it under the maſk of an inconceivable *ſang froid*, and wait with patience for the proper time to revenge themſelves. Never did I ſee a people leſs ſubject to ſudden emotions and affections of the mind. Abuſe them, deſpiſe them, or touch their honour as much as you pleaſe, they will never anſwer you a ſingle ſyllable, but merely with a long *Eh! Eh!* teſtify, as it were, their ſurpriſe, and conceive in ſilence the greateſt hatred for their opponent, which no juſtification, nor length of time, nor change of circumſtances, can afterwards efface. Thus they are not uſed to treat their enemies uncivilly either in word or behaviour, but deceive them, as well as others, with diſſembled friendſhip, till, ſooner or later, an opportunity offers of doing them ſome material injury.

"The name of each family and individual is uſed in Japan in a very different manner from what it is in Europe. The family name of the Japaneſe remains unchanged, but is never uſed in daily converſation, or in the ordinary courſe of life, but only when they ſign any writings, and that chiefly when they ſet their ſeals to them. There is likewiſe this ſingularity in the affair, the family name is not put after, but always before the adſcititious name, in like manner as in botany, where the generic name of a plant always precedes the ſpecific. So that the adſcititious or adopted name is that by which they are addreſſed, and this is changed ſeveral times in the courſe of their lives. As ſoon as a child is born, it receives from the parents a certain name, which, if a ſon, he keeps till he arrives at years of maturity. At that period it is changed. If afterwards he obtains an office, he again changes his name; and if, in proceſs of time, he is advanced to other offices, the ſame change always takes place; and ſome, but eſpecially emperors and princes, have a new name given them after their death. The names of the women are leſs ſubject to change, and are frequently taken from ſome beautiful flowers. Titles are given to place-men of a ſuperior order, on entering to their employments; and to the chief of them, various names of honour are added by the ſpiritual emperor.

"Their dreſs at Japan deſerves,

more

more than any where elſe in the world, the name of national; as it not only differs from that of every other nation, but at the ſame time is uniform from the monarch down to the moſt inferior ſubject, ſimilar in both ſexes, and (which almoſt ſurpaſſes all belief) has been unchanged for the ſpace of two thouſand five hundred years.

"It conſiſts every where of long and wide *night-gowns*, one or more of which are worn by people of every age and condition in life. The rich have them of the fineſt ſilk, and the poor, of cotton. The women wear them reaching down to their feet, and the women of quality frequently with a train. Thoſe of the men come down to their heels; but travellers, together with ſoldiers and labouring people, either tuck them up, or wear them ſo ſhort, that they only reach to their knees. The men generally have them made of a plain ſilk of one colour; but the ſilken ſtuffs worn by the women are flowered, and ſometimes interwoven with gold flowers. In the ſummer, they are either without any lining at all, or elſe with a thin lining only; in winter, by way of defence againſt the cold weather, they are quilted with cotton or ſilk wadd. The men ſeldom wear many of them, but the women often from thirty to fifty, or more, and all ſo thin, that together they hardly weigh more than four or five pounds. The undermoſt of them ſerves for a ſhirt, and is therefore either white or bluiſh, and for the moſt part thin and tranſparent. All theſe night-gowns are faſtened about the waiſt by a belt, which for the men is about the breadth of a hand, and for the women, of about twelve inches, and of ſuch a length as to go twice round the body, with a large knot and roſe. The knot worn by the fair ſex, which is larger than that worn by the men, ſhews immediately whether the woman is married or not; as the married women wear the knot before, and the ſingle behind. The men faſten to this belt their ſabre, fan, tobacco-pipe, and pouch, and medicine-box. The gowns are rounded off about the neck, without a cape, open before, and ſhew the bare boſom, which is never covered either with a handkerchief or any thing elſe. The ſleeves are always ill ſhaped, and much wider than they ought to be, and ſewed together half way down in front, ſo as to form a bag at bottom, into which they put their hands in cold weather, or uſe it as a pocket to hold their papers and other things. Young girls, in particular, have the ſleeves of their gowns ſo long, as frequently to reach quite down to the ground.

"On account of the great width of their garments, they are ſoon dreſſed and undreſſed, as they have nothing more to do than to untie their girdle, and draw in their arms, when the whole of their dreſs inſtantly falls off of itſelf. So that long and wide night-gowns univerſally form the dreſs of the Japaneſe nation, though in this point ſome ſmall variations takes place with regard to ſex, age, condition, and way of life. Thus one frequently ſees the common people, ſuch as labourers, fiſhermen, and ſailors, either undreſſed, when they are at their work, with their night-gowns taken off from the upper part of their bodies, and hanging down looſe from their girdles; or elſe quite naked, having round their body a girdle only, which, wrapping round and covering the parts that decency

requires to be concealed, is carried backwards between the thighs, to be fastened to the back.

"Men of a higher rank in life have, besides these longs night-gowns, a short *half-gown*, which is worn over the other, and is made of some thin kind of stuff, such as gauze. It is like the former at the sleeves and neck, but reaches only to the waist, and is not fastened with a girdle, but is tied before and at the top with a string. This half-gown is sometimes of a green, but most frequently of a black colour. When they come home to their houses or to their respective offices, where there are none superior to them, they take off this outer garment, and, folding it carefully up, lay it by.

"The *breeches* are of a peculiar kind of stuff, which is thin indeed, but at the same time very close and compact; and made neither of silk nor of cotton, but of a species of hemp. They are more like a petticoat than breeches; being sewed between the legs, and left open at the sides to about two-thirds of their length. They reach down to the ancles, and are fastened about the waist with a band, which is carried round the body from before and from behind. At the back part of these breeches is a thin triangular piece of board, scarcely six inches long, which is covered with the same stuff as the breeches, and stands up against the back, just above the band. The breeches are either striped with brown or green, or else uniformly black. I have sometimes seen them made of Succotas, a stuff from Bengal. Drawers are seldom used but on journies, and by soldiers, who wear short and tucked-up night-gowns, that they may walk or run with the greater speed.

"The complimentary dress, as a sort of holiday dress is called in Japan, is used only on solemn occasions, and when people of an inferior rank pay homage to their superiors, or by such as are going to court. Such a dress is worn on the outside of all, over the gowns, that form the whole of this people's usual dress. It consists of two pieces, made of one and the same kind of stuff. The undermost piece is the above-described breeches, which are generally made of a blue stuff printed with white flowers. The uppermost piece, which particularly distinguishes this dress, is a frock, not unlike the half night-gown already spoken of, but is carried on each side back over the shoulders, by which means the Japanese have the appearance of being very broad-shouldered.

"All their clothes are made either of silk, cotton, or of a kind of linen, manufactured from certain species of nettles. The better sort of people wear the finest silks, which in fineness and tenuity far exceed every thing produced either in India or Europe; but as these silks are not above twelve inches broad, they are not carried to Europe for sale. The common people wear cotton, which is found here in great abundance. Sometimes, but merely as a matter of curiosity, the Japanese make of the bark of the *Morus papyrifera*, a kind of cloth, which is either manufactured like paper, or else spun and woven. The latter sort, which is quite white and fine, and resembles cotton, is sometimes used by the women. The former, printed with flowers, is used for the long night-gowns by elderly people only, and is worn by them at no other time than in the winter, when they pre-

pare

ſpire but little, and then with a gown or two beſides.

"As the night-gowns reach down to the feet, and conſequently keep the thighs and legs warm, *ſtockings* are neither wanted nor uſed throughout the whole country. One ſees the common people, however, when travelling, and ſoldiers who have not ſuch long night-gowns, wear ſpatterdaſhes, made of cotton ſtuff. I obſerved that ſome people near Nagaſaki wore alſo hempen *ſocks*, with the ſoles of cotton ſtuff, which they uſed in the ſevereſt winter months, to preſerve the feet from cold. They are tied faſt about the ancle, and have a ſeparate place made for the great toe to enter, and adapted to the form of the ſhoe.

"The *ſhoes*, or, to ſpeak more properly, *ſlippers* of the Japaneſe, are the moſt ſhabby and indifferent part of their dreſs, and yet in equal uſe with the high and the low, the rich and the poor. They are made of rice ſtraw woven, but ſometimes, for people of diſtinction, of fine ſlips of ratan. The ſhoe conſiſts of a ſole, without upper leather or hind piece: forwards it is croſſed by a ſtrap, of the thickneſs of one's finger, which is lined with linen; from the tip of the ſhoe to the ſtrap a cylindrical ſtring is carried, which paſſes between the great and ſecond toe, and keeps the ſhoe faſt on the foot. As theſe ſhoes have no hind-piece, they make a noiſe, when people walk in them, like ſlippers. When the Japaneſe travel, their ſhoes are furniſhed with three ſtrings made of twiſted ſtraw, with which they are tied to the legs and feet, to prevent them from falling off. Some people carry one or more pair of ſhoes with them on their journeys, in order to put on new, when the old ones are worn out. When it rains, or the roads are very dirty, theſe ſhoes are ſoon wetted through, and one continually ſees a great number of worn-out ſhoes lying on the roads, eſpecially near the brooks, where travellers have changed their ſhoes after waſhing their feet. Inſtead of theſe, in rainy or dirty weather, they wear high wooden clogs, which underneath are hollowed out in the middle, and at top have a band acroſs like a ſtirrup, and a ſtring for the great toe; ſo that they can walk without ſoiling their feet. Some of them have their ſtraw ſhoes faſtened to theſe wooden clogs. The Japaneſe never enter their houſes with their ſhoes on; but leave them in the entry, or place them on the bench near the door, and thus are always bare-footed in their houſes, ſo as not to dirty their neat mats. During the time that the Dutch live at Japan, when they are ſometimes under an obligation of paying viſits at the houſes of the Japaneſe, their own rooms at the factory being likewiſe covered with mats of this kind, they wear, inſtead of the uſual ſhoes, red, green, or black ſlippers, which, on entering the houſe, they pull off; however, they have ſtockings on, and ſhoes made of cotton ſtuff, with buckles in them, which ſhoes are made at Japan, and can be waſhed whenever they are dirty. Some have them of black ſatin, in order to avoid waſhing them.

"This people's *mode of dreſſing their hair* is as peculiar to them, and at the ſame time as general amongſt them, as their uſe of the night-gowns. The men ſhave the whole of their head, from the forehead down to the nape of the neck, and what is left near the temples and in the neck, is well greaſed, turned up, and tied at the top of the head with ſeveral

rounds of white ſtring, made of paper. The end of the hair that remains above the tie, is cut off to about the length of one's finger, and, after being well ſtiffened with oil, bent in ſuch a manner, that the tip is brought to ſtand againſt the crown of the head, in which ſituation it is kept merely by the ſtring above-mentioned. This coeffure is ſtrictly attended to, and the head ſhaved every day, that the ſtumps of the growing hair may not diſfigure their bald pates. Prieſts and phyſicians, and young men that have not yet attained to the age of maturity, are the only perſons who are exempted in this reſpect. The prieſts and phyſicians ſhave their heads all over, and are thus diſcriminated from all others. Boys again keep all their hair on, till ſuch time as the beard begins to make its appearance.

"Of the fair ſex, none have their hair cut off, except women that are parted from their huſbands. I had an opportunity of ſeeing ſuch a one, while I was at Jedo, who traverſed the country much, and made, with her bald pate, a droll and ſingular appearance. Otherwiſe the hair, well beſmeared, and made ſmooth with oil and mucilaginous ſubſtances, is put up cloſe to the head on all ſides, and this either quite in a neat and ſimple manner, or elſe ſtanding out at the ſides in the form of wings. After this the ends are faſtened together round a knob at the crown of the head. Single women and ſervant maids are frequently diſtinguiſhed from the married by theſe wings. Juſt before this knot, a broad *comb* is ſtuck, which the poorer ſort of people wear of lacquered wood, and thoſe that are in better circumſtances, of tortoiſe-ſhell. Beſides theſe, the rich wear ſeveral long ornaments made of tortoiſe-ſhell ſtuck through this knot, as alſo a few flowers, which ſerve inſtead of pearls and diamonds, and conſtitute the whole of their decorations. Vanity has not yet taken root among them to that degree, as to induce them to wear rings or other ornaments in their ears.

"Theſe people never cover their heads either with *hats* or *caps*, to defend them againſt the cold or the ſcorching heat of the ſun, except on journeys, when they wear a conical hat, made of a ſpecies of graſs, and tied with a ſtring. I obſerved ſuch as theſe alſo were worn by fiſhermen. Some few travelling women wore caps in the form of a terrene, which were interwoven with gold. Otherwiſe, the paraſol is what they uſe to ſhelter them againſt the rain or the rays of the ſun.

"Beſides the above-mentioned drawers, ſpatterdaſhes, and hat, which none but travellers wear, they are generally provided on journeys with a *cloke*, eſpecially ſuch as travel on foot or on horſeback. Theſe clokes are wide and ſhort, and of the ſame ſhape as the night-gowns. They are made of thick oiled paper, and are worn by the ſuperior attendants in the ſuite of princes, and of other travellers; and my fellow-travellers and myſelf, during our journey to court, were obliged to make a preſent to our attendants, of ſome of theſe clokes, when we paſſed by the place where they were manufactured.

"The Japaneſe always have their coat of arms put on their clothes, particularly on their long and ſhort night-gowns, and that either on their arms or between their ſhoulders, with a view to prevent their being ſtolen; which, in a country where

people's clothes are so much alike in point of materials, form, and size, might easily happen.

Manners, Dispositions, and Customs of the Charaibes, *or ancient Inhabitants of the* Windward Islands. *From the first volume of* Edwards's *Civil and Commercial History of the British Colonies in the* West Indies.

"ENQUIRIES into the origin of a remote and unlettered race, can be prosecuted with success only by comparing their ancient manners, laws, language, and religious ceremonies with those of other nations. Unfortunately, in all or most of those particulars respecting the Charaibes, our knowledge is limited within a narrow circle. Of a people engaged in a pepetual warfare, hunted from island to island by revenge and rapacity, few opportunities could have offered, even to those who might have been qualified for such researches, of investigating the natural dispositions and habitual customs with minuteness and precision. Neither indeed could a just estimate have been formed of their national character, from the manners of such of them as were at length subjugated to the European yoke; for they lost, together with their freedom, many of their original characteristics; and at last even the desire of acting from the impulse of their own minds. We discern, says Rochefort, a wonderful change in the dispositions and habits of the Charaibes. In some respects we have enlightened, in others (to our shame be it spoken) we have corrupted them. An old Charaibe thus addressed one of our planters on this subject:—'Our people,' he complained, 'are become almost as bad as yours.—We are so much alarmed since you came among us, that we hardly know ourselves, and we think it is owing to so melancholy a change, that hurricanes are more frequent than they were formerly. It is the evil spirit who has done all this—who has taken our best lands from us, and given us up to the dominion of the Christians.'

"My present investigation must therefore be necessarily defective. Nevertheless, by selecting and combining such memorials as are least controverted, I shall hope to exhibit a few striking particulars of this ill-fated people, which, if I mistake not, will lead to some important conclusions in the study of human nature.

"Their fierce spirit and warlike disposition have already been mentioned. Historians have not failed to notice these, among the most distinguishable of their qualities. Restless, enterprising, and ardent, it would seem they considered war as the chief end of their creation, and the rest of the human race as their natural prey; for they devoured without remorse the bodies of such of their enemies (the men at least) as fell into their hands. The custom is so repugnant to our feelings, that for a century past, until the late discoveries of a similar practice in the Pacific Ocean, the philosophers of Europe had boldly impeached the veracity of the most eminent ancient voyagers who had first recorded the existence of it. Even Labat, who resided in the West Indies at a period when some of the islands still remained in the possession of the Charaibes, declares it to be his opinion, that instances of this abominable practice among them, were at all

times extremely rare;—the effect only of a sudden impulse of revenge, arising from extraordinary and unprovoked injury; but that they ever made premeditated excursions to the larger islands for the purpose of devouring any of the inhabitants, or of seizing them to be eaten at a future time, he very confidently denies.

"Nevertheless there is no circumstance in the history of mankind better attested than the universal prevalence of these practices among them. Columbus was not only informed of it by the natives of Hispaniola, as I have already related, but having landed himself at Guadaloupe on his first discovery, he beheld in several cottages the head and limbs of the human body recently separated, and evidently kept for occasional repasts: he released, at the same time, several of the natives of Borriquen (or Porto Rico) who, having been brought captives from thence, were reserved as victims for the same horrid purpose.

"Thus far it must be confessed, the disposition of the Charaibes leaves no favourable impression on the mind of the reader; by whom it is probable they will be considered rather as beasts of prey, than as human beings; and he will think, perhaps, that it was nearly as justifiable to exterminate them from the earth, as it would be to destroy the fiercest monsters of the wilderness; since they who shew no mercy, are entitled to no pity.

"But among themselves they were peaceable, and towards each other faithful, friendly, and affectionate. They considered all strangers indeed as enemies; and of the people of Europe they formed a right estimation. The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana: they considered those islanders as a colony of Arrowauks, a nation of South America, with whom the Charaibes of that continent are continually at war. We can assign no cause for such hereditary and irreconcileable hostility. The custom of eating the bodies of those they had slain in battle excites our abhorrence; yet it may be doubted whether this abhorrence does not arise as much from the bias of our education, as from the spontaneous and original dictates of our nature. It is allowed that, with regard to the people of Europe, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without reserve. Their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Charaibes of Guiana still fondly cherish the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colours which he left with them at parting.

"Of the loftiness of their sentiments, and their abhorrence of slavery, a writer, not very partial towards them, gives the following illustration: 'There is not a nation on earth (says Labat) more jealous of their independency than the Charaibes. They are impatient under the least infringement of it; and when, at any time, they are witnesses to the respect and deference which the natives of Europe observe towards their superiors, they despise us as abject slaves; wondering how any man can be so base as to crouch before his equal.' Rochefort, who confirms this account, relates also, that when kidnapped and carried from their native islands into slavery,

as they frequently were, the miserable captives commonly sunk under a sense of their condition, and finding resistance or escape hopeless, sought refuge in death from the calamities of it.

"To this principle of conscious equality and native dignity, must be imputed the contempt which they manifested for the inventions and improvements of civilized life. Of our fire-arms they soon learnt, by fatal experience, the superiority to their own weapons, and those therefore they valued: but our arts and manufactures they regarded as we regard the amusement and baubles of children: hence the propensity to theft, so common among other savage nations, was altogether unknown to the Charaibes.

"The ardour which has been noticed in them for military enterprize, had a powerful influence on their whole conduct. Engaged in continual warfare abroad, they seldom appeared cheerful at home. Reflections on past miscarriage, or anxious schemes of future achievement, seemed to fill up many of their hours, and render them habitually thoughtful, pensive, and silent. Love itself, which exerts its influence in the frozen deserts of Iceland, maintained but a feeble dominion over the Charaibes. Their insensibility towards their women, although they allowed a plurality of wives, has been remarked by many writers; and it must have arisen from extrinsic causes; from the predominance of passions strong enough to counteract the effects of a climate which powerfully disposes to voluptuousness, and awakens the instincts of nature much sooner than colder regions. The prevailing bias of their minds was distinguishable even in their persons. Though not so tall as the generality of Europeans, their frame was robust and muscular; their limbs flexible and active, and there was a penetrating quickness, and a wildness in their eyes, that seemed an emanation from a fierce and martial spirit. But, not satisfied with the workmanship of nature, they called in the assistance of art, to make themselves more formidable. They painted their faces and bodies with arnotto so extravagantly, that it was with difficulty their natural complexion, which was nearly that of a Spanish olive, was discoverable under the surface of crimson. However, as this mode of painting themselves was practised by both sexes, perhaps it was at first introduced as a defence against the venomous insects so common in tropical climates, or possibly they considered the brilliancy of the colour as highly ornamental; but the men had other methods of deforming their persons, which mere perversion of taste alone, would not, I think, have induced them to adopt. They disfigure their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, which they stained with black, and they painted white and black circles round their eyes. Some of them perforated the cartilage of the nostrils, and inserted the bone of some fish, a parrot's feather, or a fragment of tortoise-shell; a frightful custom, practised also by the natives of New Holland, and they strung together the teeth of such of their enemies as they had slain in battle, and wore them on their legs and arms, as trophies of successful cruelty.

"To draw the bow with unerring skill, to wield the club with dexterity and strength, to swim with

agility and boldneſs, to catch fiſh, and to build a cottage, were acquirements of indiſpenſible neceſſity, and the education of their children was well ſuited to the attainment of them. One method of making their boys ſkilful, even in infancy, in the exerciſe of the bow, was to ſuſpend their food on the branch of a tree, compelling the hardy urchins to pierce it with their arrows, before they could obtain permiſſion to eat; but theſe were ſubordinate objects;—the Charaibes inſtructed their youth, at the ſame time, in leſſons of patience and fortitude; they endeavoured to inſpire them with courage in war, and a contempt of danger and death; above all things to inſtil into their minds an hereditary hatred, and implacable thirſt of revenge towards the Arrowauks. The means which they adopted for theſe purpoſes were in ſome reſpects ſuperſtitious, in others cruel and deteſtable.

"As ſoon as a male child was brought into the world, he was ſprinkled with ſome drops of his father's blood. The ceremonies uſed on this occaſion were ſufficiently painful to the father, but he ſubmitted without emotion or complaint; fondly believing that the ſame degree of courage which he had himſelf diſplayed, was by theſe means tranſmitted to his ſon. As the boy grew, he was ſoon made familiar with ſcenes of barbarity; he partook of the horrid repaſts of his nation, and he was frequently anointed with the fat of a ſlaughtered Arrowauk; but he was not allowed to participate in the toils of the warrior, and to ſhare the glories of conqueſt, until his fortitude had been brought to the teſt. The dawn of manhood uſhered in the hour of ſevere trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy, for one more ſounding and ſignificant;—a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always accompanied by a ſcene of ferocious feſtivity and unnatural cruelty.

"The ſeverities inflicted on ſuch occaſions by the hands of fathers on their own children, exhibit a melancholy proof of the influence of ſuperſtition in ſuppreſſing the moſt powerful feelings of nature; but the practice was not without example. Plutarch records the prevalence of a ſimilar cuſtom among the Lacedemonians: 'At Sparta,' ſays the hiſtorian, 'boys are whipped for a whole day, oftentimes to death, before the altar of Diana, and there is a wonderful emulation among them who beſt can ſuſtain the greateſt number of ſtripes.' Nor did the Charaibe youth yield in fortitude to the Spartan. If the ſeverities he ſuſtained extorted the leaſt ſymptom of weakneſs from the young ſufferer, he was diſgraced for ever; but if he roſe ſuperior to pain, and baffled the rage of his perſecutors, by perſeverance and ſerenity, he received the higheſt applauſe. He was thenceforth numbered among the defenders of his country, and it was pronounced by his relations and countrymen, *that he was now a man like one of themſelves.*

"A penance ſtill more ſevere, and torments more excruciating, ſtripes, burning, and ſuffocation, conſtituted a teſt for him who aſpired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen to war; for in times of peace the Charaibes admitted of no ſupremacy but that of nature. Having no laws, they needed no magiſtrates. To their old men indeed they allowed

lowed some kind of authority, but it was at best ill defined, and must at all times have been insufficient to protect the weak against the strong. In war, however, experience had taught them that subordination was as requisite as courage; they therefore elected their captains in their general assemblies with great solemnity; but, as hath been observed, they put their pretensions to the proof with circumstances of outrageous barbarity: the recital however is disgusting, and may well be suppressed.

"If it appears strange that where so little was to be gained by preeminence, so much should be so willingly endured to obtain it, it must be considered that, in the estimation of the candidate, the reward was doubtless more than adequate to the cost of the purchase. If success attended his measures, the feast of the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a second time; assuming in future that of the most formidable Arrowauk that had fallen by his hand. He was permitted to appropriate to himself as many of the captives as he thought fit, and his countrymen presented to his choice the most beautiful of their daughters in reward of his valour.

"It was probably this last mentioned testimony of public esteem and gratitude that gave rise in these islands to the institution of polygamy, which, as hath been already observed, prevailed universally among them, and still prevails among the Charaibes of South America; an institution the more excusable, as their women, from religious motives, carefully avoided the nuptial intercourse after pregnancy. I am sorry to add, that the condition of these poor creatures was at the same time truly wretched. Though frequently bestowed as the prize of successful courage, the wife thus honourably obtained, was soon considered as of as little value as the captive. Deficient in those qualities which alone were estimable among the Charaibes, the females were treated rather as slaves than companions. They sustained every species of drudgery: they ground the maize, prepared the cassavi, gathered in the cotton, and wove the hamack; nor were they allowed even the privilege of eating in presence of their husbands. Under all these cruel circumstances, it is not wonderful that they were far less prolific than the women of Europe. But brutality towards their wives was not peculiar to the Charaibes. It has prevailed in all ages and countries among the uncivilized part of mankind; and the first visible proof that a people is emerging from savage manners, is a display of tenderness towards the female sex.

"Perhaps a more intimate knowledge (not now to be obtained) would have softened many of the shades which thus darkened the character of these islanders, and have discovered some latent properties in their principles and conduct, tending to lessen, though not wholly to remove, the disgust we naturally feel in beholding human nature so debased and degraded; but of many particulars wherein curiosity would desire to be gratified, we have not sufficient materials to enable us to form a full and correct idea. We know but little, for instance, concerning their domestic œconomy, their arts, manufactures, and agriculture; their sense of filial and paternal

ternal obligations, or their religious rities and funeral ceremonies. Such further information, however, in these and other respects, as authorities the least disputable afford, I have abridged in the following detached observations.

"Besides the ornaments which we have noticed to have been worn by both sexes, the women, on arriving at the age of puberty, were distinguished also by a sort of buskin or half boot, made of cotton, which surrounded the small of each leg. A distinction, however, which such of their females as had been taken in the chance of war, dared not aspire to. In other respects, both male and female appeared as naked as our first parents before the fall. Like them, as they knew no guilt, they knew no shame; nor was clothing thought necessary to personal comfort, where the chill blast of winter was never felt.

"Their hair was uniformly of a shining black, straight and coarse; but they dressed it with daily care, and adorned it with great art; the men, in particular, decorating their heads with feathers of various colours. As their hair thus constituted their chief pride, it was an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of their sorrow, when, on the death of a relation or friend, they cut it short, like their slaves and captives; to whom the privilege of wearing long hair was rigourously denied. Like most other nations of the new hemisphere, they eradicated with great nicety, the incipient beard, and all superfluous hairs on their bodies; a circumstance which has given rise to a notion that all the aborigines of America were naturally beardless. This opinion is indeed countenanced by many respectable writers; but after much enquiry, and some instances of ocular inspection, I am satisfied that it is groundless.

"The circumstance the most remarkable concerning their persons, was their strange practice of altering the natural configuration of the head. On the birth of a child its tender and flexible skull was confined between two small pieces of wood, which, applied before and behind, and firmly bound together on each side, elevated the forehead, and occasioned it, and the back part of the skull, to resemble two sides of a square; an uncouth and frightful custom still observed, if I am rightly informed, by the miserable remnant of Charaibes in the island of St. Vincent.

"They resided in villages which resembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, and drawn to a point at the top. They were then covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of superior magnitude to the rest. It was formed with great labour, and served as a public hall or state-house, wherein we are assured that the men (excluding the women) had their meals in common; 'observing that law' (saith the earl of Cumberland, who visited these islands in 1569) 'which in Lycurgus's mouth was thought strange and needless.' These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators.

"Their arts and manufactures, though few, displayed a degree of ingenuity which one would have scarcely expected to have found amongst

mongſt a people ſo little removed from a ſtate of mere animal nature, as to reject all dreſs as ſuperfluous. Columbus obſerved an abundance of ſubſtantial cotton cloth in all the iſlands which he viſited, and the natives poſſeſſed the art of ſtaining it with various colours, though the Charaibes delighted chiefly in red. Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, ſuch as are now uſed at ſea; for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preſerved alſo the original name.

"They poſſeſſed likewiſe the art of making veſſels of clay for domeſtic uſes, which they baked in kilns like the potters in Europe. The ruins of many of theſe kilns were viſible not long ſince in Barbadoes, where ſpecimens of the manufacture are ſtill frequently dug up; and Mr. Hughes, the hiſtorian of that iſland, obſerves, that they far ſurpaſs the earthen ware made by the negroes, in thinneſs, ſmoothneſs, and beauty. Beſides thoſe, they invented various other utenſils for economical purpoſes, which are enumerated by Labat. The baſkets which they compoſed of the fibres of the palmeto leaves, were ſingularly elegant, and we are told that their bows and arrows, and other weapons, diſplayed a neatneſs and poliſh, which the moſt ſkilful European artiſt would have found it difficult to have excelled, even with European tools.

"Of the nature and extent of their agriculture the accounts are ſlender and unſatisfactory. We are told on good authority, that among the Charaibes on the continent there was no diviſion of land, every one cultivating in proportion to his exigencies. Where no criminal juriſdiction is eſtabliſhed, the idea of private property muſt neceſſarily be unknown or imperfect; and in theſe iſlands, where land is ſcarce, it ſeems probable that, as among ſome of the tribes of South America, cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each ſeparate community, and their harveſts depoſited in public granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public ſtock. Rochefort indeed obſerves, that all their intereſts were in common.

"Their food, both vegetable and animal, excepting in the circumſtance of their eating human fleſh, ſeems to have been the ſame, in moſt reſpects, as that of the natives of the larger iſlands, which ſhall be deſcribed hereafter. But although their appetites were voracious, they rejected many of the beſt bounties of nature. Of ſome animals they held the fleſh in abhorrence; theſe were the pecary, or Mexican hog, the manati, or ſea cow, and the turtle. Labat obſerves that they ſcrupled likewiſe to eat the eel, which the rivers, in ſeveral of the iſlands, ſupply in great plenty.

"The ſtriking conformity of theſe and ſome other of their prejudices and cuſtoms, to the practices of the Jews, has not eſcaped the notice of hiſtorians. But whether the Charaibes were actuated by religious motives, in thus abſtaining from thoſe things which many nations account very wholeſome, and delicious food, we are no where ſufficiently informed.

Account of the Mountaineers in the Neighbourhood of Bauglepoor, *and of their Annual Sacrifice. From* Hodge's *Travels in* India.

"THIS interior part of the country conſiſts of much wood,

wood, intermixed with cultivated ground, and many villages, chiefly inhabited by husbandmen. Among others, I could not but notice the village of Barkope, adjacent to which are many hills, rising almost to the consequence of mountains, and every one of them is insulated by the plain country. The appearance of this part of the country is very singular, having immense masses of stone piled one on another; from the interstices of which grew very large timber trees, in some places overshadowing the whole of the rocks; the trees are of various kinds. In many of these rocks I found the teek, a timber remarkable for its hardness and size; and this accompanied with the mango, no less remarkable for its softness, and which produces the fine fruit of that name. The tamarind and other trees are also produced here. On some of the highest of these hills I observed durgaws, or burial places, with little chapels annexed, belonging to the Mussulmans.

"In the course of our journey, Mr. Cleveland received an invitation from some principal hill chiefs, to the ceremony of an annual sacrifice, which he accepted; and after the business was executed which brought him into this part of his district, we proceeded to the village on the mountain where the ceremony was to take place. The people from whom Mr. Cleveland had received the invitation, reside in a range of hills which lie to the south and to the westward of Bauglepoor, extending south to the back of Rajemahel. It has been conjectured by some (how well founded I know not) that this people are the aboriginal natives of the country. They have manners certainly different from the Hindoos, being neither divided into casts nor tribes, and eating of every species of provision, which the followers of Bramah cannot, as they are limited in this article according to their cast. As it is extremely difficult to decide on the claims of different tribes to antiquity, I could not help suspecting that these may have been formerly no other than the outcasts from the Hindoo tribes, who, after having been driven out, formed themselves into society, and taking post in the more mountainous parts to prevent being surprised, have occasionally issued to commit depredations on the defenceless people in the plains. On this account, indeed, they became so formidable, that the Hindoo, Mooriſh, and afterwards the Engliſh governments, have at all times been under the necessity of stationing troops, to check their inroads. Like those of all other savages, their incursions have been merely predatory, and what they seize is by surprise. They generally entered the villages at night, and murdering the husbandmen, drove off the cattle, and then secured themselves in their fastnesses in the hills. As they were only armed with bows and arrows and a sabre, they were unable either to attack or to withstand regular troops with fire arms. By lying in wait like a tyger in the woods, they frequently cut off the solitary traveller, or straggler from parties which had been sent to chastise them; nor could they, at any time, be induced to reform from their horrid practices, by the most vigorous exertions of the military against them, until the time Mr. Cleveland was placed at the head of the district, whose judgment suggested a plan, which, a short time afterwards, was carried

carried into effect with the happiest success.

"It was the humanity of that gentleman, added to the desire of improving the revenue of this part of his district for the Company's benefit, that induced him to venture into the hills, alone and unarmed, where he convened some of the principal chiefs; and after the fullest assurance of his most peaceable intentions and good-will towards them, he invited them to visit him at his residence at Bauglepoor. The confidence which he manifested in their honour, by trusting to it for his personal safety, effectually gained their esteem, and some time after a deputation of their chiefs waited on him. By a variety of attentions, by little presents, and acts of personal kindness, he so subdued their ferocious spirits, that they promised to desist entirely from their usual depredations; and returning to their families and their people, the whole body became earnest to be personally introduced to this humane and benevolent stranger. Mr. Cleveland had by this time digested his plan, which he brought forwards by degrees, and whatever he proposed they instantly agreed to. He sent presents to their wives, and wherever he saw, he caressed their children, decorating them with beads; and to their chiefs he presented medals, as a mark of his friendship, and as a reward for their improving civilization. At length, when he found them prepared for the acomplishment of his plan, he ordered clothes to be made, like those of the Seapoys in the Company's service, for a few, he furnished them with firelocks, and they became regularly drilled. Vain of their newly-acquired knowledge, these new soldiers soon imparted the enthusiasm to the rest of the nation, who earnestly petitioned for the same distinction. Thus, at their own request, a battalion was formed for the preservation of good order; and in less than two years, he had a fine corps of these people embodied, for the express purpose of preserving from injury the very country that had for centuries before been the scene of their depredations. A camp was formed for a corps of a thousand men, three miles from Bauglepoor, where their families resided with them, and where strict military discipline was observed. Thus the ingenuity, address, and humanity of one man effected, in the space of little more than two years, more than could even have been hoped for from the utmost exertions of military severity.

"After leaving the village of Barkope, which is nearly in the centre of the Jungleterry, and travelling through the flat country, crossing a small river, we entered the hills, which are covered with wood, and from the summits of several, had beautiful and extensive prospects, mostly diversified by the meandering of the Ganges, and by the varied face of the country, to a great extent, from the eastern shore.

"Though the space which we travelled in this route was not great, the serpentine road, the closeness of the woods, and, in many places, the extreme steepness of the hills, occasioned considerable fatigue. On the second day of our journey, we arrived at the village on the hill, where the ceremony was to take place: here Mr. Cleveland was received with every mark of respect and affection by the chiefs, who were

were already assembled; and even the women and the children contended who should be the most forward in expressing their regard.

"They had built a small open hut in the village, purposely for his reception, and the following morning every person in the neighbourhood was collected to be present at the annual sacrifice.

"The ceremony took place about nine o'clock. Before a small hut, and about six feet from the ground, was raised a kind of altar made of bamboos. The grand sacrifice was preceded by the decollation of a kid and a cock, the heads of which were thrown upon the altar, and there remained: little attention however was paid to this part of the ceremony by any of the party present. An hour or more afterwards, we were apprised that the principal rite was about to be performed, and we repaired in consequence, without loss of time, to the place of rendezvous.

"The people had purchased a fine large buffaloe, which they had fattened, and were now dragging with ropes, by the horns, towards the spot where the kid and the cock had been already sacrificed. The animal was brought with much difficulty to the place of sacrifice, where the chief of the village attended: he was perfectly naked, except a cloth round his middle, and held a large and bright sabre in his hand. The place round the altar was soon crowded with people; men, women, and children attended, and the young men were all perfectly naked. To prevent the escape of the animal, they first ham-strinqed him, and then began the dreadful operation. The chief stood on the left side of the animal, and with his sabre striking the upper part of the neck, near to the shoulder, must have given exquisite pain to the poor animal, who expressed it with great violence, by writhing, bellowing, and struggling with those that held him; indeed, their utmost exertions were scarcely sufficient to prevent him from breaking away. This horrid business continued for the space of more than a quarter of an hour, before the spine of the neck was cut through. The animal fell, and it was some time before the head was perfectly separated from the body. Previous to the last stroke, the chief paused, and an universal silence reigned: when this was given, he stood perfectly erect, and, by raising the arm which held the sabre to the utmost extension, seemed to give the signal to the multitude, who rushed in, and began scooping up the blood of the animal, which had liberally flowed from him on the ground. This they drank up, mixed as it was with the dust and loam, and besmeared each other with their hands. Bodies of them rushed over bodies, and rolling in confused heaps, they appeared like an assemblage of demons or bacchanals in their most frantic moments. The body was next cut to pieces, and devoured; the head, however, was reserved, as those of the kid and the cock; so various are men in their conceptions concerning what may be most acceptable to the Deity. After the completion of this sacrifice, they retired to their several habitations in parties, and began the rejoicing of the day, which, indeed, was devoted to universal revelling and intoxication; and I could have wished, for the honour of the fair sex, that these latter excesses had been confined

fined to the men. After the rites of Bacchus had far exceeded the bounds of temperance, those who were capable of sustaining an erect position, began dancing, men and women promiscuously; others, in parties, roared out their extravagant joy in such strains, as may be supposed adapted to the present state of the performers; and the night concluded with a dead silence."

Scenery of the Ganges, *from the Same.*

"FROM Mongheir I embarked, and returned by water to Calcutta; and here I had an opportunity of observing a series of scenery perfectly new; the different boats of the country, and the varied shews of the Ganges. This immense current of water suggests rather the idea of an ocean than of a river, the general breadth of it being from two to five miles, and in some places more. The largest boats sailing up or passing down appear, when in the middle of the stream, as mere points, and the eastern shore only as a dark line marking the horizon. The rivers I have seen in Europe, even the Rhine, appear as rivulets in comparison of this enormous mass of water. I do not know a more pleasant amusement than sailing down the Ganges in the warm season: the air, passing over the great reaches of the river many miles in length, is so tempered as to feel delightfully refreshing. After sunset the boats are generally moored close to the banks, where the shore is bold, and near a gunge or market, for the accommodation of the people. It is common, on the banks of the river, to see small Hindoo temples, with gauts or passages, and flights of steps to the river. In the mornings, at or after sunrise, the women bathe in the river; and the younger part, in particular, continue a considerable time in the water, sporting or playing like Naiads or Syrens. To a painter's mind the fine antique figures never fail to present themselves when he observes a beautiful female form ascending these steps from the river, with wet drapery, which perfectly displays the whole person, and with vases on their heads, carrying water to the temples. A sight no less novel or extraordinary is the Bramins at their oraisons, perfectly abstracted, for the time, to every passing object, however attractive. These devotees are generally naked, except a small piece of drapery round the middle. A surprising spirit of cleanliness is to be observed among the Hindoos: the streets of their villages are commonly swept and watered, and sand is frequently strewed before the doors of the houses. The simplicity and perfectly modest character of the Hindoo women cannot but arrest the attention of a stranger. With downcast eye and equal step they proceed along, and scarcely turn to the right or to the left to observe a foreigner as he passes, however new or singular his appearance. The men are no less remarkable for their hospitality, and are constantly attentive to accommodate the traveller in his wants. During the whole of the journey in my pallankeen, whatever I wanted, as boiling water for my tea, milk, eggs, &c. &c. I never met with imposition or delay, but always experienced an uncommon readiness to oblige, and that accompanied with manners the most simple and accommodating.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the Beaver, from the third Volume of a Journal of Tranſactions and Events, during a Reſidence of nearly Sixteen Years on the Coaſt of Labrador, &c. *by* George Cartwright, *Eſq.*

"AS all the accounts which I have hitherto read of beavers, are very erroneous, I ſhall here communicate my obſervations on thoſe animals. I ſuppoſe, that none of the writers who have mentioned them, ever ſaw a beaver-houſe, but related only the tales of illiterate furriers, whoſe veracity is not to be depended upon. I tremble at feeling myſelf under the neceſſity of contradicting that celebrated natural hiſtorian compte de Buffon; yet I muſt take the liberty to do it. He ſays, 'A beaver has a ſcaly tail, becauſe he eats fiſh;' I wonder much that monſieur Buffon had not one himſelf for the ſame reaſon; for I am ſure that he has eaten a great deal more fiſh than all the beavers in the world put together. Beavers will neither eat fiſh, nor any other animal food; but live upon the leaves and bark of ſuch trees and ſhrubs as have not a reſinous juice, and the roots of the water-lilly. I have known them eat black ſpruce; and they will ſometimes cut down ſilver-fir; but I believe that is only to build with, when other trees are ſcarce. When they eat, they hold their food in their fore paws, and ſit up like monkies. In the ſummer time they ramble about very much, paying little regard to their houſes, and will make a bed of ſticks ſhred fine, under a buſh near the water ſide, and there ſleep: the firſt bed of this kind which I found, I took to be the neſt of a gooſe. If the pond which they lived in the laſt winter, has plenty of ſuch food as they like, growing by the ſide of it, and they have not been diſturbed by man, they will ſeldom quit it; but if there be a ſcarcity of food, they will wander about in ſearch of another, where they can be more plentifully ſupplied: and it has been long obſerved, that of all trees which grow in Newfoundland or Labrador, they like the aſpen beſt, and next to that the birch. Having found a place convenient for the purpoſe, they commonly begin early in Auguſt to erect their houſe. Their mode of conſtructing it I had from a very intelligent obſerver, John Edwards, who has made the catching of them his whole employment for ſeveral winters; in which time he has killed ſeveral hundreds. He told me, if the pond be deep, cloſe to the bank, and that free from rocks, they begin under water, at the foot of the bank, and ſcoop out a hole, riſing gradually to the ſurface; carrying all the earth which they

they dig out there to the top, and mix abundance of ſticks and even ſtones among it. The ſticks which they make uſe of on this occaſion, are of all ſizes, from the thickneſs of a man's ancle to his little finger, but very ſeldom of larger dimenſions. They pile up theſe materials in the form of a dome, ſometimes to the height of ſix or ſeven feet above the level of the ground, but commonly not more than four. The baſe is generally of an oval form; the height ten or twelve feet, and eight or nine in width. As they raiſe this pile above, they hollow it out below, taking care that their bed, or lodging-place ſhall be above the reach of floods, and ſufficiently roomy to contain the whole family. From the fore part of the houſe, they build a projection into the pond, ſloping downwards all the way, and under this they enter into their houſe. This entrance is called by the furriers the angle; nor do they always content themſelves with one, but more commonly will have two, and ſometimes three. They have but one apartment, which is termed the lodging, and which is ſhaped in the inſide like an oven, the bottom of which is covered with the ſhreds of ſticks, reſembling fine narrow ſhavings. At a little diſtance from the angle, is their magazine of proviſions, which conſiſts of the roots of water-lilly, and the branches of trees; the but-ends of the latter they ſtick into the mud, where there is any. The whole is termed writh, and I have ſeen as much as a cart would hold; great part appeared above water. They are very induſtrious creatures, for even amid a ſuperabundance of proviſions, they will continue to add to the ſtore; and though their houſe be completely built, they will ſtill carry on freſh work, until the pond is frozen firm over; they will even keep a hole open to work on the houſe for ſome nights after, provided the froſt is not very ſevere: and as they will enter every old houſe and do a little work upon it, young furriers are frequently deceived thereby, ſuppoſing thoſe houſes to be inhabited. Although they will ſometimes continue in the ſame pond for three or four years or more, yet they will frequently build themſelves a new houſe every year; at other times they will repair an old one, and live in that; and they often build a new houſe upon, or cloſe adjoining to an old one, making the two tops into one, and cut a communication between the lodgings: hence, I preſume, aroſe the idea of their having ſeveral apartments. When the pond is not deep enough for them, they will throw a dam acroſs the mouth of the brook, by which it diſcharges its water, to raiſe it to a ſufficient height; making uſe of ſticks, ſtones, mud and ſand for this purpoſe. Some of theſe I have ſeen of great length and ſtrength, inſomuch that I have walked over them, with the greateſt ſafety, though not quite dry-ſhod, if they be new, as the water always ſheds over them, being on an exact level from end to end. But if, notwithſtanding the ſtint, they cannot raiſe the water to a proper depth, near the bank, they build their houſe in the pond, at a few yards diſtance from the ſhore, beginning at the bottom and hollowing it out as they go on, for they muſt have about three feet depth over the end of the angle, or the water would freeze in it, and they could go neither in nor out. If there be an iſland in the pond, they generally make their houſe on that, being the ſafeſt place; and by far the greateſt number of houſes are on the north ſhore, for the advantage

of the ſun. They have no opening from their houſe on the land ſide, and for theſe reaſons: becauſe the frofty air would enter at that hole and freze up the water in the angle, whereby they would be cut off from their magazine: the wolves likewiſe and other enemies might enter thereat and kill them; and the cold would be greater than they could bear. For, although they are provided with a thick ſkin, covered with plenty of long, warm fur, they cannot endure ſevere froſt, it being well known that they die if expoſed to it for a ſhort time. By what I have ſaid, the reader will ſuppoſe they are endued with unerring ſagacity, but it is not the caſe; for they have been known to build their houſe in a pond, where there was ſuch a ſcarcity of food, that they have all died for want; or in one that lay in a flat country, which, by a great thaw in the winter, has been flooded; when they have been obliged to cut a hole through the crown of their lodging, and by ſo doing, and the water freezing in their houſe on the return of the froſt, they have not been able to get into it again, but have all been found dead upon it. At other times, they have lived on a brook, where a thaw has cauſed ſuch a ſtream as has waſhed away all their food, and conſequently ſtarved them. They will often run a ſtint acroſs a narrow valley, through which a ſmall drain of water runs, and where plenty of willows, alders, and ſuch like things grow, and make a pond for themſelves. The furrier has then only to cut the ſtint, and when the water is run off, he kills them all with the greateſt eaſe. As the killing of beavers is an art appertaining to the ſcience of furring, which I do not wiſh to make public, I ſhall ſay no more on that head, except that they are always killed by ſtaking their houſes, by guns, or by traps; and not by hunting them with dogs, by men on horſeback with ſpears, as I have ſeen ridiculouſly deſcribed in prints. Nor do they ever caſtrate themſelves to eſcape their purſuers, for that part is not only of no uſe, but both thoſe, their prides, and oil-bags (the two latter veſſels being common to both ſexes, and the prides only uſed in medicine, known by the name of caſtoreum) lie ſo completely within them, that the operation muſt be performed by a very ſkilful hand indeed, and with the greateſt care, not to kill them. Beſides, what made them acquainted with the cauſe of their being purſued? If their fleſh were not ſuch excellent eating, very few beaver-ſkins would ever come to market. Beavers generally bring forth two young ones at a time, which are moſt commonly male and female; yet they will often have but one, eſpecially the firſt time of breeding; and ſometimes three or four: and I was told by a man of mine (Joſeph Tero) that he once cut ſeven out of an old one. The firſt year they are called pappooſes, the ſecond ſmall medlers, the third large medlers, the fourth beavers and after that old, or great beaver. They copulate in May, and bring forth toward the end of June. The young ones continue to live with their parents until they are full three years old; then pair off, build a houſe for themſelves, and begin to breed. Yet ſometimes, and not uncommonly, if they are undiſturbed and have plenty of proviſions, they will continue longer with the old ones, and breed in the ſame houſe. They are then called

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a double crew; and that was the case with the family which we found yesterday. It oftentimes happens that a single beaver lives retired, and it is then styled by furriers a hermit: they say it is turned out from the family, because it is lazy and will not work: and what is very singular (for be the cause what it will, the fact is certain) all hermit beavers have a black mark on the inside of the skin upon their backs, called a saddle, which distinguishes them. I rather think the cause of hermit beavers to be fidelity; as they are very faithful creatures to their mate; and by some accident or other, losing that mate, they either will not pair again, or remain single until they can find another hermit of the contrary sex; and that the saddle proceeds from the want of a partner to keep their back warm. I am sure that supposition is more natural, than that it should be turned out because it is lazy; for many of those hermit beavers do so much work, that good furriers have sometimes been deceived, and imagined they had found a small crew. Whether they do, or do not make use of their tails as trowels to plaister their houses with, I cannot say, though I am inclined to believe they do not; because their tail is so heavy, and the tendons of it so weak, though numerous, that I do not think they can use it to that effect; and that therefore they daub the earth on with their hands, for I must call them so. When they dive, they give a smack on the water with their tails as they go down; but that appears to me to proceed from the tail falling over with its own weight. They move very slowly on land, and being also a very cowardly creature, are easily killed there by any man or beast that chances to meet with them: yet, being defended by long fur, and a thick skin, and armed with long, strong teeth, firmly set in very strong jaws, they are capable of making a stout resistance. I have heard of an old one, which cut the leg of a dog nearly off at one stroke, and I make not the least doubt of the truth of the information. Still I have been informed that otters will enter their houses and kill them; but I believe it must only be the young ones, when the old ones are from home; for I hardly think that an old beaver would suffer itself to be killed by an otter. When met on shore by a man, they have been known to sit upon their breech and fall a crying like a young child; an instance of which I must relate.

A man newly arrived in Newfoundland, was walking through a wood, and near a pond; where he chanced to meet a beaver with a billet of wood on his shoulder, going down to the water. As soon as the creature saw him, he laid down his load, sat upon his breech, and cried exactly like an infant. The man having more tenderness in his disposition than such men usually have, not knowing what it was, and, perhaps, taking it for a creature superior to the brute creation, stopped and addressed it thus: 'Thou need'st not cry, poor thing, for I would not hurt thee for the world; so thou mayest take up thy turn of fire-wood, and go home about thy business.' The above story I do not give as a positive fact; relating it only as I have often heard it. It is an actual truth, however, that a late servant of mine, Charles Atkinson, could never be prevailed upon to taste the flesh of beavers, because he

was sure, he said 'They were enchanted Christians.' When beavers meet with a sufficiency of aspen, birch, or such shrubs as they are fond of, and which are not bigger than a stout pole, they will seldom cut those of a larger size; but, when necessity obliges them, they will cut down the largest tree that ever grew. How long they are in performing the work I have had no opportunity to ascertain, but I believe it is done in no great time: for I once found at the foot of a black spruce, that they had cut down, a chip of four inches in length and two in breadth, which seemed to have been taken off at one stroke. And I have seen so many stout trees, which have been felled by them in the course of one season, that I am convinced they must work both quick and diligently. Small trees they cut on one side only, but large ones they go round, and always fell them toward the water, to save themselves carriage. A stick, the thickness of a stout walking cane, they will cut off at one stroke, and as clean as if done by a gardener's pruning knife. It is the bark only of trees which they eat, and seem to like that of the branches best, though they will eat the rind of the trunks also. Having felled a large tree, they lop off all the branches, and those, as well as the bodies of small trees, they cut up into lengths according to their weight and thickness; the larger ones they carry on their shoulders to the water side, throw them in, and tow them to the place where they are wanted; the long branches they drag along in their mouths. They always cut on the windward side of a pond, because, by swimming along the shore before they land, they can wind any enemy who may perchance be there; the wind also assisting them both to fall the tree toward the water, and to tow the wood home. These creatures begin to grow fat after the middle of July, are in tolerable case by the end of August, and by the end of September, are at their best, provided they have good living and are not disturbed. Those which feed upon browse, particularly on birch, are the most delicious eating of any animal in the known world; but the flesh of those which feed upon the root of the water-lilly, although it makes them much fatter than any other food, has a strong taste, and is very unpleasant. After Christmas they begin to decline, and by May are commonly poor; in these particulars they resemble the porcupine, as they do in many other respects. If their house is disturbed much before the pond is frozen, they commonly quit it, and go into the next, either above or below; or they will go into an old house in the same pond, or a small one of their own there, which they generally have besides the one they live in, and it is termed the hovel. If they have been teased much in former years, they will often fly for a slight disturbance; but should the furrier chance to catch the two old ones at first, the rest of the family will scarce ever quit the pond. So long as the pond is free from ice, they keep adding to their magazine of provisions; but when it is frozen firm, they begin to live upon it. As the sticks which compose their magazine are entangled one into another, so as to make it difficult to extract a whole, they cut a piece off, bring it into their house, and there eat off the bark: after which they carry it out again and cast it loose into the water. In bringing their

their food into their houſe, they often ſtrike one end of the ſtick on the bridge of a trap, which the furrier has placed for him in the angle. From this circumſtance, many of the ignorant people have poſitively aſſerted, that the ſagacity of the beaver induced him ſo to do, to prevent being caught himſelf; but if beavers had ſo much knowledge, very few of them, I am purſuaded, would be taken. Whereas, the beaver's ſafety depends chiefly on the furrier's ignorance, for he who underſtands the buſineſs well, will certainly catch the whole family, or all the families which are in the ſame pond (if it be not too large) in a very few nights, be they ever ſo numerous. If they are caught young, they are ſoon made tame, and then are very fond of boiled peaſe. Buffon and others ſay, that they make uſe of their tails as ſleds to draw ſtones and earth upon: I cannot contradict their aſſertions, as I have never ſeen theſe animals work; but I do not believe it, becauſe their tails being thickeſt at the root and down the centre part, it would be almoſt impoſſible for them to keep a ſtone on it, unleſs held there by another. Nor have I ever obſerved that they had taken any ſtones off the ground; but they bring them from the ſides and bottoms of the water, and muſt make uſe of their hands for thoſe purpoſes; as they could eaſier ſhove and roll them along, than draw them on their tails: beſides, the ſkin of the under part of the tail would be rubbed off by the friction on the ground; which never yet has been obſerved to be the caſe with them, and is a ſtronger proof that they never do make uſe of them for that purpoſe. Thoſe who compare this account with the writings of Buffon and others, will find a great difference, but it muſt be remembered that they wrote entirely from hearſay, and I from experience chiefly. As ſo many noblemen and gentlemen in England have expended large ſums in curioſities and pleaſure, I greatly wonder that not one, out of ſo many who have parks well walled round (for no other fence will do) with convenient ponds in them, have been curious enough to eſtabliſh a colony of beavers; which might eaſily be done, by planting plenty of birch, aſpen, aſh, willow, ſallow, oſier, alder, and other ſuch like trees round the ponds, according to the nature of the ſoil, and procuring a few pairs of beavers to turn in. But care ſhould be taken to have pairs of the ſame families, leſt they ſhould all turn hermits.

Account of the Porcupine; from the ſame Work.

I do not know how many theſe creatures have at a birth; but imagine they are not very prolific: for if they were, they would deſtroy all the trees in the country, as they feed on nothing but rinds the whole winter, and by ſo doing kill a prodigious number of trees of all ſorts; though they prefer the ſilver-fir to all others. In ſpring, they are very fond of the leaves of the larch, and in the autumn, they eat a bad ſpecies of muſhroom, which grows here in tolerable plenty. This creature is a good deal like the beaver, in ſize and ſhape; the only difference is in the tail and feet. They both ſit up, and make uſe of their fore feet to feed themſelves with. The porcupine readily climbs trees, for which pur-

poſe he is furniſhed with very long claws; and, in winter, when he mounts into a tree, I believe he does not come down till he has eaten the bark from the top to the bottom. He generally makes his courſe through a wood in a ſtraight direction; ſeldom miſſing a tree, unleſs ſuch as are old. He loves the young ones beſt, and devours ſo much, eating only the inner part of the rind, that I have frequently known one porcupine ruin near a hundred trees in a winter. A man who is acquainted with the nature of theſe animals, will ſeldom miſs finding them when the ſnow is on the ground, if he can but hit upon the rinding of that winter; by making a circuit round the barked trees, he will ſoon come upon his track, unleſs a very deep ſnow ſhould chance to fall after his laſt aſcent. Having once diſcovered that, he will not be long ere he find the animal. The belly of a porcupine is covered with coarſe fur, but all the reſt of him with ſharp prickles; the longeſt and ſtrongeſt of which are on his rump and tail. It is a received opinion, that a porcupine can dart his quills at pleaſure into a diſtant object; but I venture to affirm that this ſpecies cannot (whatever any other may do) for I have taken much pains to aſcertain the fact. On the approach of danger he retreats into a hole, if poſſible; but where he cannot find one, he ſeizes upon the beſt ſhelter that offers, ſinks his noſe between his fore legs, and defends himſelf by a ſharp ſtroke of his tail, or a ſudden jerk of his back. As the quills are bearded at their points, and not deeply rooted in the ſkin, they ſtick firmly into whatever they penetrate. Great care ſhould be taken to extract them immediately; otherwiſe, by the muſcular motion of the animal into which they are ſtuck, enforced by the beards of the quills, they ſoon work themſelves quite through the part; but I never perceived the puncture to be attended with worſe ſymptoms than that of a chirurgical inſtrument.

A porcupine one day chanced to be upon the ground; and my greyhound, which always attends me, and never had ſeen one before, no ſooner ſet eyes on him, than he ſtruck at him with the ſame reſolution that he would have done at a fox. I thought he would inſtantly have gone mad. His tongue, the whole inſide of his mouth, his noſe and face were ſtuck as full of quills as it was poſſible for them to be; inſomuch that his mouth was gagged wide open, and he was in ſuch agony, that he would have bit me, when I attempted to give him relief, could he have cloſed his mouth. Upon returning to the houſe, I made Jack hold him down, and then, with the aſſiſtance of a pair of bullet-moulds, in about three hours time I extracted moſt of them. Some were broken too ſhort to take hold of, and I drew out ſeveral by their points, which had penetrated quite through the roof of his mouth and the cartilage of his noſe.

Account of the Animals of New South Wales; *from* Hunter's *Hiſtorical Journal of the Tranſactions at* Port Jackſon *and* Norfolk Iſland.

THE animal deſcribed in the voyage of the Endeavour, called the Kangaroo (but by the natives Patagarang) we found in great numbers; one was ſhot which weighed 140 pounds; its tail was

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40 inches long, and 17 in circumference at the root; it is very well described in Phillip's voyage: "We ate the flesh with great relish, and I think it good mutton, although not so delicate as that which we find in Leadenhall market. The strength this animal has in its hind quarters is very great: in its endeavours to escape from us, when surprised, it springs from its hind legs, which are very long, and leaps at each bound about six or eight yards, but does not appear in running to let its fore feet come near the ground; indeed they are so very short, that it is not possible that the animal can use them in running: they have vast strength also in their tail; it is, no doubt, a principal part of their defence when attacked; for with it they can strike with prodigious force, I believe with sufficient power to break the leg of a man; nor is it improbable that this great strength in the tail may assist them in making those astonishing springs. We for some time considered their tail as their chief defence, but having of late hunted them with greyhounds very successfully, we have had an opportunity of knowing that they use their claws and teeth. The dog is much swifter than the Kangaroo; the chase, if in an open wood (which is the place most frequented by that animal) is seldom more than eight or ten minutes, and if there are more dogs than one, seldom so long. As soon as the hound seizes him, he turns, and catching hold with the nails of his fore paws, strikes at the dog with the claws of his hind feet, which are wonderfully strong; and tears him to such a degree, that it has frequently happened that we have been under the necessity of carrying the dog home, from the severity of his wounds: few of these animals have ever effected their escape, after being seized by the dog, for they (the dogs) have generally caught them by the throat, and there held them until they were assisted, although many of them (the dogs) have nearly lost their lives in the struggle. Some of the male kangaroos are of a very large size; I have seen some, that when sitting on their haunches, were five feet eight inches high; such an animal is too strong for a single dog, and although he might be much wounded, would, without the dog had assistance at hand, certainly kill him. We know that the native dogs of this country hunt and kill the kangaroo; they may be more fierce, but they do not appear to be so strong as our large greyhounds: there was one seen in pursuit of a kangaroo, by a person who was employed in shooting, who, mistaking the two animals as they passed him to be of the kind he was looking for, fired at the hindmost and brought him down, but when he came up it proved to be a native dog. Of those dogs we have had many which were taken when young, but never could cure them of their native ferocity; although well fed, they would at all times, but particularly in the dark, fly at young pigs, chickens, or any small animal which they might be able to conquer, and immediately kill, and generally eat them, even in defiance of correction, and every other means that could be taken to cure them of their savageness: yet, when domesticated, were in other respects a very good natured animal.

The opossum is also very numerous here, but it is not exactly like

the American opoſſum; it partakes a good deal of the kangaroo in the ſtrength of its tail and make of its fore legs, which are very ſhort in proportion to its hind ones; like that animal, it has the pouch, or falſe belly, for the ſafety of its young in time of danger, and its colour is nearly the ſame, but the fur is thicker and finer. There are ſeveral other animals of a ſmaller ſize, down as low as the field rat, which in ſome part or other partake of the kangaroo and opoſſum: we have caught many rats with this pouch for carrying their young when purſued, and the legs, claws, and tail of this rat are exactly like thoſe of the kangaroo. It would appear, from the great ſimilarity in ſome part or other of the different quadrupeds which we find here, that there is a promiſcuous intercourſe between the different ſexes of all thoſe different animals. The ſame obſervation might be made alſo on the fiſhes of the ſea, the fowls of the air, and, I may add, the trees of the foreſt. It was wonderful to ſee what a vaſt variety of fiſh were caught, which, in ſome part or other, partake of the ſhark: it is no uncommon thing to ſee a ſkait's head and ſhoulders to the hind part of a ſhark, or a ſhark's head to the body of a large mullet, and ſometimes to the flat body of a ſting-ray.

With reſpect to the feathered tribe, the parrot prevails; we have ſhot birds with the head, neck, and bill of a parrot, and with the ſame variety of the moſt beautiful plumage on thoſe parts for which that bird here is diſtinguiſhed, and a tail and body of a different make and colour, with long, ſtraight, and delicately made feet and legs; which is the very reverſe of any bird of the parrot kind. I have alſo ſeen a bird with the legs and feet of a parrot, the head and neck made and coloured like the common ſea-gull, and the wings and tail of a hawk. I have likewiſe ſeen trees bearing three different kinds of leaves, and frequently have found others bearing the leaf of the gum tree, with the gum exuding from it, and covered with bark of a very different kind.

There are a great variety of birds in this country; all thoſe of the parrot tribe, ſuch as the macaw, cockatoo, lorey, green parrot, and parraquets of different kinds and ſizes, are clothed with the moſt beautiful plumage that can be conceived; it would require the pencil of an able limner to give a ſtranger an idea of them, for it is impoſſible by words to deſcribe them. The common crow is found here, but the ſound of their voice and manner of croaking are very different from thoſe in Europe. There are alſo vaſt numbers of hawks, of various ſizes and colours. Here are likewiſe pigeons and quails, with a great variety of ſmaller birds; but I have not found one with a pleaſing note. There have been ſeveral large birds ſeen, ſuppoſed by thoſe who firſt ſaw them to be the oſtrich, as they could not fly when purſued, but ran ſo exceedingly faſt, that a very ſtrong and fleet greyhound could not come near them: one was ſhot, which gave us an opportunity of a more cloſe examination. Some were of opinion that it was the emew, deſcribed by Linnæus; others imagined it to be the caſſawary, but it far exceeds that bird in ſize; it was, when ſtanding, ſeven feet two inches from its feet to the upper

part

part of its head; the only difference which I could perceive between this bird and the oſtrich, was in its bill, which appears to me to be narrower at the point, and it has three toes, which I am told is not the caſe with the oſtrich: it has one characteriſtic by which it may be known, and which we thought very extraordinary, that is, that two diſtinct feathers grew out from every quill. The fleſh of this bird, although coarſe, was thought by us delicious meat: a party of five, myſelf included, dined on a ſide bone of it moſt ſumptuouſly.

Of inſects there are as great a variety here as of birds; the ſcorpion, centipede, ſpider, ant, and many others; the ants are of various ſizes, from the ſmalleſt known in Europe, to the ſize nearly of an inch long; ſome are black, ſome white, and ſome of the largeſt ſort reddiſh; thoſe of this kind are really a formidable little animal; if you tread near the neſt (which is generally under ground, with various little paſſages or outlets) and have diſturbed them, they will ſally forth in vaſt numbers, attack their diſturbers with aſtoniſhing courage, and even purſue them to a conſiderable diſtance; and their bite is attended, for a time, with a moſt acute pain. Some build their neſts againſt a tree, to the ſize of a large bee-hive; another ſort raiſes mounts on the ground of clay to the height of four feet. In ſpeaking of the ſpider it would be improper to be ſilent on the induſtry of this little creature; I call them little, although, if compared with our common ſpider, they are very large; they ſpread their web in the woods between trees, generally to a diſtance of 12 or 14 yards, and weave them ſo very ſtrong, that it requires conſiderable force to break them. I have ſeen the ſilk of which the web is compoſed wound off into a ball, and think it equal to any I ever ſaw in the ſame ſtate from the ſilk worm. I have found upon buſhes on which the web has been hanging in cluſters, a thin ſhell, ſomething like that wherein the ſilk worm prepares its ſilk, and on opening them, I have ſeen a quantity of this ſilk within, in which a ſpider was found wrapped up.

Of reptiles, there are ſnakes, from the ſmalleſt ſize known in England, to the length of ſeven feet, and about as thick as a man's wriſt; and many lizards of different kinds and ſizes.

When ſpeaking of birds, I ſhould have mentioned that ſome of our gentlemen have ſeen in the lagoons and ſwamps, which they have fallen in with in their ſhooting excurſions, the black ſwan which is ſaid to have been found in ſome parts of the weſt coaſt of this country; the extremities of their wings are deſcribed to be white, and all the reſt of the plumage black. I have ſeen one which had been ſhot. It anſwered the above deſcription as to colour, but the bill was a pale pink, or crimſon; it was about the ſize of a common white ſwan, and was good meat.

Deſcription of the Sugar-cane, and Conjectures reſpecting its Antiquity and Introduction into Europe; *from* B. Edwards's *Hiſtory of the* Weſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 197.

IN treating of the agriculture of the Weſt India iſlands, the firſt object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their

their great ſtaple commodity ſugar; a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the moſt valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *ſaccharum*. This word was corrupted in monkiſh Latin, into *zucharum*, and afterwards into *zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *açucar*, from whence *ſugar*. The plant is a native of the Eaſt, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eaſtern auxiliaries of Pompey, deſcribes a people who uſed the cane juice as a common drink: *Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine ſucos.*

At what time the Indians diſcovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear, but ſugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea at a very early period. Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itſelf was unknown in chriſtendom until the time of the croiſades. Its cultivation, and the method of expreſſing and purifying the juice, as practiſed by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are deſcribed by Albertus and Aquenſis, a monkiſh writer, who obſerves, that the Chriſtian ſoldiers in the holy land frequently derived refreſhment and ſupport, in a ſcarcity of proviſions, by ſucking the canes. It flouriſhed alſo in the Morea, and in the iſlands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was tranſported into Sicily; but the time is not preciſely aſcertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the ſecond king of Sicily, to the monaſtery of St. Bennett, of a mill for grinding ſugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily the Spaniards are ſaid to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary, and Cape de Verd Iſlands, ſoon after they were diſcovered in the 15th century; and from ſome one of thoſe iſlands it has been ſuppoſed to have found its way at an early period to Brazil and the Weſt Indies; "producing a commerce (ſays Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly received opinion reſpecting the hiſtory of this valuable production. Herrera poſitively aſſerts, that the ſugar-cane was tranſplanted into Hiſpaniola, from the Canary iſlands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon; but in this inſtance the reſpectable hiſtorian, however correct in general, is clearly miſtaken; it appearing by the teſtimony of Peter Martyr, in the 3d book of his firſt decad, written during Columbus's ſecond expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the ſugar cane was, at that period, ſufficiently known in Hiſpaniola.

The fact ſeems to have been, that Columbus himſelf carried it thither among other articles and productions, which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary iſlands, in his ſecond voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—"Ad fœtus procreandos, equas, oves, juvencas et plura alia cum ſui generi maſculis: legumina, triticum, hordeum, et reliqua iis ſimilia, non ſolum alimenti, verum etiam ſeminandi, præfectus apparat: vites et aliarum noſtratium arborium plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad eam important, nullos enim apud eas inſulas notas arbores invenêre præter pinus palmaſque et eas altiſſimas, ac miræ duritiei

duritiei et proceritatis ac rectitudinis propter ſoli ubertatem; atque etiam ignotos fructus alias pluries procreantes. Terrum aiunt eſſe terrarum omnium quas ambiunt ſidera uberrimam." Although in this paſſage the ſugar-cane is not expreſsly enumerated, it is evident that it was not conſidered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not poſſibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia and other parts in Spain; yet he found, it ſeems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly diſcovered country of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the palm and the pine. That the cane was then there appears from a ſubſequent paſſage; in which, ſpeaking of ſuch vegetable productions as the Spaniards had ſown or planted in an incloſed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has theſe words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, deciſive of the queſtion: "Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres, et alia id genus in diem ſextum et trigeſimum carpſerunt. Sed nuſquam ſe meliores unquam comediſſe aiebant. Hæc hortenſia, toto anno habent recentia. Cannarum radices ex quarum ſucco ſaccarum extorquetur, ſed non coagulatur ſuccus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiſerunt."

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and induſtry, who maintain that the ſugar-cane is a native both of the iſlands and the continent of America within the tropics; they aſſert, that it was found growing ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the new hemiſphere, when firſt explored by the Spaniſh invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have conſidered the queſtion with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion, and he quotes, in ſupport of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Engliſhman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates ſugar-canes among the fruits and proviſions ſupplied the crew of his ſhip by the Charaibs of Guadaloupe. "Now," obſerves Labat, "it is a fact, that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the ſmaller Antilles. Their ſhips commonly touched at thoſe iſlands indeed, for wood and water, and they left ſwine, in the view of ſupplying with freſh proviſions ſuch of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were abſurd in the higheſt degree to ſuppoſe, that they would plant ſugar-canes, and put hogs aſhore at the ſame time to deſtroy them.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for beſtowing this plant on iſlands which they conſidered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpoſe that has been mentioned; and to ſuppoſe that the Charaibs might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian diſpoſition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have ſurer teſtimony, and ſuch as proves beyond all contradiction, that the ſugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, beſides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a treatiſe on American plants, printed at Mexico, aſſerts, that the ſugar-cane grows without cultivation,

cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate; we are assured by Jean de Leary, a protestant minister, who was chaplain in 1556 to the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in situations never visited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepen and other voyagers bear testimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of Mississippi; and Jean de Lact to its spontaneous production in the island of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant, therefore, but from the secret of making sugar from it, that the West Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portuguese; and then to the nations of the East."

Such is the reasoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible, and it is greatly strengthened by recent discoveries; the sugar-cane having been found in many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late illustrious navigator captain Cook.

In these accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The sugar-cane might have grown spontaneously in many parts of the new world, and Columbus, unapprized of the circumstance, might likewise have carried some of the plants to Hispaniola, and such I believe was the fact. But be this as it may, the industry with which the Spanish settlers applied themselves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contrast to the manners of the present inhabitants; it appearing by the testimony of Oviedo, that no less than thirty *ingenios*, or sugar mills, were established on that island so early as 1535.

The botanical name of the sugar-cane is arundi saccharifera. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong, but brittle, and when ripe, of a fine straw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice, of a sweetness the least cloying, and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the soil. In general, it is from one to three inches in length, from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances. In strong lands, and lands richly manured, I have seen some that measured twelve feet from the root to the upper joint. The general height, however, (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands, the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers or shoots.

Account of the Piemento, or Allspice; from the same.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the most elegant productions in nature, a production which rivals the most valuable spices of the East, combining the flavour and properties of many of those spices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable substitute and succedaneum for them all.

The piemento trees grow spontaneously, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly situations near the sea on the northern side of that island;

island; where they form the most delicious groves that can possibly be imagined, filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very distant part of the globe, to our great poet's description of those balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

> "Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the blest——
> Cheered with the grateful smell old ocean smiles."

This tree is purely a child of nature, and seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new piemento plantation (in Jamaica it is called a *walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of woodland in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay tree; and these, in the months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told will yield in distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used in the medicinal dispensaries in Europe for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state, being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible, however, to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand; one labourer on the tree will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children), in picking the berries, and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70lbs. in a day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The

The returns from a piemento walk, in a favourable ſeaſon, are prodigious; a ſingle tree has been known to yield 150 lbs. of the raw fruit, or one hundred weight of the dried ſpice; there being commonly a loſs in weight of one third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the Britiſh market, as may be ſuppoſed, fluctuates accordingly; but, I believe, its average for ſome years paſt may be put at ten pence the pound, including the duty, which is three pence.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however ſo little profit to the owner, compared with that of ſome other productions, that the growth of piemento decreaſes every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about 6000 bags, of 112 lbs. each.

A curious Account of the Baya, or Indian *Groſs-beak; by* At'har Ali' Khan *of* Delhi. *From* Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. ii.

THE Baya is rather larger than a ſparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowiſh head and feet, a light-coloured breaſt, and a conic beak, very thick in proportion to his body. He builds his neſt on the higheſt tree, placing it with its entrance downward, to ſecure it from birds of prey. He lights his neſt by means of fire flies, which he catches alive during the night, and confines by means of moiſt clay. He may be taught to fetch any ſmall thing that his maſter points out to him. It is an atteſted fact, that if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a ſignal be given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his maſter with apparent exultation. The young Hindoo women at Benares, and in other places, wear thin plates of gold, called tica's, ſlightly fixed, by way of ornament, between their eyebrows; and when they paſs through the ſtreets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuſe themſelves with training bayas, to give them a ſign which they underſtand, and ſend them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their miſtreſſes, which they bring in triumph to their lovers.

Account of the Fruit of the Mellori, growing in the Nicobar Iſlands; *from the third volume of the ſame Work.*

THE tree that bears this nutritive fruit, is a ſpecies of palm, called by them larum; by the Portugueſe, mellori; and is very abundant in thoſe iſlands, as well as in Carnicobar: it grows promiſcuouſly in the woods among other trees, but it delights more particularly in a damp ſoil. The trunk is often ſtraight, thirty or thirty-five feet high, and ten or twelve inches (the oldeſt even two feet) in circumference: the bark is ſmooth, aſh-coloured, with equidiſtant interſections, of a compact hard texture in its interior part, but ſoft and quite hollow in the centre, from the top

of

of the trunk; the leaves grow diſpoſed like a calyx, about three feet long and four inches broad, enſiform and aculeate, of a dark green hue, and of a tenacious hard ſubſtance: the roots are out of the ground, and inſerted at eight or ten feet on the trunk, according to its age, being not quite two feet in the earth: the fruit, which has the ſhape of a pine, and the ſize of a large jaca, comes out of the bottom of the leaves: the age of a man is ſeldom ſufficient to ſee the trees bearing fruit; its weight forces it out of the leaves, and when it is nearly ripe, which is known by the natives on the change of its colour from green to yellowiſh, it is gathered, and weighs from thirty to forty pounds. The drupes are looſened by thruſting a piece of iron between their interſtices: the exterior ſurface is cut off, and thus put into earthen pots covered with leaves, then boiled on a ſlow fire for ſeveral hours together: the fruit is ſufficiently boiled when the medullary part of it becomes ſoft and friable; it is then taken from the fire and expoſed to the cold air; when cold, the drupes are ſeparated from the ſtalk, and the medullary part preſſed out, by means of a ſhell forced into them. Within the woody part of the drupes there are two ſeeds, in ſhape and taſte much like almonds: the ſoft part is then collected into a ſpherical maſs, and, in order to extract all the ſtringy fragments remaining in it, by the compreſſion of the ſhell a thread is paſſed and repaſſed until the whole is extracted, and it comes out perfectly clean; it is then of a pale yellow colour, much reſembling polenta, or the dreſſed meal of the zea-mays, and in taſte much like it; when not duly prepared, it has an acidity, to which it tends very ſtrongly if long expoſed to the atmoſphere; but it may be preſerved a long time if well covered.

It is certain that the Nicobar bread-fruit tree differs very eſſentially from the palm deſcribed by Mr. Maſſon, and found in the interior parts of Africa, which bears a ſort of bread-fruit. On my ſhewing to Mr. Maſſon, in March 1790, the drawing of the tree here deſcribed, he was pleaſingly ſurpriſed at the novelty, and declared he had never before ſeen it. It differs alſo from the bread-fruit tree found in Otaheite, and deſcribed by Captain Cook in his voyage round the world, as will appear very evident on a reference to the notes of that work. Some ſhrubs, whoſe leaves reſemble much thoſe of the Nicobar bread-fruit tree, are to be ſeen on the Coromandel coaſt, and in the Iſle of France, where they thrive in ſome degree, but never attain the height of thoſe at Nicobar: imperfect ſmall fruits are ſeen once a-year ſprouting out; and the inhabitants derive an advantage from the leaves of the tree, which they convert into mats and bags to hold coffee.

Note by the Preſident:

"As far as we can determine the claſs or order of a plant from a mere delineation of its fruit, we may ſafely pronounce, that the Jéram of Nicobar is the cadhi of the Arabs, the cétaca of the Indians, and the pandanus of our botaniſts, which is deſcribed *very awkwardly* (as Koenig firſt obſerved to me) in the ſupplement to Linnæus: he had himſelf deſcribed with that *elegant conciſeneſs* which conſtitutes the beauty of the Linnæan method, not only the wonderful fructification of the

the fragrant cétaca, but moſt of the flowers which are celebrated in ſanſcrit by poets for their colour or ſcent, and by phyſicians for their medical uſes; and, as he bequeathed his manuſcript to Sir Joſeph Banks, we may be ſure that the public ſpirit of that illuſtrious naturaliſt will not ſuffer the labours of his learned friend to be ſunk in oblivion. Whether the pandarus léram be a new ſpecies, or only a variety, we cannot yet poſitively decide; but four of the plants have been brought from Nicobar, and ſeem to flouriſh in the company's botanical garden, where they will probably bloſſom; and the greateſt encouragement will, I truſt, be given to the cultivation of ſo precious a vegetable: A fruit weighing twenty or thirty pounds, and containing a farinaceous ſubſtance both palatable and nutritive in a high degree, would, perhaps, if it were common in theſe provinces, for ever ſecure the natives of them from the horrors of famine; and the pandanus of Bengal might be brought, I conceive, to equal perfection with that of Nicobar, if due care were taken to plant the male and female trees in the ſame place, inſtead of leaving the female, as at preſent, to bear an imperfect and unproductive fruit, and the diſtant male to ſpread itſelf only by the help of its radicating branches."

On the Migration of Fiſhes; in a Letter from General Lincoln *to Mr.* Belknap. *From the third volume of* Belknap's *Hiſtory of* New Hampſhire.

Rev. Sir,

SINCE I ſaw you laſt, I have found ſome parts of the copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. Little, with a deſign to convince him, that the river fiſh never forſake the waters in which they were ſpawned, unleſs ſome unnatural obſtructions are thrown in their way: that, when obſtructed, they do not ſeek new ſources in which they may lodge their ſpawn; but that they are ſo ſtrongly allured to the ſame route, that they annually return to their natural river, preſſing conſtantly for a paſſage into their mother pond. That the quiet waters of the lake can alone give that nouriſhment and protection neceſſary to the exiſtence of the egg; the preſervation of which is indiſpenſible, if an extinction of the ſchull is to be prevented.

The practice is not novel in this ſtate, when from ſome unnatural obſtructions, the fiſh have been totally expelled from a river, to reeſtabliſh them in their former numbers. About fifty years ſince, it was known, that at the firſt ſettlement of this town, the alewives had a paſſage through it into Accord pond, and were in ſuch plenty as to give a full ſupply to the inhabitants. This induced the people at that time to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of them, in which they ſucceeded, by opening proper fiſh-ways through the mill-dams, and conveying the fiſh in the ſpring of the year in a proper vehicle into the pond; this was done by keeping it near the bank of the river, and frequently ſhifting the water in the veſſel. After this the fiſh increaſed annually, until there was a pretty good ſupply; but as there were many ſhoal places in the river, which required very conſtant attention, the expence of which, and the loſs ſuſtained

tained by ſtopping the mills, exceeded, in the opinion of the town, the advantages of the fiſh, the buſineſs was neglected; ſo that for a number of years they have been perfectly cut off from the pond. Notwithſtanding ſome of the fiſh annually return to the mouth of the river, urging a paſſage up; but they are decreaſed in number, and reduced in ſize.

We ſhall find, on examination, that the fiſh, though of the ſame kind, in one river are much larger and fatter than in any other river in its vicinity. If theſe fiſh were ſuffered to intermix, the difference now ſo very apparent would not exiſt. If the fiſh are not directed by ſome laws in nature, to the rivers in which they were ſpawned, how ſhall we account for the ſalmon being in Connecticut river, and in Merrimack, and the rivers lying between, perfectly deſtitute of thoſe fiſh? Was there not ſomething irreſiſtibly enchanting in the waters in which they reſpectively originated, we ſhould probably find ſome ſtraggling ſalmon in the intermediate rivers.

Whilſt I reſided in Philadelphia in 1782 and 1783, I diſcovered that the ſhad brought to market from the Schuylkill were about one third part better than thoſe taken in the Delaware. Theſe fiſh come up the bay together in the ſpring, and take each ſchull its proper river, about five miles below the city; they are caught but a few miles above it, ſo that in a few hours after they divide, they fall into the nets of the fiſhermen. Were there not ſomething in the nature of the waters of theſe rivers, by which the fiſh are allured to them reſpectively, we certainly ſhould find the fiſh in the different rivers exactly alike; for we cannot ſuppoſe that they experience any material change between the time of their ſeparation and the time of their being caught. As the ſhad taken in the Schuylkill are, and always have been of a much ſuperior quality to thoſe taken in the Delaware, we muſt ſuppoſe that there is, in the river firſt mentioned, food for the fiſh more nutritive than there is in the latter. I cannot think it a very romantic idea, that the waters are ſo impregnated with certain particles, which ſhall be ſufficient to allure the fiſh to thoſe rivers in which they were ſpawned, or that they are invited to them by the returning fry on which they have been accuſtomed to feed. That they do feed differently, ſome on food more nutritive than others, cannot be denied; to this is owing the different ſize of the fiſh. They leave the rivers under different circumſtances, and ſo return to them again.

The ſhad and alewife frequent the ſame waters in which they drop their ſpawns. The ſhad, prior to this, work up a little circular ſand bank, on which the ſpawns are lodged, and are guarded from that deſtruction to which they would be expoſed from the ſmall fiſh, did not the male conſtantly play around the depoſit. While the eggs or ſpawns of the alewife are ſecured by being depoſited in ſhoal water, which prevents their being annoyed by the large fiſh.

The idea that fiſh always return to the ſame rivers in which they are ſpawned, will not appear improbable, when we conſider what are the general laws which ſeem to controul the whole finny tribe;

and what would be the probable consequences should they be thrown down.

On the shores of the United States we find fish of different kinds, each supplying a certain proportion of the inhabitants. These are restrained by some laws in nature to their own feeding ground; they do not invade the rights of others, nor are their rights infringed by any. New-York is in the neighbourhood of Rhode-Island, and that state is in the neighbourhood of this, yet each state has a very different fish-market. So it is with Pennsylvania and the states south of it. Notwithstanding this, all are supplied, and with kinds of fish peculiar to each. The cod-fish, which occupy the banks lying between the latitudes of 41 and 45, are very different on the different banks, and are kept so distinct, and are so similar on the respective banks, that a man acquainted with the fishing business will separate those caught on one bank from those caught on another, with as much ease as we separate the apple from the pear.

It will be acknowledged that there can exist but a certain number only of fish in any given space; was not this the case, as they are so prolific in their nature, they would from their natural increase soon so multiply, as that the world, if I may be allowed the expression, would not contain them.

On the banks there appears nearly as many fish as ever, notwithstanding the great numbers annually taken. The grand bank was, three years ago, manifestly overstocked; there were more fish on it than could find support; those taken were evidently on the decline; they were very thin, the substance tender; it could not be hardened and preserved by salt; many of them would yield before the knife in splitting, and fall to pieces before they could be conveyed to the flakes. The cause is not known; probably the spawns of that season were better preserved than they had usually been.

Were those restraining laws of nature, which now confine the different schulls of fish to their own limits thrown down, and all could wander without controul, there would be the most imminent danger of a total destruction of nearly the whole kind, as well in the rivers as on the banks; for, as was said before, there can but a certain number exist in a given space.

Permit me farther to request, in support of the doctrine advanced, an attention to that system and order so conspicuous in the operations of nature, and the great regularity preserved among the things of creation, animate and inanimate, by that wisdom which made and governs the world.

Let us take a view of the different nations dispersed over the face of the earth, by him who originally fixed bounds to the habitations of men, and as a restraint to them, and that each tribe should retain its own limits, he gave to each nation a different language: we find the different nations and tribes, though possessing very different climates, and, if we were to judge, enjoying the means of different degrees of happiness, severally tenacious of the limits assigned them; and where a God is acknowledged, they very sincerely and universally thank him that they are favoured above their fellow men.

Was it not for the ſuperintending care, and the influence of the Governor of the univerſe, who ſcatters in the paths of men ſuch motives as fall with weight and conviction on their minds, and lead them to prefer their climate above any other, no inhabitants would be found in the burning ſands under the torrid, nor on the frozen cragged mountains under the frigid zones. We find, however, under each, multitudes of people, who are ſo fitted for their reſpective ſituations, that they are not only happy, but are really partial to the place aſſigned them, and envy not the dominion of others, and ſeldom or never invade them, but from motives of avarice, pride, and ambition.

We find that the people who inhabited the American ſhores, on the firſt diſcovery of them, were divided into little kingdoms or tribes, each ſpeaking a different language, and were enemies one to the other; hence they were preſerved from famine and want, for they depended principally upon the ſpontaneous growth of the earth, and upon fiſhing and hunting for their ſupport. Whatever kept them aſunder was an act of mercy; with their ideas they could not have lived compactly; ruin muſt have been the neceſſary conſequence of the attempt.

What ſhort of that influence, neceſſary to preſerve the natural order of things, could have prevented mankind from abandoning the more inhoſpitable parts of the globe, running together, and uniting in climes the moſt friendly and pleaſant, and much the greater part of them becoming thereby their own executioners. Although, from an high cultivation of the earth, food may be drawn for a great multitude of people, yet population cannot exceed certain bounds; whenever that takes place, the ſalubrity of the air is deſtroyed, contagion rages, the people ſicken and die.

Let me now point you to the birds of paſſage, and aſk that you would permit your ideas to follow them in their flight from ſouth to north in ſpring, and from north to ſouth in autumn, and you will find that they are annually pointed to the ſame objects, and are as conſtant in their flight, and as regular in their courſe as are the ſeaſons. We may at a particular time of the year, trace the ſwallow into its hiding-place, and the robin and the lark to the foreſts, where they retire for ſhelter from the inclemency of an approaching winter, and ſee them in the morning of ſpring returning to the ſame habitations and branches, and often to the ſame neſts they occupied before, and which from neceſſity they had abandoned. Different fowls, natives of different climes, are ſo fitted to their native air, that many of them cannot exiſt out of it.

The rattle-ſnake, the moſt poiſonous reptile in this part of the country, is circumſcribed in his limits, and cannot exiſt beyond a certain degree of northern latitude, nor can he be tranſported acroſs the Atlantic. By what laws in nature he is reſtrained we know not; that he is reſtrained is a fact, and is not known in one part of this commonwealth, while much dreaded in another. The ſame reſtraint lies on different reptiles in the ſouthern ſtates; and though one part are in a degree endangered by them, yet others are perfectly free from their poiſonous ſtings. Theſe animals, neceſſary on the whole, as

are the flies, which multiply in proportion to the impurity of the air by which they are surrounded, make a part of the great whole, and have, I doubt not, a benevolent commission, in the execution of which the happiness of man is materially concerned.

Beasts of the most ferocious kind, necessary in the chain, are peculiar to certain climates, and are the least dreaded where most known: a belief that they will not exceed the limits assigned them, prevents their giving terror to others; while those of a different kind serve for our use, are fitted to live in the various climates in which they have been placed, and seem, by some instinct of nature, to be perfectly submissive; and are bound with much ease to the limits assigned them.

When we take a view of the whole of the order established originally, and which has been preserved in the world; when we see man dispersed over the face of the earth, and an evident design that he should remain so dispersed; and when we behold, that in consequence thereof, care has been taken that under every circumstance of civilization, or barbarism, a full supply of food can be obtained by each, in a way best fitted to themselves; when we see the birds of passage, anxious to perform their part, and (which is important indeed to some of the inhabitants in the higher latitudes) taught to fly in winter to climes more friendly to their existence, and led back to nourish the waking Laplander, after a winter of retirement and sleep; when we see the care exercised towards man, evinced in the existence of even the most poisonous animals, fitted to inhale the more subtil and pointed particles floating in air, which are too keen for our habits, and observe the irritating fly, busily employed in sipping the putrid matter, in the first stages of it, which otherwise would float incompatible with a salubrious atmosphere, necessary to our happiness; when we see the natural timidity implanted in the nature of the most ferocious animals, fleeing at the approach of man; and the docility of those more immediately intended for our use; when we carefully review these things, and study with attention the works of nature, the great book of God, which if understood cannot mislead, and our minds are guided by proper considerations, we shall be freed from all anxious fears, lest one part of the system should clash with another; but instead thereof, we shall find ourselves perfectly satisfied in the belief that each will occupy its own orb until the whole shall be dissolved.

I have little doubt in my own mind but that every river, whose source is in a lake or pond, where the waters are quiet, might with great ease be replenished with some kind of fish or other. I think there was a time when they were filled. Could we succeed in this measure, the advantages would be important; for it would multiply our cod and other ground fish about our shores, in proportion as we increase the small river fish, for they are the proper food of the ground fish, which in pursuit thereof, are allured quite into our harbours, and give us a more easy supply. We have undoubtedly been criminally inattentive to the propagation of the oyster, in different parts of our shores; we can probably fill our channels with these shell-fish with much more ease

than we can fill our pastures with herds and flocks.

I have a satisfaction in submitting these observations to you, which is seldom to be enjoyed, viz. that I shall receive a full compensation—one smile will do it; that I am sure they will beget, for you must long since have been taught that we had better smile than weep at the vanity of others.

With esteem and affection,
I am always your friend,
B. LINCOLN.

Extract from Observations on a Current that often prevails to the Westward of Scilly, *endangering the Safety of Ships that approach the* British Channel. *By* James Rennell, Esq. *F.R.S. From the Second Part of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year* 1793.

IT is a circumstance well known to seamen, that ships in coming from the Atlantic, and steering a course for the British Channel, in a parallel somewhat to the *south* of the Scilly Islands, do, notwithstanding, often find themselves to the *north* of those islands: or, in other words, in the mouth of the St. George's, or of the Bristol Channel. This extraordinary error has passed for the effects, either of bad steerage, bad observations of latitude, or the indraught of the Bristol Channel: but none of these account for it satisfactorily; because, admitting that at times there may be an indraught, it cannot be supposed to extend to Scilly; and the case has happened in weather the most favourable for navigating, and for taking observations. The consequences of this deviation from the intended track, have very often been fatal; particularly in the loss of the Nancy packet, in our own times; and that of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and others of his fleet, at the beginning of the present century. Numbers of cases, equally melancholy, but of less celebrity, have occurred; and many others, in which the danger has been imminent, but not fatal, have scarcely reached the public ear. All of these have been referred to accident; and therefore no attempt seems to have been made to investigate the cause of them.

I am however of opinion, that they may be imputed to a specific cause; namely, a current: and I shall therefore endeavour to investigate both that and its effects; that seamen may be apprized of the times when they are particularly to expect it, in any considerable degree of strength; for then only, it is likely to occasion mischief; the current that prevails at ordinary times, being, probably, too weak to produce an error in the reckoning, equal to the difference of parallel between the south part of Scilly and the track that a commander, prudent in his measures, but unsuspicious of a current, would chuse to fall in.

It seems to be generally allowed that there is always a current, setting round the Capes of Finisterre and Ortegal, into the Bay of Biscay. This I have the authority of captain Mendoza Rios, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an officer in the royal navy of Spain, for asserting. Besides, such an intimation was amongst the earliest notices that I received, concerning matters of navigation, when on board of a ship that sailed close along

the north coast of Spain, in 1757. The current then, is admitted to set to the eastward, along the coast of Spain, and continues its course, as I am assured, along the coast of France, to the north and north-west: and indeed, any body of water, once set in motion, along a coast, cannot suddenly stop; nor does it, probably, lose that motion, until by degrees it mixes with the ocean; after being projected into it, either from the side of some promontory, that extends very far beyond the general direction of the coast; or after being conducted into it, through a strait.

The original cause of this current, I apprehend to be the prevalence of westerly winds in the Atlantic, which, impelling the waters along the north coast of Spain, occasions a current in the first instance. The stronger the wind, the more water will be driven into the Bay of Biscay in a given time; and the longer the continuance of the wind, the farther will the vein of current extend.

It seems to be clearly proved that currents of water, after running along a coast that suddenly changes its direction, (as happens on the French coast at the promontory south of Brest) do not change their course with that of the shore, but preserve, for a considerable time, the direction which they received from the coast they last ran by. In some instances, after being projected into the sea, they *never* again approach the shore, but preserve, to a very great distance, nearly the direction in which they were projected, as well as a considerable degree of their original velocity and temperature. The gulf stream (of Florida) is a wonderful instance of this kind; which, originating in a body of *pent-up* waters, in the Gulf of Mexico, is discharged with such velocity through the Straits of Bahama, that its motion is traceable through the Atlantic to the Bank of Newfoundland; and may possibly extend much farther. This being therefore the case, we can have no difficulty in conceiving that the current of the Bay of Biscay continues its course, which may be about NW. by W, from the coast of France, to the westward of Scilly and Ireland.

At ordinary times its strength may not be great enough to preserve its line of direction across the mouth of the British Channel; or, if it does preserve its direction, it may not have velocity enough to throw a ship so far out of her course as to put her in danger. But, that a current prevails *generally*, there can be little doubt; and its degree of strength will be regulated by the state of the winds. After a long interval of moderate westerly gales, it may be hardly perceptible; for a very few miles of northing, in the twenty four hours, will be referred to bad steerage, or some other kind of error: but after hard and continued gales from the western quarter, the current will be felt in a considerable degree of strength; and not only in the parallel of Scilly, but in that of the south-west coast of Ireland likewise.

Our observation of what passes in the most common waters, is sufficient to shew how easily a current may be induced, by the action of the wind, on the water contiguous to a bank, when the wind blows *along* it. In a canal of about four miles in length, the water was kept up *four inches* higher at one end than

than at the other, by the mere action of the wind along the canal. This was an experiment made, and reported to me by my much lamented acquaintance, the late Mr. Smeaton. We know also the effects of a strong south-west or north-west wind, on our own coasts: namely, that of raising very high tides in the British Channel or in the Thames, and on the eastern coasts, as those winds respectively blow; because the water that is accumulated cannot escape quick enough by the Strait of Dover to allow of the level being preserved. Also, that the Baltic is kept up *two feet* at least, by a strong NW wind of any continuance; and that the Caspian Sea is higher by *several* feet, at either end, as a strong northerly or southerly wind prevails. Therefore, as water pent up, in a situation from which it *cannot escape*, acquires a higher level, so, in a place where it *can escape*, the same operation produces a current: and this current will extend to a greater or less distance, according to the force with which it is set in motion; or, in other words, according to the height at which it is kept up by the wind.

It may possibly be asked, why a similar current does not prevail in the British Channel, from the same westerly winds? To this I answer, that the increased height and velocity of the tides, during the prevalence of such winds, prove that a part, at least, of the same effect which happens in the Bay of Biscay, is produced in the Channel; and I have little doubt that there is, in fact, a current also; but that, as it is blended with the common tide, the effect on the senses is lost: for it may appear only in the form of a *stronger* flood-tide, or a *weaker* ebb than at other times. Whereas the Bay, a wider space, and of a different form, allows a freer scope to the tides than the British Channel does: it being high water nearly at the same time, all over the Bay; but varying in the Channel at least five hours. And it may be concluded, from analogy, that the form of the Channel does not allow of the same effect being produced by the wind, on its included waters, as may be produced on those of the Bay: these meeting with an opposition, in the coast of France, the others having a partial exit at the Strait of Dover: we may also conclude, that if no such phænomenon as a tide existed, a current, though less strong than in the Bay, would be preserved in the British Channel.

Of the Bay of Biscay it may be observed, that by reason of its form, and exposure to the reigning winds, which are often violent, and which pass over a vast expanse of water, there is no part of the ocean, familiarly known to us, whose circumstances are, in any degree, similar to it. It ought not therefore to surprize us, if we find it differs in any particular from other seas. Seamen have remarked its uncommon degree of agitation in stormy weather; but this has not, as far as I know, been properly accounted for. May it not be owing generally to the same cause as that which produces the current? and, at times to the very current itself? With respect to the first—the waves of a deep bay or gulf, when the wind forces the water into it, will meet with a resistance in the land at the head of it, which must occasion a reverberation, that will render the surface of a great part of the gulph more

unquiet, than where there is an opening at the end, to allow the undulatory motion a free scope. What is said here is exemplified on a small scale, by Mr. Smeaton's very ingenious manner of quieting Ramsgate harbour. (See his Tract on that harbour, page 45.) And with respect to the second cause—the effect of a current running to windward, in producing a short, hollow, and therefore dangerous wave, is pretty well known. Accordingly, at seasons when the current runs strong, and the wind blows fresh from the north-west quarter, this cause must also contribute to the agitation of the waters in the north part of the bay.

It is quite uncertain at what interval of time, from the commencement of strong westerly gales in the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay, the current may operate on the tracks of ships near Scilly; for we are not possessed of the *data* requisite for determining it. If we were to conceive a current, originating on the coast of Spain, and afterwards disturbing the courses of ships on the west of Scilly and Ireland; this would require too much time, to agree with one of the instances which I mean to adduce: although it is probable that this may be nearly the effect at ordinary times, and when the westerly winds blow moderately. But as, in one striking instance, it appears that the current operated in a very remarkable manner on the ship's course on the fourth day after the commencement of the gale, in the quarter where the ship was; the cause should rather be looked for, in the *sudden* and *great accumulation* of water, in the Bay of Biscay: otherwise there is no accounting for the sudden appearance of the current. And the very act of accumulation causing an indraught, there will consequently be a current round the Capes of Finisterre and Ortegal, towards the Bay. Be the exact cause, however, what it may, it no doubt originates in the Bay, by the action of strong westerly winds: the prevalence of such winds will therefore be the *signal* for the appearance of a current between Ushant and the south-west coast of Ireland: for though the cause can only be guessed at, the effect is too well ascertained to remain in doubt.

Reasons for supposing that Lakes have been more numerous than they are at present; with an Attempt to assign the Causes whereby they have been defaced; by J. Gough, *of* Kendal. *From the Fourth Volume of the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.*

WHEN we consider what numbers of submarine productions are found in the bowels of the earth, we are in a manner compelled to conclude, that the present inhabitable parts of our globe have, at some unknown period, emerged from the bosom of the ocean; and, if we attend to the disorderly disposition of the strata, with other marks of violence which are every where to be met with, it is no less conspicuous, that this grand revolution has been produced by subterraneous convulsions. Why then are lakes so few in number? — is a question which, at the first view, presents itself to the mind. Lakes are either depressions or chasms in the ground, where the waters of the neighbouring country are collected. And if whole continents have been torn up,

and

and have had their continuity every where broken, why are not cavities proper for forming such reservoirs more frequent?

This view of the subject certainly offers a formidable objection to the received theory of the formation of land, which ought to be attended to. I will therefore make it the business of the present essay to enquire whether it can be fairly obviated by an attention to the resources of nature, and to that gradual progress, from a rude to a more perfect state, which she observes in all her works.

We know that the face of the earth is not now what it was formerly. Mountains, whose acclivities are at present easy and gentle, were once inaccessible through rocks and precipices. Large districts of land, which, at one period of time, were obstructed with fragments of stones, and buried in ashes, have been gradually fertilized by the remains of decayed vegetables, and the decomposition of volcanic substances. Some rivers have deserted their ancient channels, whilst others have been entirely lost. All these great changes have been effected without violence, by the action of slight but incessant causes: and why may not *lakes* have suffered injuries similar to those to which the other great works of creation are subject; and have been demolished or totally destroyed, like rivers, rocks, or volcanos?—That analogy of conduct and design, which pervades the whole visible system of things, at least authorizes the supposition.

We will therefore, *first*, enquire what means are in the possession of nature for producing such a revolution; and, *then*, endeavour to discover whether any proofs of such alterations having taken place are still extant.—This method of proceeding seems best calculated either to remove the objection or to establish it.

Vegetation is a favourite process with nature: for she has not only cloathed the plains of eminences with herbs and trees, but also appropriated several species, and some whole *genera* to the water, for which element they are evidently intended by the singularity of their structure. Every part of a lake abounds with vegetables, where its depth will permit them to grow; and this circumstance is, for the most part, regulated by the variety of plants in it, and the climate where it is situated. The sterility of deep waters depends on the following causes: every plant must be placed in a situation where the temperance of the surrounding water never descends below a point fixed by the constitution of the plant; otherwise it loses its vegetative powers. Successive and increasing degrees of heat are also requisite for its growth and flowering. Add to this, that the temperature of the bottom of a lake is very different in different parts; because, as the depth of the water increases, its heat becomes less variable, being always nearly equal to the annual mean of the country: but the temperature of parts where the depth is inconsiderable, is nearly as inconstant as that of the air. Such plants, therefore, as demand a degree of warmth nearly equal to that of the atmosphere in summer, are always found in shallow places; such as are of a colder constitution fix their abode in deeper regions; but if any part of a lake be colder than the constitution of the coldest plant produced in

in it will bear, that part is neceſſarily barren. Aquatic vegetables, at certain periods, loſe their vegetative powers, in common with thoſe that grow on land: but while the latter are converted to earth, and afford additional fertility to the ſoil that raiſed them; the former preſerve their figure, and, in part, retain their texture for ages; for water poſſeſſes an antiſeptic virtue, that prevents the decompoſition of vegetable ſubſtances immerſed in it. When Julius Cæſar invaded Britain, the natives fortified a ford in the Thames, by driving pointed ſtakes into the bed of the river, with a view of retarding the progreſs of the Roman army. A number of theſe ſtakes were preſerved undecayed, undoubtedly by their ſituation, in the time of Rapin the hiſtorian, who wrote about the beginning of this century. To account for this antiſeptic virtue, nothing more is neceſſary than to recollect that water protects all bodies covered by it, from the injuries of the air. If a vegetable be thrown into this fluid, all its mucilage and gum will be ſoon extracted; but the reſin, the woody fibre, and the cellular ſubſtance of the pith, are not ſoluble in this element. Their decompoſition, therefore, muſt entirely depend on fermentation, a proceſs which cannot take without a free expoſure to the atmoſphere, which communication is, in this caſe, precluded by the interpoſition of ſo unfavourable a medium. Few water-plants acquire properties of wood, unleſs the *cany* appearance of ſome graſſes deſerves the appellation; but they in general contain leſs mucilage, and more pith than others, conſequently their texture is leſs ſuſceptible of injury from maceration. After having properly conſidered the foregoing obſervations, ſhould any one ſurvey a pond well ſtored with aquatic herbage, the following remarks can ſcarcely fail of receiving his approbation.

The cavity which is at preſent the receptacle of a pool, will, in proceſs of time, be occupied by a *ſtratum* of ſolid matter, which will conſiſt of the remains of its own produce, gradually accumulated and preſerved by the water which is intimately mixed with them, and which protects them from decay. The ſubſtance with which it is conſtantly filling will acquire a compactneſs nearly uniform in every part, by the plants of each generation interweaving their fibres with the remains of their predeceſſors; and by the depoſitions of the water, which, falling to the bottom, will be lodged in its interſtices. All foreign bodies, brought hither by accident, will in time be buried in the increaſing ſoil, where they will remain for ages, without undergoing any changes, beſides thoſe which are produced by the ſolvent power of water on particular ſubſtances. Should the water be moſt ſhallow at the ſides, and increaſe in depth as you advance to the middle, which is generally the caſe, the *margin* of the pond will be progreſſively advanced, and its *ſurface* contracted in proportion. If any part of it be too cold to favour vegetation, that part will ſtill remain a pool ſurrounded with a flat ſedgy border. If it be ſupplied and emptied by two rivulets, the intermediate current will preſerve itſelf a channel through the growing land. Laſtly, the ſolid plain, thus produced, will, in time, be covered with a bed of

vegetable earth, whose thickness will determine the difference of high and low water-marks; for the matter between those two limits, being alternately wet and dry, will, at particular periods, be exposed to the action of the air, and will consequently be decomposed and changed into mold.

This method of converting a pond into land, evidently points out a process that would diminish the inequalities of a disordered continent: and if we leave speculation to compare the theory with what has passed in the world, we shall find every reason to believe that the plan suggested by reflection, has been employed by nature in performing the business in question: for it is upon this principle alone that we can account for the production of those flat marshes that supply many countries in the north of Europe with fuel. Several circumstances concur to demonstrate that these swamps are indebted for their present appearance to the process described above; and perhaps it will not be improper to mention a number of facts in this place, that seem well calculated to establish the opinion. Could we remove from one of them all the peculiar soil whereby it is distinguished from the surrounding land, the cavity left after the operation would soon be converted into a lake; for in every bog there is a quantity of water always ready to occupy any depression that will answer the purpose of a reservoir. And, in fact, humidity is so necessary to the preservation of this kind of earth, that when it is exposed to the air it loses its distinguishing properties, and is changed into mold. There is another circumstance in which the works of nature correspond accurately with the theory; for in several marshes very deep ponds are still to be met with. In some places they are open, and present themselves to sight; but in others they are dangerous pits, which are more or less concealed by a thin crust formed by aquatic plants, that float on the surface of the water, without extending their roots to the bottom.

The matter of *peat* is evidently of vegetable origin, as well as the treacherous covering mentioned above. The use to which it is commonly applied, shews that it is fit for combustion; and its ashes contain a quantity of fixed alkali, which is rarely, however, pure, or free from mineral salts. If we examine its structure, it will be discovered to consist principally of flexible, branched fibres, variously interwoven, and twisted together. Their arrangement proves that they grew where they are lodged; and that they were not brought into their present situation by any extraordinary agent, such as an inundation; for, had this been the case, instead of a compact substance, we should have found an incoherent mass of heterogeneous things, thrown loosely together, without texture or connexion. The lightest and most porous parts being first saturated with humidity, would have descended to the bottom; whilst the more compact substances, being least capable of receiving an addition to their weight by imbibing water, would have remained in the highest place. Thus we should have found the materials of a swamp disposed in strata according to their texture and specific gravity, provided they had all been deposited at the same time in their present situation; which supposition

position cannot be true, because it is contradictory to fact. The light friable earth intermixed with these fibres has originated from the decomposition of such leaves as commonly float on the surface of every pool, and are exposed to the air. Their remains, being precipitated along with other accidental impurities, have subsided in form of mud, which has afterwards been covered with the vegetation of succeeding years. Such is the internal structure of marshes, where the produce of the original lake has alone been employed in their composition.

But since it is known that they contain bodies which are not natives of the water, foreign agents have certainly contributed to their formation; for, in digging for peat, several kinds of trees are discovered, lying horizontally, at different distances below the surface. They are commonly surrounded with the natural soil of the bog, and are rarely seen in contact with its bottom. From this circumstance it is evident that the inferior part of the fibrous matter was formed before they came into the situation in which they are found. It frequently happens that they all lie nearly in one direction, and are confined to a particular part of the marsh. Some are found, others more or less decayed; some are mutilated and broken, others nearly entire. In fine, the extraneous matter of a swamp perfectly resembles the refuse of a river flowing through a woody country. In the north of England it consists principally of oak, ash, fir, several species of willow, birch, and alder. Besides these a great variety of leaves are dug up, with hazel nuts, the cones of birch, and alder, a number of mosses, and some ferns. I think we may safely conclude that these substances have been brought by rivers, after heavy rains, into the primitive lakes; or, that they have been blown from off their branches where they grew, into the water; that the trees have then been driven by the wind, which, in sheltered places, can only blow in certain directions, into parts obstructed by weeds, and have there been entangled and prevented from moving, till, their weight growing specifically greater than that of the fluid whereby they were supported, they have sunk in such a position, that the direction of the prevailing wind is commonly pointed out by the direction of their branches. The foregoing facts seem sufficient to shew how well the theory is supported by the evidence of nature. I will, therefore, quit this part of the enquiry; but, before the subject is dismissed, we will take the liberty of subjoining the following observations, which may perhaps be acceptable to the naturalist.

First, I have been informed by persons well acquainted with our marshes, that the yew makes a part of the fossil-wood of the North of England: but it is so rarely found, that I have not hitherto been able to procure a specimen of it, though considerable endeavours have been made to obtain one, as such an acquisition would incontrovertibly prove the tree to be a native of this island, a circumstance which has been disputed of late. But since those from whom my information was received had no interest in propagating a falsehood, their testimony may be relied on; and the yew will be found to have a very good claim to be accounted indigenous, because the abundance of

fossil

foſſil vegetables concealed in our marſhes proves that they were formed when the land was over-run with wood. Britain, therefore, numbered the yew amongſt her productions, before agriculture and the art of planting were known to her inhabitants.

Secondly: It is highly probable, that an obſerving perſon might eaſily determine to what height the hills of this iſland have been anciently covered with wood: for ſwamps are frequent on the ſides of mountains, forming horizontal planes that interrupt their declivities. In ſome of theſe, which are much elevated, no trees are found; but I found a ſmall one between two and three hundred yards above the level of the ſurrounding country, which abounds in birch, and have been informed of another where fir is plentiful.

Thirdly: A thin bed of peat often covers the ſloping ſides of hills, where the ground is full of ſprings, but it differs in texture from the ſoil of flat bogs, as appears from the different methods obſerved in digging them: for the country people cut the latter horizontally; but, in working the former, they ſtrike their ſpades perpendicularly down; otherwiſe the parts detached by this operation would crumble to pieces; for the ſtratum conſiſts of the roots of the juncus campeſtris, heath, and other alpine plants connected in a very looſe manner.

To return to the ſubject of the eſſay, it may be ſafely taken for granted, that the marſhes of every country are ſimilar to thoſe of the north of England. Hence it follows, that lakes have once exiſted in every part of our globe; and that they have been defaced by the ſame cauſes which have produced like effects in this part of the world. But nature is not confined to the proceſs deſcribed above. She has other reſources, which make a part of this inquiry, and ſtill remain to be attended to.—In order to proceed with ſome degree of perſpicuity, it will be neceſſary to premiſe the following circumſtances, which muſt have attracted the notice of every one who has dedicated any part of his time to the examination of the phænomena obſervable in mountainous regions.

The compacteſt ſtrata of the earth, when expoſed to the atmoſphere, are broken into pieces, as is evident from the immenſe heaps of ſtones which are found lying at the foot of every precipice, conſiſting of fragments that are continually detached from it by the injuries of the air, and have been accumulating for ages.

The truth of this propoſition will be further confirmed by inſpecting the ſide of a hill after the ſoil is taken away; for it appears to be made up of maſſes of ſtone of no determined ſize or figure; and the want of coherency is apt to give the obſerver an idea that the whole eminence is conſtructed in the ſame looſe manner. But if the ſuperficial rubbiſh be removed, the appearance of a ſolid rock will overturn the haſty concluſion. No kind of matter enters in any conſiderable proportion, into the ſtrata of the north of England, that is proof to the injuries of the atmoſphere. The argillaceous ſaxa are moſt ſuſceptible of its influence; and even the lofty ridges of limeſtone that are found in various parts of this country, are in ſome places ſo far demoliſhed by the

the hand of time, as to be nearly buried in their own ruins. The knowledge of this method of decompoſing the hardeſt ſubſtances in the world, enables us to explain in a very eaſy manner the formation of the deep channels along which the rivulets of a mountain are conveyed from its ſummit to the neighbouring vallies. For theſe rills, which in dry weather are ſo inſignificant as to glide unſeen among the aſperities of the hollows where they run, are liable to be converted by heavy rains into furious torrents that carry all before them. It is on theſe occaſions that the looſe fragments of their ſtony bottoms are ſwept away, and driven to the lower ground, leaving a new ſurface of the rock expoſed to the atmoſphere, which in time is broken up by its action, and afterwards removed by the impetuoſity of ſucceeding floods. The frequent repetition of theſe deſtructive operations has, in ſome places, demoliſhed the hardeſt ſtrata to a depth ſcarcely to be credited. Now it is evident, that, where the ſame cauſes have been applied to the bank of a lake, they could not fail of producing the like effects as when exerted on the ſide of a hill. It may, therefore, be taken for granted, that the outlet of every lake has been more or leſs injured, in the manner deſcribed above. This concluſion being admitted, the following conſequences muſt immediately be aſſented to; becauſe they depend on the ſimpleſt laws of hydroſtatics.

Firſt: Wherever this proceſs has taken place, the dimenſions of the water contained in the reſervoir always diminiſhed as the depth of the channel increaſed through which the ſuperfluous part was diſcharged.

Secondly: Its banks were gradually enlarged; and the inequalities of the baſon began to riſe above the ſurface, and aſſumed the appearance of iſlands.

Laſtly: Wherever the ſituation of the diſcharging river would permit its bed to be worn to the level of the loweſt part of the reſervoir, the lake has diſappeared; and we find, at preſent, a valley in its room, containing very ſtrong proof of its own formation in the ſtratum of ſand and pebbles with which its ſides are covered. The particular ſituation of the outlet here alluded to depends on the figure of the bank where it is placed, which muſt not only be ſteep, but its deſcent muſt alſo be continued lower than the baſon, otherwiſe the lake cannot be totally defaced. For when a ſtream takes up a number of heavy bodies, it depoſits them again as ſoon as its velocity begins to diminiſh, the largeſt firſt, and the leſs in ſucceſſion, according to their bulks and comparative weights. Hence it appears, that the lower parts of the channel are continually riſing from the acceſſion of freſh materials; and the upper end is gradually depreſſed by the removal of the ſame, till the whole becomes a gentle declivity, down which the current will glide, no longer capable of diſturbing the impediments lying in its way: conſequently, the form and dimenſions of its bed will become permanent. Now, if the lower mouth of a lake arrive at this ſtate before it is ſufficiently worn away a part of its reſervoir will for ever remained undrained, unleſs it happen to be deranged by violent cauſes; or to be filled up with ſand

and pebbles brought from the adjacent country by the rivers which flow into it. After these destructive operations have ceased of themselves, there is reason to apprehend, from what has been discovered by philosophers, that the same process would be continued with equal effect, for the constituent particles of water are sufficiently hard to abrade the surfaces of very compact bodies; it having been proved by experiment, that the cohesion of glass itself is not strong enough to resist their action. The consideration of this fact would induce one to imagine, that the bed of a river undergoes insensible changes from the friction of its own stream, after it ceases to be exposed to the more manifest ravages of a torrent. But a little attention to the œconomy of nature will remove the suspicion, by pointing out a simple preventive, which she uses to obviate the inconveniency. For when a pebble has been a while deposited in water, it is covered with several of the *imperfect* plants, most commonly with the *converva rivularis*, and different species of *tremella*. These singular productions of the vegetable kingdom are enabled by some peculiarities of their constitution to bear the friction of a stream, without receiving the least injury. And, to whatever circumstance this property is owing, it is plain that the substances in question, while they provide for their own security, must ensure the protection of whatever they envelop. By spreading over every part in contact with the water, they preserve one continued surface, and present themselves entire and uninterrupted to the action of the current; and by occupying the crevices arising from the inequalities of contiguous stones, they form a kind of cement, in which the lighter fragments being entangled, are prevented from being moved by every trivial force. Thus is permanence given to the course of every river by this simple provision of nature; and bounds are set to a process, which without it must have been unlimited.

I have now enumerated the various causes that contribute to the transformation of lakes, by the gradual enlargement of their outlets, and have pointed out circumstances, which in process of time unavoidably hinder future alterations of the kind. It will therefore be proper, in conformity to the plan of the essay, to confirm the truth of the theory by the following remarks, which I trust will not be found contradictory to the experience of any one who has had an opportunity to make similar observations.

There are many vallies in the north of England, which, if we may judge from their appearance, have formerly been filled with water. The *coves* which seem scooped out of the sides of several hills are perhaps the most singular objects of the kind. The entrance into one of these places always lies through a narrow pass, between two steep banks. A rivulet most commonly flows through this opening, which, in some cases, conveys away the superfluous water, by a bason lying in the centre of the natural amphitheatre. If the course of this stream be traced to some part where its declivity is interrupted by a plane, the observer may have an opportunity of discovering what has once been its employment. For he will frequently find it flowing along a channel

channel considerably elevated by a broad bed of pebbles. The fragments constituting this ridge are in all probability the remains of a rock, that formerly occupied the opening which is now the entrance to the cove.

Besides these, there are other vallies of greater extent, and more distant from the summits of the hills, which appear to be worn-out reservoirs of ancient lakes. For, in them, the natural *strata* of the country are buried under deep beds of sand and pebbles. Their sides are frequently diversified with little eminences, which, in figure and structure, very much resemble the banks that are thrown up by currents; but their elevation above the neighbouring rivers, forbids us to imagine that they were formed by them, as it is not uncommon to meet with small hills of the kind many yards above the limits of the greatest floods; but at the same time it is evident that they have been raised by streams of considerable force, as they consist wholly of rolled stones, arranged in *strata* with beds of sand between them. The finest sand is found in the lowest and most sequestered places of these hollows, in such situations as theory assigns to it, on the supposition that the bottom of a lake is the least agitated by storms, where the water is deepest.

In many places it is as small as that thrown up by the sea; but it differs in this respect—sea-sand is more or less mixed with shells, but this contains none, though the limestone that is often found in the neighbourhood abounds with them. From this fact it may be very properly inferred, that the matter in question is of a more recent date than the primitive *strata* of the surrounding country; and that the tides of the ocean were not concerned in lodging it where we now find it. For though it would be folly to seek for shells in the heap of pebbles described above, because they would be unavoidably crushed to pieces, during the formation of these eminences, by the fragments of which they consist, being thrown forcibly together by the currents; yet, it is equally evident, that the gentler undulations of the water would transport such light substances along with the finest particles of stone into the calmest parts of the reservoir, and there leave them to subside together. On this account it is highly reasonable to suppose, that the beds of sand here alluded to are not productions of the sea; but that they have been deposited by rivers, which, after running over *strata* in a state of decomposition, discharged all the impurities collected in their respective courses into vallies full of water at the time; and that the rubbish, which now covers their sides, consists of these impurities, disposed in their present order and arrangement, by the currents of the primitive lakes.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

A Method to prevent Hares and Rabbits barking young Plantations. From the Eleventh Volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

HARES, rabbits, and rats, have a natural antipathy to tar; but tar, though fluid, contracts, when expoſed to the ſun and air for a time, a great dryneſs, and a very binding quality; and if applied to trees in its natural ſtate, will occaſion them to be bark-bound. To remove this difficulty, tar is of ſo ſtrong a ſavour, that a ſmall quantity mixed with other things, in their nature open and looſe, will give the whole mixture ſuch a degree of its own taſte and ſmell as will prevent hares, &c. touching what it is applied to.

Take any quantity of tar, and ſix or ſeven times as much greaſe, ſtirring and mixing them well together; with this compoſition briſh the ſtems of young trees, as high as hares, &c. can reach, and it will effectually prevent their being barked. I believe, if a plantation of aſh (which they are very fond of) were made in a rabbit-warren, this mixture would certainly preſerve it.

They do great miſchief amongſt flowering ſhrubs, and are particularly fond of Spaniſh broom, ſcorpion-ſenna, and ever-green cytiſus. I have had thoſe ſhrubs eat down to a ſtump; but as the mixture cannot be conveniently applied to them, I have inclоſed their branches with new tar-twine, by putting it ſeveral times round the ſhrub, which has had the deſired effect; tar-twine, by being expoſed to the air and rain, will loſe its ſmell; conſequently, muſt be renewed as occaſion requires; but the mixture is always to be preferred, where it can be uſed.

Obſervations relative to the Importance and proper Mode of pruning Orchards, communicated to Mr. More, *by* Thomas Skip Dyot Bucknall, *Eſq. From the ſame Work.*

THE bark of trees, properly conſidered, conſiſts of three diviſions: the outer, rough; the middle, ſoft and ſpungy; the inner, a whitiſh rind, being that which joins the bark to the wood; and this laſt is ſuppoſed to contain the liquid ſap. It is conſtantly obſerved, that when the ſtem of the tree grows too faſt for the bark, it cauſes blotches and lacerations; which evil is properly avoided by ſcoring the bark with a ſharp knife; but care ſhould be taken not to cut through the whitiſh rind before mentioned; for that heals very difficultly, generally ulcerates, and by being cut through, gives the inſects an opportunity of getting between the wood and the bark, where they are very deſtructive.

Any ſurgeon knows that a wound extending to the fine membrane,

covering the bones of the human body, requires much more ſkill to cure than a fleſh-wound; and the caſe is ſimilar.

Pruning is an important article with regard to the health of trees, and their bearing; and if judiciouſly done, they will come into bearing ſooner, and continue in vigour for nearly double their common age: but the ſyſtems of pruning are ſo wordy, that the common farmer cannot underſtand them; and the gardener thinks the orchard beneath his care, for which reaſon it is left to nature and the winds; for the farmer, afraid of doing wrong, never troubles himſelf about it unleſs, ſeeing a branch half broken, he takes his bill and knocks it off, perhaps four or five inches from the trunk, leaving an unſightly ſtump. Do not imagine this is intended as any reproach; for there are no ſet of men who ſpend their time more judiciouſly in their vocation; but they cannot run into ſpeculations; if they did, little rent would be paid. I give no attention to fruit branches, and wood branches, as being unneceſſary in the preſent inſtance; and beg once for all, that no branch ſhall ever be ſhortened, unleſs for the figure of the tree, and then conſtantly taken off cloſe at the ſeparation, by which means the wound ſoon heals. The more the range of the branches ſhoot circularly, a little inclining upwards, the more equally will the ſap be diſtributed, and the better will the tree bear; for, from that circumſtance, the ſap is more evenly impelled to every part. Do not let the ranges of branches be too near each other; for remember, all the fruit and the leaves ſhould have their full ſhare of the ſun; and where it ſuits, let the middle of the tree be free from wood, ſo that no branch ſhall ever croſs another, but all the extreme ends point outwards.

The beſt compliment your neighbour can make is, that your trees are handſome, but too thin of wood: be it ſo; and you may ſay, True, farmer; but I have the beſt price at market, and that will always be the ſure teſt of perfection.

My tenant, Mr. Boulding, planted the orchard in 1772: being on a rich ſoil, it throve ſurpriſingly. That vigorous growth occaſioned the after decay; for the wind having great power over them, ſplit them down; the ladders, in gathering, broke them; the wood being ſoft, many cauſes concurred to injure them; and the injudicious manner in which the lacerations were taken off, added to the evil; for there generally follows gum from a wound, which being ſweet in fruit-bearing trees, the wound becomes filled with vermin, which obſtructs the healing, by their conſtantly eating and fretting the young bark.

Being informed of the ſituation the orchard was in, I went down in the ſpring of 1790, and found the branches ſo intermixed and entangled together, that in many places they had cut each other nearly half through, cauſing wounds and blotches; which, on the return of the ſap in the ſpring, always affects the leaves, by incling them to curl, and is a proof that the ſap is vitiated.

Having examined the circumſtances, I told the tenant I would come down in the autumn, when proper perſons muſt be found to execute the buſineſs, and we would reinſtate the orchard, and bring it to its former ſplendor; for it ſhould be obſerved, the orchard uſed to be much admired. Accordingly, I went

went the first Tuesday in November, and for two hours walked over the ground with the men, instructing them what I would have done, that we might begin the next morning, work with spirit, and lose no time. We had saws, bills, and knives, prepared on purpose; and, though I am a good hand myself, soon perceived neither of us could cut true enough with a bill to take off the branch, without leaving a stump or improper wound; for it is essentially necessary that every branch should be cut perfectly close and smooth; for which reason we took the saws, and afterwards smoothed the place with a knife. My servant's business was, with a painter's brush to smear over the wounds with a medicated tar hereafter described.

It is impossible the bark can grow over a stump, because there is no power to draw the sap that way; for which reason always cut a little within the wood: I was constantly directing to cut quick, close, and smooth: we kept together, first walked round the tree; then I pointed out every branch that came near to the ground or had received any material injury, or where the leaves were much curled; for where the leaves curl, the fruit is always specky; and every branch, which had the least tendency to cross the tree or run inwards, was taken off. Then we gave a little attention to the beauty of the head, leaving all the branches as nearly equidistant as possible: next we examined if there were any remaining blotches, opening or scoring them with a knife; and where the bark was ragged from any laceration, paring it gently down till we came to the live wood. Each of these was touched over with the medicated tar.

Having gone thus far, we should have rubbed off the moss, and scored the trees: but I had not time for that part of the business; I only wish I had secured a person on purpose. In the cutting we followed the surgeon's rule, go to the quick, but do not wantonly make any wound larger than necessary.

We sometimes had our doubts whether a particular branch should be taken off. The idea I brought it under was this: consider whether it will be in the way three years hence; if it will, the sooner it is off the better.

When trees are much thinned, they are subject to throw out great quantity of young shoots in the spring, which I requested the tenants to be particularly careful to rub off: it is necessary that they be rubbed, and not cut; for cutting increases the number.

As our work drew near a conclusion, one of the tenants said, We understand our business so well, that I wish we had another job; upon which my servant observed, You had better keep in your own parish, for the people are much dissatisfied. The truth is, we had no comforters; for the country was against us. If the land had been under my own culture, I should have taken off half as much more; but I did not choose to offend the persons whom I wished to instruct.

I went down again in the spring of 1791, to see the effect, and found the tenants much pleased with the operation, and did not find one wound in an hundred but what was in a clear healing state: and the healing of the wounds is the business; for nothing but prejudice can make a person think that a tree overloaded with wood will produce good

fruit: you may as well expect a crop of large turneps without hoeing; and I am in great hopes that pruning will become as general as hoeing; and I am sure it is as necessary.

The medicated tar above mentioned, as used in the foregoing experiments, was composed of one quarter of an ounce of corrosive sublimate, reduced to fine powder, by beating with a wooden hammer, and then put into a three-pint earthen pipkin, with about a glass full of gin, or other spirit, stirred well together, and the sublimate thus dissolved. The pipkin was then filled, by degrees, with vegetable or common tar, and constantly stirred, till the mixture was blended together as intimately as possible; and this quantity will, at any time, be sufficient for two hundred trees.

To prevent danger, let the corrosive sublimate be mixed with the tar as quickly as possible, after it is purchased; for, being of a very poisonous nature to all animals, it should not be suffered to lie about a house, for fear of mischief to some part of the family.

SIR,

THIS is to certify, that our father planted the orchard, about the year 1773, on an old hop-ground, with apples and cherries, and took great care of it; and the trees grew wonderfully; but by being suffered to run with little pruning, and the branches breaking by the wind and other causes, the trees became galled, and were decayed; which being mentioned to our landlord, Mr. Thomas Skip Bucknall, he came down the first Tuesday in November, 1790, and walked over the orchard with us, and an experienced woodman, for two hours, giving his instructions how he would have the work done; and we began at day-light the next morning, and kept constantly to our work until the Saturday night following.

The progress was thus: we stood and examined the tree, then cut out every branch any way decayed or galled, or where there appeared any curled leaves. That being done, we thinned the tree to give it a uniform head, and that the air and sun might freely pass through: afterwards we took off all the stumps which had been injudiciously cut before. We never shortened a branch, but took it off close to where it shot out from the other part of the tree.

Mr. Bucknall constantly attended, and was determined that we should cut close, smooth, and even, holding the left hand under the branch, that it should not shiver the bark. We also took off every branch which crossed the tree, leaving none but those whose extreme branches tended outwards. We were sometimes in doubt whether a branch should be taken off or not. The rule Mr. Bucknall established was, Consider, will that branch be in the way three years hence: if it will, the sooner it is cut the better; and it is surprising how soon we got into such a method, that we went on with as much unconcern, as with any of the common labours of the field. A servant was employed to smooth, with a knife, all the places where the saw had been, and to rub them over with the medicated tar; and that was done directly, that the wind should not dry or split the wood. Formerly, when we used to take off a large branch or two, the wounds generally cankered; which made us leave them in the encumbered state

they were in, rather than run any hazard; but, to our great ſurpriſe, the wounds, after this operation, all healed; which we can no other way account for, but from what Mr. Bucknall ſays, that the medication deſtroys the vermin, and by cutting quite cloſe to the remaining branch, the flow of the ſap draws the ſides of the wounds together. Be that as it may, the trees are perfectly healed; and we are ſo well ſatisfied, that we intend to thin ſome of the trees a little more next autumn, and ſtrongly recommend the practice.

With regard to the fruit, laſt year was a failing year in the county; but we had as much as our neighbours, and the fruit was certainly clearer from ſpecks. We were alſo directed to be very careful to rub off all the ſuckers which might come out in the ſpring, and did it accordingly. All the trees have bloomed exceedingly fine, and perfectly ſtrong and healthy. Should any further circumſtance occur, we will inform the ſociety of it. We are, with great reſpect,

Sir,

Your obedient humble ſervants,

ROBERT BOULDING,
JAMES BOULDING.

Sittingbourne,
May 27, 1792.

Mr. MORE.

SIR,

THIS is to certify to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, that, ſome time ſince, I appriſed Mr. Bucknall, that his orchard, in the occupation of Mrs. Boulding, lying in this place, was in a very declining ſtate; and in autumn, 1789, having ſome buſineſs with him, I again repeated to him my thoughts relative thereto; and that, if ſomething was not done to recover the trees, I ſuſpected that great part, if not all of them, would certainly die. In the following ſpring, Mr. Bucknall came to Sittingbourne, and pointed out to the Mr. Bouldings (Mrs. Boulding's ſons) and myſelf, that where there was any blotch on the tree, or the bark ſevered therefrom, the wound was full of vermin; which, he ſaid, was the cauſe of the trees doing ſo badly; and thereupon undertook to prune one of them, and uſed a medicine he bought in the town; but ſoon breaking his knife, little was done. He ſaid he could eaſily reinſtate the trees, and bring them to health; and, if Mrs. Boulding would find three or four men, that he would come down again and prune them, and would be anſwerable the trees ſhould not ſuſtain any injury.

Accordingly, when Mr. Bucknall came down again, and pruned the trees, I attended whilſt ſeveral were done, and ſaw them all after they were done; but muſt mention, in juſtice to my own veracity, that I thought they made the trees appear too much like ſcare-crows. But now the trees have good heads, and are very full of fruit; I think, far beyond the crop in general; and the wounds healed, except three or four cherry-trees, which were ſo far gone, that Mr. Bucknall did not chooſe to touch them; and they are now almoſt dead.

I have but one more obſervation to make, and that I wiſh to impreſs upon the minds of the Society: that, in walking over the orchard this day, there is no one branch ſhortened; and I now ſee that the merit of the pruning conſiſts in deſtroying the vermin, keep-

ing the branches at a due diſtance, and leaving the extreme ſhoots perfect, that the tree may grow as round and large as poſſible.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
BR. FAUSSETT,
Attorney at Law.

Sittingbourne, May, 27, 1792.
Mr. MORE.

SIR,

THIS is to certify, that I have been long acquainted with the orchards planted by the late Mr. Thomas Boulding, on the lands of Thomas Skip Bucknall, eſq. containing about ſix acres, ſituated in the pariſh of Sittingbourne; that the trees throve well for ſome time—I ſuppoſe, for the firſt ten or twelve years. After that time, many died, and many were wounded with the canker in the bark, from the bottom of the body even to the top arms: and the orchards, though in an infant ſtate, ſeemed going very faſt to decay (though as well managed as any in the neighbourhood the whole time). In November, 1790, Mr. Bucknall came to Sittingbourne, and was ſeveral days aſſiſting and directing his own ſervants, and Mrs. Boulding's people, in pruning the trees. After pruning, a medical preparation was applied to the wounds: the work ſeemed to be well done; but it was the opinion of many that the trees were thinned too much.

I have ſeveral times ſince viewed the trees; and, by his deſire, went over the orchards this morning. I find the greateſt part of the trees in a very good thriving way: thoſe that were in a very bad ſtate ſeem recovering faſt; the wounds in the bark, and thoſe occaſioned by pruning, are healing very faſt. I am ſo convinced of the propriety of the treatment, that I intend practiſing the ſame myſelf. I beg my reſpects to the Society; and am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN LAKE.

Babchild, May 28, 1792.
Mr. MORE.

SIR,

IN anſwer to your requeſt of the 13th ult. concerning the preſent ſtate of the orchard which I now occupy, as tenant, and under the direction of Thomas Skip Bucknall, eſq.

The orchard is now in good condition; and, by experience, I highly approve of pruning the trees: though this laſt ſeaſon was very unfavourable for all kinds of fruits, ſtill the fruit, the produce of this ſeaſon, far exceeds the quality of that of my neighbours. The Flemiſh cherry was every tree blighted, owing to the ſharp froſty mornings, when in bloom; therefore produced no fruit this year. The produce of the Engliſh cherry, Mayduke, amber-heart, Turkey-heart, white-heart, and black-heart, very large, fine, and plentiful, far exceeding that of my neighbours. The apples far exceed all this part of the county; the produce plentiful, and very fine in quality; free from ſpecks, and of a fine ſize; that of my neighbours, the produce ſmall, fruit ſmall, and very ſpecky; therefore, of a very bad quality.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient ſervant,
ROBERT BOULDING.

Sittingbourne, Nov. 17, 1792.
Mr. MORE.

Effects

Effects of Mud, as a Manure, by Thomas Walford, *Esq. From the Annals of Agricul. vol.* xix.

Dear Sir,

YOU mention, in your Annals, page 431, the great benefit the Rev. Mr. Walford, of Boreham, received from pond mud, "*fresh from a pond*, the soil of which is an imperfect *moory peat*, on a gravelly loam."

I beg leave to lay before you three experiments with mud upon an upland pasture, laid down with grasses about eight years, the mud from a moat, the bottom of which is a *white marly clay*.

In September 1790, I cast the moat, one end of which adjoins the farm yard, and had received the draining from it eighteen or nineteen years; this part, I was advised (contrary to my own opinion of its being proper) to cart immediately upon the land, and spread it as soon as it was dry enough: I did so—and the effect was, infinite injury to the succeeding crop of grass; it caked down so very firm, that the rain and frost, that season, with the assistance of a great deal of labour, did not pulverize it sufficient for the grass to get through. The loss I sustained was very considerable, there being less hay than on any other part of the field. The following year I was much inclined to have harrowed it, with a heavy pair of harrows, and sow it again with seeds: I did not; yet am convinced the crop would have been more productive if I had; for it was very light, and not equal to the crop before the mud was carried on.

The third year, being a wet season, it began to work, and produced me a tolerable burthen, but not sufficient to repay the loss of the two former; yet the benefit was very visible, for the spot where it was laid might be traced to great exactness.

The mud from the other parts of the moat was thrown upon the banks and left to drain; this I wished to have let remain there a year, to have stirred it over, and then carried it upon the pasture, but was again prevailed upon to carry on two parts out of three as soon as it was dry enough to cart; being told it would save a considerable expence, and be equally beneficial, in both of which I was disappointed; the extra expence of bush harrowing, and beating the clods to pieces, was more than the stirring over would have been; for, like the former, it caked down, and injured, instead of benefiting the succeeding crop of grass, but not in so great a degree—for I thought some advantage was derived from it the second year.

As the two methods above were quite contrary to my ideas and opinion, I was determined with the mud that remained to adopt the following plan of my own, which probably may not be new in many other places, although it is in this parish.

Instead of carting the mud when dry, I turned it over with a spade, except about one rod at the end, which, from some cause or other, was neglected till March; I then dug it and planted potatoes. The other part, from having had the winter's frost and rains, was very full of mould, and I imagined would do exceedingly well for carrots; it was sown with carrots; but whether the dryness of the sea-

ſon, badneſs of ſeed, or the ſoil not being proper (the latter I believe), my crop was a very bad one; but the potatoes exceeded my expectation; had the whole been planted with them, the produce would have doubly paid me the expence of digging and planting; and the mud received great benefit, by being ſtirred over when they were taken up.

When the crops were cleared, I carted the mud upon the pooreſt part of the paſture, and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find it produced a very fine crop of graſs the June following, ſuperior to many parts of the field that had been well manured at the ſame time. The luxuriance of the crop was ſo conſpicuous, as to attract the attention of the neighbouring farmers.

Therefore, having met with ſuch great ſucceſs from the latter experiment, I ſhall in future empty my ponds between hay-time and harveſt, let the mud lie till it is dry enough to dig, then ſtir it over, and in March dibble in potatoes; being convinced, if it is not the beſt method to adopt, it is a profitable one, where the mud is taken from a clay bottom.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble ſervant,
THOMAS WALFORD.

An Improvement on Metallic Conductors or Lightning Rods. From the Amer. Phil. Tranſ.

FROM the inſtances which now and then occur of houſes being ſtruck with lightning, that are furniſhed with metallic conductors, and the frequent inſtances of theſe conductors having their tops melted off by a ſtroke of lightning, it appears that this admirable contrivance for guarding houſes againſt the dangerous effects of lightning is, in ſome degree, ſtill imperfect. Some improvement ſeems yet to be wanting at both extremities of the rod—at the upper extremity, to ſecure it againſt the accident of being melted, which renders it afterwards unfit to anſwer its original intention, viz. drawing off the electric fluid, or lightning, from the paſſing cloud, in a ſilent, imperceptible manner; for it is only *pointed* conductors that poſſeſs this property—and at the lower extremity, to afford a more ready paſſage for the fluid into the ſurrounding earth.

The firſt of theſe intentions would, I am perſuaded, be effectually anſwered, by inſerting in the top of the rod a piece of *black lead*, of about two inches long, taken out of a good pencil, and terminating in a fine point, projecting but a very little above the end of its metallic ſocket; ſo that, if the black-lead point ſhould happen to be broken off by any accident, of which however I think there can be but little danger, ſtill the point of the rod would be left ſharp enough to anſwer the purpoſe of a metallic conductor.

This ſubſtance is well known to be infuſible by the greateſt heat, and hence its uſe in making crucibles; nor is it evaporable, as remarked by Cronſtedt, in his mineralogy, ſec. 231, except in a ſlow calcining heat, to which it could never be expoſed on the top of a lightning-rod.

At the ſame time its power as a conductor of electricity is perhaps equal, or but little inferior, to that of any of the metals. A line drawn on a piece of paper by a black-lead pencil

pencil will, as I have often experienced, conduct an electric explosion seemingly as well as a similar line of gilding would do, and that without ever losing its conducting power, which is not the case with gilding.

The second intention is to facilitate the escape of the electric fluid from the lower part of the rod into the surrounding earth. It is, in many cases, impracticable, from the interruption of rocks and other obstacles, to sink the rod so deep as to reach moist earth, or any other substance which is a tolerably good conductor of electricity. Nor even if this were practicable, would it, I presume, be alone sufficient to answer the desired intention. Iron buried in the earth, and especially in moist earth, will presently contract a coat of rust, which will continually increase till the whole is converted into rust: but rust of iron, and indeed the calx of all metals, is a *non-conductor*, or at most but a very imperfect conductor of the electric fluid. Hence it is easy to see, that in a few years after a lightning-rod has been erected, that part of it which is under ground will contribute little or nothing towards the safety of the building. Besides, the surface of this part of the rod is *too small* to afford an easy and copious discharge of the electric fluid into the surrounding earth, when this is but an imperfect conductor.

As a remedy for these defects, I would propose that the part of the rod under ground be made of tin, or copper, which are far less liable to corrosion or rust, by lying under ground, than iron. Or, which perhaps would answer the purpose better, let this part of the rod, of whatever metal it be made, be coated over with a thick crust of black lead, previously formed into the consistence of paste, by being pulverized and mixed with melted sulphur (as in the manufactory of the ordinary kind of black-lead pencils) and then applied to the rod while hot. By this means the lower part of the rod would, I apprehend, retain its conducting powers for ages, without any diminution.

In order to increase the surface of the lower part of the conductor, let a hole or pit of sufficient extent be dug as deep as convenient; and into this pit let there be put a quantity of *charcoal*, round the lower extremity of the rod. Charcoal possesses two properties which, in a peculiar manner, fit it for answering the purpose here in view. First, it is a very good conductor of electricity; and second, it will undergo little or no change of property by lying ever so long in the earth. Thus might the surface of that part of the conductor, in contact with the earth, be increased, with little trouble or expence, to any extent at pleasure; a circumstance which every one acquainted with electrical experiments must acknowledge to be of great importance to the end here proposed.

R. PATTERSON.

A Method of draining Ponds in level Grounds, by J. Higgins. *From the same.*

AT a certain distance below the surface of the earth, there is a stratum of loose sand which freely admits the passage of water. This stratum is at various depths, in different elevations; but it will be generally found, that lands most subject

ject to ſtagnant ponds, have but a ſhallow ſtratum of clay over the ſand.

All that is neceſſary, therefore, is to dig a pit in the bottom of the pond, till you arrive at this ſtratum of ſand, when the water will be immediately abſorbed, and the pond emptied. Should there be too much water to permit a hole to be dug within the pond, it may be made at the edge of it, the communication afterwards made by a trench. It would be prudent not to make the ſides of the pit ſo ſteep as to prevent cattle from getting out ſhould they happen to go in.

An eaſy and expeditious Method of diſſipating the noxious Vapour commonly found in Wells and other ſubterraneous Places, by E. Robinſon. *From the ſame.*

AFTER various unſucceſsful trials, (a detail of which has been already communicated) I was led to conſider, how I could convey a large quantity of freſh air from the top to the bottom of the well; ſuppoſing that the foul would neceſſarily give way to the pure air. — With this view I procured a pair of ſmith's bellows fixed in a wooden frame, ſo as to work in the ſame manner as at the forge. This apparatus being placed at the edge of the well, one end of a leathern tube (the hoſe of a fire engine) was cloſely adapted to the noſe of the belows, and the other end was thrown into the well, reaching within one foot of the bottom. At this time the well was ſo infected, that a candle would not burn at a ſhort diſtance from the top; but after blowing with my bellows only half an hour, the candle burned bright at the bottom; then, without further difficulty, I proceeded in the work, and finiſhed my well.

Wells are often made in a very ſlight manner, owing to the difficulty of working in them, and there have been ſeveral fatal inſtances of the danger attending the workmen; but by the above method there is neither difficulty nor danger in completing the work with the utmoſt ſolidity.

It is obvious, that in cleanſing vaults, and working in any other ſubterraneous places, ſubject to damps, as they are called, the ſame method muſt be attended with the ſame beneficial effect.

Obſervations on the Treatment of Gunſhot Wounds. Communicated, in a Letter to Dr. Simmons, *by* Robert Jackſon, *M. D. Phyſician at* Stockton, *in the County of* Durham. *From the London Medical Journal, vol.* xi. 8*vo.*

I AM aware that the cuſtom of dilating wounds made by fire arms is ſo generally adopted by practitioners, and ſo formidably ſupported by great authorities, that it requires no ſmall ſhare of courage to raiſe doubts concerning its propriety, or even its neceſſity. I am alſo aware that I am ill qualified to illuſtrate the ſubject in a regular and ſyſtematic diſcuſſion. I have little acquaintance with ſurgical writers, and cannot boaſt a very extenſive range of experience: but I hope to be indulged with the liberty of relating a few facts which occured to me during the late war in America, and which ſeem to prove that the

cuſtomary

cuſtomary dilatation of wounds may be frequently omitted, not only without detriment, but even with obvious benefit to the patient.

In the year 1779, a party of the loyal American militia, who had attacked a poſt of the enemy in the back part of the province of Georgia, were obliged to retire without effecting their purpoſe. A conſiderable number of them were wounded; and as their diſtance from the army precluded them from ſurgical aſſiſtance, their wounds were only bound over with a bit of rag. Such was the fact: the conſequence was not what might have been expected; for among the number of wounds which I afterwards ſaw, there were ſeveral which we ſhould have expected to be troubleſome and tedious in cure, if treated according to the common rules of ſurgery, but in reality they healed ſpeedily and well. Another action was fought, ſome time after, at Brier Creek. The greater number of the wounded were conveyed to the hoſpital, and furniſhed with proper accommodations and ſurgical aſſiſtance; but there were alſo ſome of the militia who remained in the woods, and paid no other attention to their wounds than ſimply to bind them up. The contraſt in point of treatment was obvious in the preſent caſe, and the difference of effect was not leſs remarkable; for, in as far as I could judge from thoſe examples which I had an opportunity of comparing, the progreſs towards healing was not leſs advanced in three weeks, where there was not any thing done, than in five, where art and ſkill were employed. There occurred likewiſe ſeveral accidental inſtances during the following campaigns, where the uſual formality of ſurgical treatment did not appear to be attended with conſpicuous advantage; but the faireſt comparative trial which has yet fallen under my obſervation was after the action at Cowpen, in South Carolina, in January 1781. The ſcene of this action was near the mountains, in a diſtrict of country almoſt uninhabited. Not fewer than an hundred and twenty men lay wounded on the field, or diſperſed themſelves in the neighbourhood, where they accidentally found the ſhelter of a hut. As I was the only profeſſional perſon who remained on the ſpot after the defeat, it was not in my power to viſit every one; neither did I find out, till after ſeveral days, the abodes to which many had retired. I may obſerve, that I dilated freely, and treated according to the uſual methods of ſurgeons, the wounds of ſuch as I ſaw early; but there was probably near a fifth of the whole to whom, from their remote ſituation, immediate help could not be given. Other ſurgeons were afterwards ſent from the army by lord Cornwallis, and ſuch accommodations were provided for the wounded as a deſolate country could afford. I ſtill continued my aſſiſtance, and remained on this duty near ſix weeks, during which time I had the opportunity of obſerving, that thoſe wounds to which little or nothing had been done generally healed more rapidly, and were ſeldom attended with ſo much pain and inflammation, as where dilatation, poulticing, &c. had been freely employed.

It appears, then, that we may ſafely

safely conclude from the above facts, that the indiscriminate dilatation of gun-shot wounds is not a measure of necessity. I will even add, that it often gives rise to pain, inflammation, and many troublesome symptoms, which are not merely the effects of the wound. I shall mention an observation in this place, which I have often seen verified, and which I should suppose can scarcely be overlooked by any one, viz. that the pain and inflammation are greater, and consequently that the cure is slower, in simple flesh wounds, where the surgeon has recourse to dilatation, than where the knife is not employed. This perhaps will be reckoned a small inconvenience; but I will add farther, that the effects of dilatation are peculiarly pernicious in wounds of the joints. It is well known that the access of air, which is favoured by an enlargement of the orifice, is particularly hurtful in wounds which penetrate into cavities. In the joints, after being thus exposed, the growth of fungous excrescences is scarcely to be restrained, and anchylosis is the least bad effect to be expected.

But though it appears that the dilatation of gun-shot wounds is hurtful or superfluous in the cases which I have mentioned, there are certainly others in which it is both necessary and proper. If, for instance, a ball, or the fragment of a bone, can be extracted by means of an enlargement of the orifice, no person will pretend to say that such enlargement ought not to be made. It is likewise proper, where wounds run superficially under the skin, that they be laid open through the whole of their length; and in many cases where inflammation comes upon a wounded limb, the muscles of which are covered by a tendinous expansion, and, as it were, girded by it, a deep and free dilatation is then of obvious and great service. Such dilatations, however, ought to be deferred till the occasion requires them.

Such, as far as my observation goes, are the advantages and disadvantages of dilating gun-shot wounds. There are also other practices employed by surgeons, which, instead of being productive of benefit, often occasion no small share of harm. It appears to be an axiom in surgery, that a warm poultice, in the first stages of gun-shot wounds, is an application not to be dispensed with. I do not deny that in cold climates, where the fibre is tense and rigid, they often alleviate pain and promote digestion; but I am also of opinion, that, in the tropical climates, or even in the southern provinces of North America, they are not only unnecessary, but sometimes actually the cause of very troublesome complaints. I have observed, in numerous instances, that pain and inflammation were obviously increased by the use of warm poultices, and even that suppurations, independent of the suppuration of the wounds, were sometimes produced merely from the heat and relaxation which that application occasioned. Besides, poultices are inconvenient and unpleasant in warm weather, and may be reckoned among the causes which promote the generation of maggots. I might, therefore, I believe, safely advise, that the practice be discontinued in the above-mentioned

mentioned climates. I might even add, that I am ſufficiently warranted to recommend a contrary one. Thus I have often found benefit from the application of bandages wet with laudanum or ſpirituous liquors, and, above all, from the pouring of cold water upon the wounded limb. The good effects of theſe, in diſpoſing the wounds to heal, were very remarkable.

To the above obſervations I ſhall beg leave to add another, which I believe is not commonly attended to. Reſt and quiet are uniformly ſuppoſed to be proper in the treatment of wounds. Where wounds penetrate into the cavities of the body, motion would often be dangerous; and where the legs or thighs are broken, it cannot be attempted unleſs with great caution: but, in the ordinary circumſtances of fleſh wounds, the advantages of moving about, even of travelling, or continuing to march, are great and obvious. Not to adduce the American militia only as a proof of this opinion, I ſhall mention, that after the action of Guildford, in North Carolina, every man who was capable of being conveyed, either in litter, waggon, or on horſeback, was carried with the army. The healing progreſs was rapid while we were upon the march; I imagined that it proceeded more ſlowly when we halted for a few days at Croſſcreek; and when we came to fix our ſtation at Wilmington it was, in ſome degree, retrograde: but this was probably owing to the ſoldiers having acceſs to ſpirituous liquors.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the early State of the Engliſh *Navy, from a Memoir on* Britiſh *Naval Architecture, in the Archæologia.* Vol. XI.

THE accounts of our navy are but few, until the reign of Henry the Eighth; but as the office of Admiral was eſtabliſhed ſo early as the reign of Edward the Firſt, and perhaps of John; and we find Fitz Allan appointed Admiral of England by Richard the Second; and Spelman hath given us a liſt of admirals from Henry the Third; we may infer that our princes had ſome ſhips of their own, beſides the occaſional ones furniſhed by the Cinque Ports, &c. The firſt inſtance I know of, and that a curious one, as it mentions cannon employed on board a ſhip, occurs in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. VIII. p. 447. It is an order to Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, to deliver to Mr. Loveney, treaſurer of queen Philippa, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, who was then ſent by her uncle Henry the Fourth to her huſband, in the ſhip called the Queen's Hall, the following military ſtores: 11 guns, 40 *libras pulveris* pro gunnes, 40 *petras* pro gunnes, 40 tampons, 4 touches, 1 mallet, 2 fire-pans, 40 pavys, 24 bows, 40 ſheaves of arrows, pro ſtuffura ejuſdem navis, ordinata pro aula ejuſdem reginæ.

Henry the Fifth, at his firſt invaſion of France, appears to have had two large and beautiful ſhips of his own, with purple ſails, the one called the King's Chamber, the other his Hall.

Edward the Fourth had ſeveral ſhips of his own, which he employed ſometimes in war, and often for trade, in which he dealt largely. It appears from Canning's monument in Redcliſt church at Briſtol, that he, at one time, furniſhed this prince with 2,470 tons of ſhipping to purchaſe his peace, among which were the Mary and John of 900 tons, and the Mary Radcliffe of 500 tons, being two of the largeſt ſhips belonging to any Engliſhman in that early period that I know of, though many of that ſize, and larger, are to be found amongſt the Genoeſe and Venetians at that time.

In 1481 he iſſued the following order: "Rex dilecto ſibi Richardo Symondes, magiſtro *navis* noſtræ vocatæ *Le Grace de Dieu*, ſalutem.

"Cum nos quandam armatam potentiam ad proficiſcendum ſupra mare in reſiſtentiam illius infidelis et antiqui inimici noſtri regis *Scotorum* ordinavimus, aſſignavimus te ad tot mariñarios quot pro gubernatione et conductione navis predictæ neceſſarii fuerint et opportuni, *ubicunque* inveniri *poterunt, tam infra libertates quam extra*, areſtandum et capiendum, et eos in nave prædicta, nobis ad vadia noſtra deſervituros, ponendum et poni faciendum.

"Conſimiles

" Confimiles literæ regis patentes diriguntur perſonis ſubſcriptis ſub eadem data, viz. Roberto Michelſon magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ LeHenry, Richardo Hubbard magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ Le Anthony; Johanni Stevens magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ le Great Portingale; Johanni Hamond magiſtro navis *regis* le Spagnard; Waltero Cokkee magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ le Henry Aſhe; and to five other commanders, who had not ſhipps belonging to the king, but ſeem to have been hired." Rymer, vol. XII. p. 139. N. B. We find that preſſing of *ſeamen* for the king's ſervice was practiſed at this time, perhaps even earlier.

It appears that our ſhips were now built larger; for in the earlier ſtages of them I am apt to ſuſpect they were much ſmaller, and even conſiſted, for the moſt part, of ſingle-decked veſſels, with one maſt only. In the famous Armada of Edward the Third, though it conſiſted of 1,100 veſſels, the men on board them were only 11,165; very little more than ten men per veſſel; and though, in the proportion of thoſe furniſhed by London, we find them a little bigger, they do not exceed twenty-ſix men per veſſel even in that claſs.

It is therefore to the reign of Henry the Eighth that we muſt look for the eſtabliſhment of a regular navy. Before his reign, ſhips were hired occaſionally from the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Hanſe towns, and other trading people. Theſe, with the others, ſupplied by the Cinque Ports, formed the ſtrength of our Engliſh fleets. As ſoon as the ſervice was performed for which they were hired, they were diſmiſſed.

Henry, aware of the inconveniency of ſuddenly collecting ſuch a ſea force as his frequent wars on the continent required, reſolved to form ſuch a permanent ſtrength at ſea, as his political views, and the growing ſtate of the trade, at that time ſo much increaſed by the diſcoveries of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the enlarged communications with our neighbours on the continent, ſeemed to make neceſſary.

The recent introduction of cannon on board ſhips of war, had alſo made it neceſſary that the ſize of them ſhould be enlarged.

And though there were ſome few, at that time employed in the buſineſſes of commerce that were pretty conſiderable, as we ſee in the caſe of thoſe belonging to Canning, the number of them was ſmall, and their general ſize made them very incompetent to the purpoſes of war in the manner it began to be carried on.

To execute this plan, Henry eſtabliſhed building-yards at Woolwich, Deptford, and Chatham. He was at firſt obliged to hire foreign artificers, as we find by a curious report made to James the Firſt in the year 1618, in anſwer to a commiſſion iſſued by that prince to his ſeveral maſter-builders. The report is as followeth:

" In former times our kings have enlarged their dominions rather by land than ſea forces, whereat even ſtrangers have marvelled, conſidering the many advantages of a navy; but ſince the change of *weapons* and *fight*, Henry the Eighth making uſe of *Italian ſhip-wrights*, and encouraging his own people to build ſtrong ſhips of war to carry great ordnance, by that means eſtabliſhed a puiſſant navy, which in the end of his reign conſiſted of ſeventy veſſels, whereof thirty were ſhips of burthen; and contained

contained in all 10,550 tons, and two galleys: the reſt were ſmall barks and row-barges, from eighty tons downards to fifteen tons; which ſerved in rivers, and for landing of men. Edward the Sixth in the ſixth year of his reign had but fifty-three ſhips, containing in all 11,005 tons, with 7,995 men, whereof only twenty-eight veſſels were above eighty tons each. Queen Mary had but forty-ſix of all ſorts." All this from the report.

Though we are not acquainted with all the particular ſhips that formed the navy of Henry the Eighth, we know that amongſt them were two very large ones, viz. the Regent and the Harry Grace de Dieu; the former being burnt in 1412, in an engagement with the French, occaſioned Henry to build the latter. However, if we conſider the ſhips that formed the navy in the firſt year of Edward the Sixth as the navy left by his father, which I think we fairly may do, we ſhall be ſurprized at the ſtate to which he had raiſed it. Our worthy member Mr. Topham having already given us that liſt, makes it unneceſſary to repeat mine. I only beg leave to obſerve, as it gives weight to my own MS. account of it, that my own account ſtates it at 11,005 tons, and that given by Mr. Topham at 11,748 tons. As mine is taken in the ſixth year of Edward, the little difference may be explained by the decay of ſome of thoſe left by Henry, and not replaced in the pacific minority of Edward, if they ever were till the time of Elizabeth; for we find a more conſiderable decline in that of queen Mary.

We now get into the reign of Elizabeth, and ſee with pleaſure the brilliant ſtate of our riſing navy. The wars ſhe was obliged to carry on with Spain, not only obliged her to increaſe it, but were the occaſion of breeding up ſuch a race of naval heroes, as no age or country ever produced within the ſame compaſs of time. It is not the buſineſs of this little tract to do juſtice to their memories by recording them; the names of Raleigh, Drake, Forbiſher, Cavendiſh, Cumberland, and many others, need but be mentioned to be remembered with honour by their grateful countrymen. It will be unneceſſary to ſay more of the navy at this time, as Ledyard and others have given full and pretty correct liſts of it, than that ſhe increaſed it to 17,630 tons. It conſiſted of 42 veſſels, about 30 of which may be eſteemed ſhips of the line, as thoſe down to 200 tons were called ſhips royal. She did not increaſe the ſize of her ſhips beyond that of her father's, unleſs we allow the Triumph to be ſo, if ſhe was 1,100 tons, as ſome liſt mention her to be; there are many, however, of 900, 800, 700, and 600 tons. The Mary Roſe, and three others, appear to be the only ſhips, except the Great Harry, belonging to her father, of ſo large a ſize as 500 tons. If we credit ſecretary Burchet, they, however, carried a great number of guns; one carried 100, and nine others from 60 to 88 guns. On Burchet's authority I likewiſe note that *gun-powder* did not begin to be manufactured in *England* until this princeſs's reign, though cannon, &c. had been ſo long in uſe before. The guns continued to be of diſſimilar calibres on the ſame deck, and probably the ſame practice obtained abroad;

abroad; for, Peter Hilton in his account of the engagement, in the Gulph of Perſia, between ſome of our ſhips, aſſiſted by others belonging to the Dutch, againſt the Portugueſe fleet, ſays, "that the Admiral, a carrack of 1700 tons, carried only forty-eight pieces of braſs cannon;" but then they were whole cannon (60lb. ball), demi cannon, 31lb.), cannon petro (24lb.), whole culverine (18lb.), and demi culverine (9lb. ball). In this place it may not be amiſs to ſtate the calibres and names of the other pieces employed in our ancient ſervice at ſea. Beſides the cannon *royal* already mentioned, which were ſometimes of 63lb. ball; there were the French Cannon, 43lb. the Saker of 5lb.; the Minion 4lb.; the Faulcon 2lb. ball. It may be obſerved that theſe were lighter and ſhorter than thoſe uſed now; for inſtance, the 32lb^er^ weighed only about 4000lb. whereas the preſent guns of that bore weigh from 53 to 5500lb.; their 9lb^ers^ weighed 2700lb.; our preſent ones only 2300lb. The length of them in the old ſervice were only eight feet ſix inches, through all the calibres; from ten feet to nine feet ſix inches, is the length of thoſe in our preſent ſervice. It may be obſerved that Elizabeth did not increaſe the magnitude of her ſhips beyond that of the Great Harry, nor is there any larger taken notice of till the 8th of James, when the Prince of 1200 tons is ſaid to have been built. Charles the Firſt, indeed, built one much larger ſtill, which muſt have been a prodigy in the Engliſh navy at that time, not only from its ſize, viz. 1657 tons, but from the beauty and ſuperior knowledge in the art that were diſplayed in it.

Account of the Bards. From Owen's *Tranſlation of the* Heroic Elegies *and* Epiſtles *of* Llywrâç Hen.

THE bards were divided into three eſſential claſſes, the Bardd Braint, Derwydd, and Ovydd. But before we proceed to explain the diſtinctions of theſe, it is requiſite to take notice of the Awenyddion, or diſciples; whom it may be proper to conſider as a fourth claſs. The Awenyddion wore a variegated dreſs of the bardic colours, blue, green, and white. To be admitted into the claſs, the firſt requiſite was unimpeached morals; for it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that the candidate ſhould above all things be a good man. He was ſeldom initiated into any thing conſiderable until his underſtanding, affections, morals, and principles in general, had undergone ſevere trials. His paſſions and faculties were cloſely obſerved, and exerciſed, when he was leaſt aware of it; at all times, in all places, and on every occaſion poſſible, there was an eye, hid from his obſervation, continually fixed upon him; and from the knowledge thus obtained of his head and heart, and in ſhort his very ſoul ſcrutinized, an eſtimate was made of his principles and mental abilities; and agreeable to the approbation given, and in the manner and degree thought moſt proper, he was initiated into the myſteries, and inſtructed in the doctrines of bardiſm. During his probationary ſtate of diſcipline he was to learn ſuch verſes and adages as contained the maxims of the inſtitution, and to compoſe others himſelf, on any relative ſubject, doctrinal or moral.

The Bardd Braint was the title of the corporate degree, or fundamental

mental claſs of the order. None could be admitted to this degree without having undergone the regular diſcipline, amongſt the Awenyddion. He was, after preſiding at three Gorſeddau, denominated one of the Gorſeddogion, and became fully qualified to exerciſe all the functions of bardiſm; for it was as of this degree and character, to which was annexed a plenitude of power adequate to all the purpoſes of the inſtitution, that the chief bard always preſided. He could proclaim, and hold a Gorſedd, admit diſciples, and Ovyddion; was capable of being employed in embaſſies; in the office of herald; and to inſtruct youth in the principles of religion and morality. It has been already ſaid that a bard could not bear arms, as he was the herald of peace: he was alſo to obſerve the moſt inviolable ſecreſy on all occaſions, between ſuch parties as engaged him in confidential offices; neither was he to eſpouſe any particular party in religion, or in politics, as being inconſiſtent with his character. The Bardd Braint, on all occaſions where he acted officially, wore the unicoloured robe of ſky-blue, which was the diſtinguiſhing dreſs of the order, being emblematic of peace, and alſo of truth, from having no variety of colours.

The Derwyddon, or Druids, were ſuch of the bards, of either of the orders, of Bardd Braint, or of Ovydd, that were ſet apart to, or employed peculiarly in the exerciſe of religious functions; and long after the converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity, the miniſters of religion were called by this term, notwithſtanding they had been for ages the pagan prieſts; but pagans we can hardly call thoſe, who worſhipped the true God in ſimplicity *. Therefore, let not the pious be alarmed at the idea of Druidiſm being ſtill alive in this iſland; but let him examine it a little, and he will find that the Britiſh patriarchal religion is no more than that of Noah, or of Abraham, inimical to Chriſtianity. There is in Druidiſm, and no leſs in Chriſtianity, what ſeems extremely repugnant to the manners, and even the religion of this age—a ſevere inflexible morality. Though the Derwydd was more peculiarly, yet he was not excluſively the miniſter of religion, for the Bardd Braint, and even the Ovydd, might officiate as ſuch, after being confirmed by reception into the order, at a Gorſedd. There was no ſuperiority attached to the order of Derwydd; it was only a peculiar officiality, for which the others were deemed equally qualified; and indeed, to be a Derwydd, it of neceſſity implied that he was a Bardd Braint; but, as a matter of convenience, the religious eſtabliſhment was allotted to an appropriate ſet of bards,

* Amongſt the bulk of the people there were certainly many ſuperſtitious cuſtoms; and on the introduction of Chriſtianity not many of them were exploded, for a great number remain to this day; but if there were any corrupt principles mixt with the bardic ſyſtem, they were purged at that period.

"It is remarkable that ſome of thoſe places which we call Druidical Temples, retain in their names, and other circumſtances, evident marks of their having been places of Chriſtian worſhip. Such is Carn Moeſen, or the Carnedd of Moſes, in Glamorganſhire; Carn y Groes, on the mountain of Gelly Onen, in the ſame county, where a very ancient croſs ſtands; Ty Illtud, in Breconſhire, and many others."

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bards, diſtinguiſhed by that name, to give notoriety, and diſcriminate viſibility to their function. The dreſs of the Derwydd was white, the emblem of holineſs and peculiarly of truth, as being the colour of light, or the ſun. The Derwydd was exempted from ſome offices that were incumbent on each of the others. In him ſanctity of life, and celebrity for wiſdom were recommendatory qualifications always looked for; he was moſt immediately the inſtructor of youth; and was, from the neceſſary obligations of his office, the reſidentiary bard of his diſtrict, an obligation which the others did not lie under.

The Ovydd was the third order, being an honorary degree, to which the candidate could be immediately admitted, without being obliged to paſs through the regular diſcipline. This degree, in every circumſtance of its peculiar inſtitution, appears to be intended to create a power that was capable of acting on emergencies, on a plan different from the regular mode of proceeding, as well as of bringing within the ſyſtem ſuch kind of knowledge as was unknown, or foreign to the original inſtitution. The requiſite qualifications were, in general, an acquaintance with valuable diſcoveries in ſcience; as the uſe of letters, medicine, languages, and the like; and it was not an eaſy thing, even in this order, to diſpenſe with the knowledge of, and a genius for, poetry; but this on particular occaſions might be done, in conſideration of other eminent qualifications; for this order was a proviſionary one, for the purpoſe of admitting into the bardic ſyſtem, in a regular manner, every thing uſeful and laudable in ſcience. The Ovydd was, however, enjoined to acquaint himſelf with the bardic inſtitutes and traditions; for, from ſeveral contingencies, it was poſſible that the order or inſtitution might be perpetuated only by Ovyddion; which in its original purity, it could not be done, unleſs they were acquainted with its true principle, nature, and intention. It was deemed more honourable to be admitted into the orders by having been firſt admitted an Ovydd, than by going through a long diſcipline; at leaſt ſuch an idea now prevails. The Ovydd could exerciſe all the functions of bardiſm; and by ſome particular acts he became intitled, by virtue of having performed them, to other degrees, after ſuch acts had been acquieſced in by a Gorſedd. It is a received opinion that the bards, in the character, and being of the order of Ovydd, may hold a Cadair, or ſubordinate provincial meeting, under cover, or within doors. The dreſs of the Ovydd was green, the ſymbol of learning, and alſo of truth, from being unicoloured. The candidate for this order was elected at a Gorſedd, on the previous recommendation of a graduated bard of any of the three orders; who might from his own knowledge declare that whom he propoſed was duly qualified. If the candidate was not known to a bard, the recommendation of a judge, or magiſtrate, or of twelve reputable men, could conſtitute him a candidate, on which he was immediately elected, by Coelbren or ballot. But if it ever happened that the number of bards was not ſufficient to elect, then any one of the order might arbitrarily admit three; who were thereupon deemed finally graduated. No more than

three could be admitted in this manner, for that was a sufficient number to proceed by election in the regular way; because arbitrary proceedings could not be suffered, but where the number was inadequate to act otherwise, and consequently a matter of necessity. Proclamation was another way of admission to the degree of Ovydd; that is, it was proclaimed at a Gorsedd, that a person of a certain name, place, and qualification, was, on specified recommendation, proposed as a candidate; and that at a certain future period, not less than a whole year, he was to be admitted to that degree; and if no objection was, during that time, brought against him, he was considered to be graduated.

Having taken a summary retrospect of the peculiar regulations affecting the different orders separately, some observations are necessary in regard to others that appertain to the system in general.

Each of the orders had a peculiarity of estimation, yet neither was held to be more intrinsically excellent than the other. If with respect to qualifications for certain officialities one was deemed inferior, it was in other particulars allowed to be superior; so that considered in the whole they were equally honourable. Thus Bardd Braint was peculiarly the ruling order. Derwydd the religious functionary, and the Ovydd was the literary or scientific order. This idea of equality was preserved with the utmost punctuality in all their formulas of discipline. In their titles, the bards observed the order of their graduation, adding to each the words—"According to the immunities and customs of the bards of the isle of Britain." By this means such titles were a history of their manner of admission; as—

Bardd Braint, or
Bard of Presidency;
Bardd a Derwydd,
Bard and Druid;
Bardd ac Ovydd,
Bard and Ovate;
Bardd, Ovydd, a Derwydd,
Bard, Ovate, and Druid;
Bardd, Derwydd, ac Ovydd,
Bard, Druid, and Ovate;
Ovydd, Bardd, a Derwydd,
Ovate, Bard, and Druid;
Ovydd, Derwydd, a Bardd, or
Ovate, Druid, and Bard.

The manner of attaining to any particular degree was thus: if an Ovydd had been admitted by a bard, or proclamation had been made of any one being a candidate for this, or any other order, such a candidate was called Ovydd, or Bard Claimant, or Presumptive Bard; and he was intitled after such proclamation to all passive privileges of the order, but not to act officially until he had been confirmed in his degrees by a Gorsedd. That sanction being obtained, he could perform all the acts and function of the order, and virtually became intitled to that particular degree incidental to the officialities which he executed: by officiating as Derwydd, after a certain time he became of that degree; by presiding at a Gorsedd he became, what presidency implies, a Bardd Braint; by admitting, and after confirmation of an Ovydd, he became intitled to that degree, if he was not so before. Such proceedings are deduced from this general rule —That a graduated bard executing

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any of the officialities of the inſtitution, after the acquieſcence of a Gorſedd, became intitled to the degrees incident to, and implied by ſuch officialities.

The principle on which they acted for perpetuating the inſtitution, was—That three or more bards could admit by election; but if there ſhould be only one remaining, he could perform arbitrarily all officialities till three had been by him admitted. The deficiency being ſupplied, arbitrary power ceaſed, and all was to go on regularly. Two remaining bards could only act by proclamation; for between two there could be no majority or caſting voice; and one could not act arbitrarily, becauſe there was another oppoſing power of equal authority. The proclamation was therefore an appeal, or reference to public opinion, and to that original authority from which the inſtitution was firſt derived; and the acquieſcence of the public, in bringing no objections to the propoſals of ſuch proclamation, conſtituted the legality of any act done, in conſequence of its having been propoſed in the notice. It is allowed that, for moſt reaſons, it would be the beſt alſo for one remaining bard to act by proclamation, rather than arbitrarily; and that this method ſhould be preferred even to election, as coming more immediately under the cognizance of the public; but it is evident that, in ſome ages, the inſtitution could never have been perpetuated by ſuch proceedings, and would long ago have become extinct, from oppoſition of vulgar prejudice. All theſe modes have been practiſed, and each has its propriety under certain circumſtances; but when all things will admit, it is deemed beſt to recur to that authority which firſt eſtabliſhed the inſtitution, the general conſent obtained by virtue of a proclamation. The next is the bardic election at a Gorſedd; and when occaſion calls for it, the arbitrary admiſſion is purely conſiſtent with a proviſionary maxim, for creating a neceſſary, and for that reaſon a legal, power, to effect what is beneficial, at a time when no other authority exiſts, to recur to on immediate emergencies. The arbitrary acts of a bard, ſuch as admiſſion of an Ovydd, or any thing elſe, where done in conſequence of a ſuppoſed or implied deciſion of the bards at a Gorſedd, exiſting in a neceſſary fiction to ſanction an arbitrary act not otherwiſe allowed. In this fiction they always exiſt; they may be viſible, but cannot be virtually extinct; for the utility, and principles of their inſtitution exiſt in nature. That being the caſe, the officiating agents of thoſe principles are rather dormant than extinct; and to be called into action by proclamation.

The regular manner of qualifying ultimately, or graduating a bard, is by giving him a Gorſedd or Cadair; that is, by including him in the number, which muſt be three at leaſt, of preſiding bards, at a Gorſedd. Amongſt the number mentioned in the proclamation, it is not poſſible to know, from any thing in the words or form of it, which are the old bards, and which the newly admitted, as there is nothing in the bardic regulations that can intitle any one to take precedency of another; and to preſide at a Gorſedd is only performing the neceſſary officialities of the occaſion, which might be done by any other bard preſent with equal propriety. Neither

ther is it neceſſary that the preſiding bards ſhould punctually be thoſe mentioned in the proclamation, or that they ſhould be viſibly preſent, for they are virtually or repreſentatively ſo, as well as all the Beirdd Ynys Prydain. Thus to obtain the degree to which one was admitted by giving him preſidency, it was not neceſſary he ſhould be preſent; for there was nothing implied as an act of his own, in his being, or not being preſent in perſon. The ſole intention of giving him preſidency was to announce him to the bards, all virtually preſent, and to the public, as of the particular order to which he was admitted.

The regular times of holding a Gorſedd, or meeting, were the two ſolſtices, and equinoxes; ſubordinate meetings might alſo be held every new and full moon, and alſo at the quarter days, which were chiefly for inſtructing diſciples. The regular meetings were ſuppoſed to be well known, with reſpect to time and place; for there were appointed places, as well as times. Irregular meetings could only be held by proclamation; or if arbitrarily held on urgent occaſions, their acts required the confirmation of a Gorſedd, or public aſſent by ſubſequent proclamation. The Gorſeddau, or meetings, were always held in the open air, and *in the face of the ſun, and eye of the light.* The place was ſet apart by forming a circle of ſtones around the Maen Gorſedd, or Stone of the Aſſembly. At the Gorſeddau it was abſolutely neceſſary to recite the bardic traditions; and with this, whatever came before them was conſidered and determined upon. The bards always ſtood bare headed and bare footed, in their unicoloured robes, at the Gorſedd, and within the Cylc Cyngrair, or circle of federation. The ceremony uſed on the opening of a meeting was the ſheathing of the ſword on the Maen Gorſedd, at which all the preſiding bards aſſiſted; and this was accompanied with a very ſhort pertinent diſcourſe. When the buſineſs was finiſhed, the meeting was cloſed by taking up, but not unſheathing, the ſword, with a few words on the occaſion, when all covered their heads and feet. There were certain mottos uſed by the bards; that for the general aſſembly of the iſle of Britain was — *Y Gwir yn erbyn y Byd. The truth in oppoſition to the world.* Thoſe for the provincial meetings were ſuch as had been adopted on the firſt eſtabliſhment of them reſpectively. They were uſed as declaratory of the Cadair or Talaith, meeting or province, whereof the bard was a member, or of the meeting that enacted any thing reſpecting the inſtitution. The Gorſeddau, and Cadeiriau, or the general and provincial aſſemblies always virtually exiſt; and if they do not viſibly appear, they are to be called on to make their appearance, by the proclamation of a Gorſedd Ynys Prydain, where three graduated bards muſt preſide; and, as in individuals, ſo in collective bodies, thoſe Cadeiriau, or provincial chairs, took no precedency one of the other on any occaſion, but all were equal in eſtimation and dignity. It was requiſite that every Bard ſhould be known as of ſome provincial Cadair, for the ſake of viſible diſtinction, though the Beirdd Ynys Prydain, (which was their general title) were of every one; for they all exiſted in them, as the fountain from whence all are derived; and ſhould any have diſappeared, the

Beirdd

Beirdd Ynys Prydain might call them out by proclamation, or by actually appearing at such meetings, and give them immediate visibility, or by the same means constitute new ones. A Gorsedd might be so held as to be a national, and also provincial one, at the same time. It was not necessary that a provincial Cadair should be actually held within its peculiar territory; for it might be held any where in Britain, or even in a foreign country, as might also a Gorsedd Ynys Prydain, retaining on such occasion the appropriate titles; which were—Beirdd Ynys Prydain trwy'r Byd, and Twyddedogion Byd—"The Bards of the isle of Britain through the world," and "those who are at liberty through the world."

At a meeting there was always one, called the Dadgeinaid, or the reciter, whose business was to recite the traditions and poems; to make proclamations, announce candidates, open and close the Gorsedd, and the like. A Bard generally executed this office; but it might be done by one, or as many as were necessary, of the Awenyddion, or disciples.

An Account of some of the Antiquities of Babylon *found in the Neighbourhood of* Bagdad: *Also of what is supposed to have been the Tower of* Babel, *and of the* Yezidis. *By M. De* Beauchamp, *Vicar-General of* Babylon, *and Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at* Paris.

OF all the traces remaining of ancient Babylon, there are but two respecting the situation of which any thing can now be determined. These are what is called *Tak-Kesre*, near the Tigris, six leagues S. E. of Bagdad, and twelve leagues from Babylon; and the ruins in the environs of Hella on the Euphrates, which the Arabs call *Makloribet*, and which are the ruins of Babylon. The name of the former seems to be derived from Cosroes, called by the natives Kosrow; but, as I shall observe further on, the edifice appears to have been anterior to his time, and a tradition of the Arabs naturally accounts for it. They pretend that all temples of Idols fell on the coming of their Prophet; and it is still related at Bagdad, that an old man seeing the *Tak* shake, announced that a great Prophet was born, who should convert all people to the worship of the true God. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that the first Arabian Mussulmen, who attributed to their new religion an infinite number of prodigies, would have said, *El tak kesere*, "The portico is broken;" a speech extremely applicable to this famous portico, which has been cracked for ages.

The *Tak-Kesre* is a building 270 Parisian feet long, and 86 high: the portico, which occupies the middle, is 148 feet long, and 76 wide, within; its two façades are each 97 feet. It is constructed of burnt bricks, ten inches square by two and a half thick, cemented with plaster taken from the spot, the earth of which, like that round Bagdad, and in a great part of the Desert, contains much gypsum.

The walls which support the vault of the roof, are 23 feet thick; those of the façade are 18. The arch is not a semi-circle, but consists of two arcs of equal radius, of which the centres are placed at a certain distance from each other. Those at

preſent made at Bagdad are very differently conſtructed, their curvature being conſiderable at their commencement, whilſt at the key they terminate in a right line from each ſide. The vault is pretty well preſerved: there is no crack at the key, but it is fallen in in two places. The firſt is near the centre of the façade, where it is half a foot narrower then in other places. The two walls which ſupport it have been ſeparated, either by an earthquake, or a ſinking of the foundation. Throughout the vault are a number of holes, ſymmetrically arranged, and piercing it in the direction of its radii, and which have, as I believe, tubes of earth. The Arabs ſay, that a great number of lamps were lighted in this edifice, which they ſuppoſe to have been a temple, and that theſe holes were vents for the ſmoke. This idea, however, is deſtroyed by the reflection, that a vault ſo large, and entirely open in front, could not require ſuch help for that purpoſe. Indeed I was puzzled to gueſs what could have been their uſe, unleſs for erecting the ſcaffolding; and in this opinion I was confirmed, on finding ſimilar holes at the weſt end of the building, in the ruins of an arch which formed a cornice. The architecture is rude, as appears by the façade, which is adorned with ſham doors and windows. It is generally ſuppoſed at Bagdad, that theſe were niches for ſtatues: but they are too ſhallow, in proportion to their height, for that purpoſe, being not more than a foot deep, and are not rounded. The pillars of the lower ſtory, which are in pairs, are plain, as are thoſe that join the other ſtories, and project from the wall to the thickneſs of their ſemi-diameter. It is to be obſerved, that thoſe of the higher range do not reſt on thoſe of the former, and are diſtributed unequally; which ſhews that little taſte is diſplayed in this vaſt pile of building. The portico has three gates; one at the end, eight feet wide, 14 deep, and 18 high; and two others eight feet wide, and 23 deep each. I imagined that the latter had led to two other apartments, according to the ancient uſage of the Eaſt, which is ſtill retained: and this I was induced to believe, from obſerving the ruins of an arch at the poſterior part of the building: on an attentive examination, however, I remarked that the curvature of this arch, to judge by what remained, was not conſiderable enough to make a room of a breadth proportionate to the length of the building; and that there was no trace of ſuch an arch above the ſide gates, the walls of which were very well preſerved: I concluded, therefore, that it was only a very large cornice by way of ornament. This part of the building is much leſs injured than the eaſtern front. It is plain from the cornice to a certain height, where, on each ſide of the porticoes, are ten falſe windows, ſeparated by a projecting wall 10 or 12 feet high, by ſix feet thick, a part of which only remains. I convinced myſelf that this wall never reached the ground, as its lower part is perfectly ſmooth, and not a brick of it is wanting. At the height of the ten falſe windows the wall narrows, forming a cordon, like a kind of irregular ſtair, deſcending to the ſalient wall juſt mentioned, and aſcending to the extremity of the building. The external part of the vault has ſuffered moſt injury from the hand of time.

time. The wall which supported it appears, though disfigured, to have decreased in thickness every ten or twelve feet, in the form of steps.

Examining the position of the building with a good compass, I found it due east and west, the grand front facing the East. What leads me to attribute it to a period far anterior to Kosroes, who reigned A. D. 600, is the rudeness of its architecture. That which prevailed in his days we may presume to have been not very different from that of the time of the Caliphs of Bagdad. Now the remains we have of the latter are in a very different style. In the neighbourhood of Tak-Kesre there is a mosque, called Soliman Pak, in which, according to the Arabs, the Barber of Mohammed was buried. This has been rebuilt, though badly; but there still exists in it a gateway, acknowledged to have been built by the Caliphs, in which we find a certain elegance that is also to be seen in many ancient edifices at Bagdad. I am of opinion, therefore, that the Tak-Kesre was built by some king of Babylon. On what grounds Delisle attributes it to Nebuchadnezzar, called by the Arabs Bakt-Nasser, "fortunate and victorious," I know not.

I was at first surprised to find this enormous building situated a quarter of a league from the Tigris, and was inclined to believe that its walls had formerly been washed by that river. But I was undeceived by a Sheik of the Arabs, who informed me that the foundation of the walls of a very large city, which extended on both sides of the river, were still to be seen. These the Arabs call Medaïne, or the Two Cities; that is to say, Celeucia and Ctesiphon, which are placed here by Delisle. I have been told by the Chaldee Patriarch of Babylon, that it is recorded in the archives of his church, that his predecessors resided there. It is beyond a doubt, however, that Tak-Kesre is far more ancient than these two cities founded by the Greeks.

I ought not to omit, that near Tak-Kesre are found urns of clay, filled with a friable calcarious substance, which is evidently burnt bones. Eight years ago the Arabs found there a statue of an infant in white marble, admirably executed. I saw the legs attached to a kind of pedestal. They were presented by the Pacha of Bagdad to the English Agent, who sent them to Constantinople, to Sir Robert Ainslie. The head is in the possession of M. Rousseau, the French consul. This I presume to have been the work of a Greek.

The ruins of Babylon are very visible a league north of Hella. There is in particular an elevation flat on the top, of an irregular figure, and intersected by ravins. It would never have been suspected for the work of human hands, were it not proved by the layers of bricks found in it. Its height is not more than sixty yards. On my first journey to Hella, in 1784, I wrote to M. de la Lande, that I could not believe this to be what was once the tower of Babel, though it is even now called Babel by the Arabs. The learned have long ago passed their judgment on the imaginary descriptions given of this monument by such travellers as the Jew Benjamin, Detudelle, and others. A person skilled in Arabic will not easily believe that the word Babel is derived from the root of bel-bel, which signifies

ſignifies to confound, as commentators pretend. Be it as it may, this mount is ſo little elevated, that the leaſt ruin we paſs in the road to it conceals it from the view. To come at the bricks it is neceſſary to dig into the earth. They are baked with fire, and cemented with zepht or bitumen: between each layer are found oſiers.

Above this mount, on the ſide of the river, are thoſe immenſe ruins which have ſerved, and ſtill ſerve, for the building of Hella, an Arabian city, containing 10,000 or 12,000 ſouls. Here are found thoſe large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, ſpecimens of which I have preſented to Abbé Barthelemy. This place, and the mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs Makloube, that is, "turned topſy turvey." I was informed by the maſter-maſon employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and ſometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen veſſels, engraved marbles, and about eight years ago a ſtatue as large as life, which he threw amongſt the rubbiſh. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the ſun and moon, formed of varniſh bricks. Sometimes idols of clay are found, repreſenting human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half moon in relief. The bricks are cemented with bitumen, except in one place, which is well preſerved, where they are united by a very thin ſtratum of white cement, which appears to me to be made of lime and ſand.

The maſter-workman informed me, that there were three cities in which antiquities are found: Babel, or Makloube; Brouſſa, two leagues S. E. of Hella in the Deſert; and Kaides, ſtill farther diſtant than Brouſſa. I was told that many marble ſtatues were found in the latter, but it is dangerous to go thither without a ſtrong guard.

Moſt of the bricks found at Makloube have writing on them: but it does not appear that it was meant to be read, for it is as common on bricks buried in the walls as on thoſe on the outſide. I obſerved that each quarter has a peculiar impreſſion: I mean, that we find but one ſeries of letters, and arranged in the ſame manner, in one place. The bricks are every where of the ſame dimenſions; one foot three lines ſquare, by three inches thick. Occaſionally layers of oſiers in bitumen are found, as at Babel. The quantity of the bitumen that muſt have been employed in building Babylon, is ſcarcely credible. Moſt probably it was procured from Hitt on the Euphrates, where we ſtill find it. The maſter-maſon told me that he found ſome in a ſpot which he was digging about twenty years ago; which is by no means ſtrange, as it is common enough on the banks of the Euphrates; I have myſelf ſeen it on the road from Bagdad to Juba, an Arabian village ſeated on that river.

The maſter-maſon led me along a valley which he dug out a long while ago to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he ſhowed me, I gueſs to have been ſixty feet thick. It ran perpendicularly to the bed of the river, and was probably the wall of the city. I found in it a ſubterranean canal, which, inſtead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of ſand-ſtone, ſix or ſeven feet long, by three feet wide.

wide. These ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hella, and incontestibly mark the situation of ancient Babylon. I employed two men for three hours in clearing a stone which they supposed to be an Idol. The part which I got a view of appeared to me nothing but a shapeless mass: it was evident, however, that it was not a simple block, as it bore marks of the chisel, and there were pretty deep holes in it; but I could not find any inscription on it. The stone is of a black grain; and, from the large fragments of it found in many places, it appears there were some monuments of stone built here. On the eastern side I found a stone nearly two feet square and six inches thick, of a beautiful granite, the grain of which was white and red. All these stones must have been brought from some distance, as this part of the Desert contains none. On the same side of the city, as I was told by the master-mason, there were walls of varnished bricks, which he supposed to have been a temple: Idols would probably be found there, if any one would be at the expence of digging: but it would be necessary to satisfy the avarice of the Mussulmen, who are never very willing for Europeans to search lands occupied by them.

Besides the bricks with inscriptions, which I have mentioned, there are solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, of a white substance, covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis mentioned by Chardin. Four years ago I saw one; but I was not eager to procure it, as I was assured that they were very common. I mentioned them to the master-mason, who told me, that he sometimes found such, but left them amongst the rubbish as useless. Black stones which have inscriptions engraved on them are also met with. These, I was told, were found at Brousa, which is separated from Makloube by the river. I was informed, that an Arab at Hella had one in his possession, and did all I could to procure it, or at least to obtain a sight of it, but I could not succeed. In 1782 one was sent to Paris, by M. And. Michaux, a botanist, who was at that time at Bagdad. I have been assured by the Arabs, that a day's journey from the last-mentioned city, and six leagues from the Tigris, there is a stone of enormous size covered with inscriptions. May we not presume, that this stone is of the same origin as the Pillars of Thaut?

I visited the ruins of Brousa six years ago. These are, properly speaking, nothing but a mountain of earth and bricks. The difficulty of transporting them across the river prevents the latter being dug for. We find there a kind of hall still standing, which I conceive to be more modern than the city itself, as well as a square tower, which, though ancient, appears to have been built on its ruins.

The city of Hella is not the remains of Babylon: it is a league more to the south, I assured myself on the spot, that Hella did not exist before Cuffa. Its name is written *Helle*, which in Arabic signifies place, habitation, and, according to the mussulmen, the place between the two sacred places Imam-Hassein and Imam-Ali. A league from Hella, towards Makloube, is seen an ancient portico called diemjeme, signifying in Arabic the skull of the head. It is pretended, that

Ali

All here passed the Euphrates, in his road to Cuffa, where he was killed by Giezid. I must observe here, that Delisle, in his map of Babylonia, places that ancient city and the celebrated mosque of Imam-Ali too near each other. They are five leagues distant. Sultan Selim begun an aqueduct for conveying water to the latter from the Euphrates, which was continued by Nadir Shah, but has never been finished. Many Mussulman pilgrims assured me, that they drank very bad well-water there. The soil is a sandy gypseous desert, producing nothing.

I imagine medals must be found in the ruins of Babylon, if sought after: but the Arabs pick them up only when they know Europeans are desirous of them. One of copper was brought me whilst I was there. On comparing it with different Parthian medals, I observed, that all the heads of the latter bore a kind of mitre; that of the former, a crown of flowers. Last year I procured a cup with unknown characters, which had been found, with a hundred medals in it, a few years ago, near Nemrod, and sent it to count de Choiseul-Gouffier. From this, I was informed by Ab. Barthelemy, no information could be drawn, without the medals. Of these I believe I now possess a part. Mr. Rousseau, the French consul, purchased at that period just 100 medals of a base silver, and all of the same coin. They are very ancient, and I believe Parthian or Babylonian; but of this the learned will judge. M. Rousseau intrusted me with forty to dispose of for him, as well as some others which I have brought to Paris.

The latitude of Hella I have ascertained to be 32° 38′: its longitude I conclude to be 41° 53′ 30″ east from Paris, from three observations; an eclipse of the moon Nov. 3. 1789, the immersion of the second satellite of Jupiter on the same day, and the entrance of Mercury on the sun's disk the 5th of the same month. Five years ago, I observed by the compass, that Hella was nearly under the same meridian as Bagdad, to the S. S. E. of which Mr. Delisle has placed it. I have constructed a map of Babylonia on the spot: that of Mr. Delisle was formed from erroneous information. By that illustrious geographer Borsippa, or Bursita, is placed on the river, near Madjed Hassein. That city, which does not now exist, can be no other than what the Arabs call Brousa, or Bourfa, the ruins of which, as I have already said, are two leagues S. E. of Hella, in the desert. The city and mosque of Madjed-Hassein are equally misplaced on the map: they are not on the Euphrates, but in the desert, seven leagues from Hella, and as many from Messeib, where the pilgrims going thither from Bagdad pass the river. The same may be said of Kefil, or the tomb of Ezekiel, which Delisle places on the river in Mesopotamia. I visited that mosque after the ruins of Brousa, and took its position by the compass: it is on the other side the river, mid-way between Hella and Imám-Ali. Indeed Mr. Delisle's longitudes and latitudes are in general erroneous: Bagdad he places in long. 67°, whilst it is but 62°. Other differences will appear from the new map which I hope to publish.

I requested of the Chaldean patriarch of Babylon, who resides a day's journey from Mousoul, a catalogue

talogue in Arabic of all the books written in Chaldee or Syriac preſerved in his houſe, in which the paſtoral or patriarchal ſtaff has been fixed for 6 or 700 years, deſcending from uncle to nephew, and particularly the date of the year in which they were written. Amongſt them perhaps will be found ſome curious manuſcripts. I alſo requeſted of him ſome information reſpecting the religion of the Yezidis, his neighbours, and the Grand Sheik, Sholi-Beig, his friend. The Yezidis neither faſt nor pray. It is not known that they have any book, though they pretend to have one which they keep concealed. They call it Lohi-Mani, which I am inclined to believe a corruption of Lokman, the famous Aſiatic philoſopher. Every morning they preſent themſelves thrice before the riſing ſun. It is ſaid, that they will not pronounce the letter *ſhin*, becauſe it is the firſt of the word *ſheitan*, which ſignifies Satan, or devil. Blue is a colour they hold in abhorrence. The Yezidis in the neighbourhood of Mouſſoul are probably Chriſtians who have embraced the ancient ſect of Manicheiſm; for they ſtill retain a reſpect for the Chaldean Patriarch and his churches. I have even met with ſome of them who bore the names of our apoſtles.

Account of the Excavations of Canarah, *in the Iſland of* Salſette. *From the Firſt Volume of* Maurice's *Indian Antiquities.*

SALSETTE is a large and fertile iſland, ſeparated from Bombay by only a narrow channel, and is ſeventy miles in circumference, twenty in length, and fifteen in breadth. Of theſe excavations the moſt recent and authentic accounts are to be found in the ſame volume of the Archæologia above referred to, extracted by Mr. Lethieullier from the papers of Charles Boon, Eſq. governor of Bombay, and in the preliminary diſcourſe of M. Anquetil de Perron to his famous Zend-aveſta. The relations of theſe gentlemen will be our ſafeſt guide amidſt a labyrinth of mythology, where we ſhall not have the advantage of M. Niebuhr's accurate and explanatory engravings. M. Niebuhr, when in India, was deterred, as he himſelf informs us, from viſiting Salſette, which was at that period in the hands of the Marattas, by ſome differences which had recently ariſen between the Engliſh and that nation.

Governor Boon laudably employing the power which he derived from his high ſtation to promote the purpoſes of knowledge, ordered exact drawings to be made, upon the ſpot, of the principal pagodas and of the more ſtriking figures on this iſland. Theſe drawings were ſeven in number, but were never made public: they formed part of the collection of Mr. Lethieuillier, and on that gentleman's deceaſe, were purchaſed for the additional enrichment of the private library of the king; a library, which, for the number of ſcarce and valuable books and manuſcripts it contains, cannot be rivalled by that of any ſovereign in Europe, and may be called truly royal. I have denominated theſe excavations numerous and aſtoniſhing; and ſo the reader will undoubtedly think them, when he is informed, that according to the repreſentation

repreſentation of Gemelli Careri, who diſtinctly enumerates them, the figures of idols alone amounted to above ſix hundred in number, ninety of them in and about the great pagoda, which he tells us may be eſteemed the greateſt wonder of Aſia; and adds, that the perſon, who took the draught for governor Boon, declared he was ſo ſtruck with the magnitude of that ſtupendous work, that, "when he attentively conſidered the whole, he did not doubt but it muſt have coſt the labour of forty thouſand men for forty years together.

Near the center of the iſland, and emboſomed in extenſive woods, which are the haunt of lions, tigers, and other wild and venemous animals, riſe four very ſteep and contiguous hills, exhibiting at a diſtance the aſpect of one entire rock, and bearing on their ſurface ſtrong marks of calcination. It is on the ſides of theſe hills that the caverns are hewn, and, from the reſemblance of the whole to a vaſt city of ſtone, as well as from the village of Canarah adjoining, the excavations are denominated, by the natives, "the city of Canarah." With this reſemblance, Linſchotten, who paid this iſland a viſit at ſo early a period as the year 1579, was ſo ſtruck, that, throughout his relation, he talks of it as of a town, and calls the excavated apartments chambers and houſes. He deſcribes the front as carved into ſtories or galleries, leading to ſo many ſeparate ranges of apartments, all cut out of the live rock, and riſing ſucceſſively above each other, "ſo that, to be briefe, all the chambers and houſes within this compaſſe, or four galleries, are three hundred, and entirely full of carved pagodes, of ſo fearful, horrible, and develiſh, formes and ſhapes, that it is wonderful, to behold." To give any very minute deſcription of theſe ſculptures is incompatible with my propoſed plan; it will, for the preſent, be ſufficient to remark, that theſe ſeparate apartments have in general an interior receſs, or ſanctuary, and a ſmall tank or reſervoir of water, for the performance of ablutions. In moſt of theſe receſſes is diſplayed the degrading repreſentation of deity before alluded to, "the cylindric ſtone," deſcribed by Mr. Dalrymple, "the conic marble," mentioned in the Aſiatic Reſearches, and often in union, that ſhocks the eyes of modeſty, the too evident emblems of the male and female organs of generation.

It is the weſtern hill, which, according to governor Boon's account, more particularly challenges attention, ſince it contains the chief pagoda of the iſland: in its altitude, but not in its extent and breadth, this pagoda far exceeds that of Elephanta, "being forty feet high to the crown of the arch, eighty-four feet long, and forty-ſix broad." The veſtibule, or portico, is proportionably lofty and ſpacious, and it is adorned with two ſtately columns, finiſhed with capitals and a baſe. It is in this portico that the two ſurpriſing coloſſal ſtatues above mentioned, twenty-ſeven feet in height, and of excellent proportion, are ſtationed one on each ſide, immediately before the entrance into the grand temple: they are adorned with mitre caps and earrings, after the Indian faſhion; and, to Mr. Boon's artiſt, they ſeemed to have been anciently painted, by the tints of blue and vermillion which yet remained upon them. The portico

portico itſelf has alſo one very magnificent gate and two others of inferior magnitude. The ſuperior grandeur of this pagoda ſeems to ariſe not only from the height of the roof, but from the circumſtance of its being in the form of an arch, whereas that of Elephanta offends the eye, both by its lowneſs and its flatneſs. This arched roof is ſupported by thirty-five maſſy pillars, extremely beautiful, conſidering their antiquity, of an octagonal form, and about five feet in diameter; the capitals and baſes of each being ornamented with figures of elephants, horſes, tigers, &c. executed with great ſkill and exactneſs. Two rows of cavities, regularly placed, are viſible round the walls of the temple, for the inſertion of thoſe lamps, which, probably were kept for ever burning in this gloomy and ſacred retreat: but what in a more particular manner, at the very entrance of the temple, irreſiſtibly impreſſes the mind of the beholder with the moſt awful conception of its former magnificent worſhip, is the ſtupendous altar at the further end of the temple, of a convex form, twenty-ſeven feet in height, and twenty in diameter! Round this high offertory, at certain diſtances, are receſſes for lamps, and directly over it, expands a vaſt concave dome. From theſe numerous and conſpicuous receſſes for lamps, from the general poſition of theſe altars towards the eaſtern quarter of the pagoda, from the evidence already brought of the general prevalence among the Hindoos in ancient æras of the worſhip of the ſun and of fire, it can hardly be doubted but that this ſpecies of devotion, deriving perhaps additional ſtrength from the viſible emblem of the deity, whoſe throne was ſuppoſed to be fixed in the ſun, blazed forth in this temple in the fullneſs of its meridian ſplendour. Shall I be thought to have violated all the bounds of probability, if I advance one ſtep farther in conjecture, and offer to the public the novel, yet ſurely, not incredible, ſuppoſition, that the pagodas, both of Elephanta and Salſette, were of that kind of ſubterraneous retreats, hewn out of the ſolid rock, which were ſo common in Perſia, devoted to the ſplendid rites of Mithra, and from that deity denominated Mithratic Caves? In thoſe caves they kept a portion of the ſacred fire conſtantly and fervently glowing. The radiant and ſpotleſs image of celeſtial brightneſs and purity was never ſuffered to be extinguiſhed, nor even to emit a languid ray, but continually aſcended in a pure bright pyramid of flame, fed with the richeſt gums, with the moſt fragrant oils, and with the moſt coſtly perfumes of the Eaſt.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Downfal of Sejanus. *From Mr.* Murphy's *Tranſlation of the Works of* Tacitus.

AT Rome it was now underſtood that the emperor was alienated from the man who had been raiſed to ſuch a height of power and grandeur. Sejanus began to open his eyes, and to ſee at length a reverſe of fortune. He found that he had been the bubble of a politic prince, who had been, during his whole life, exerciſed in the arts of diſſimulation, and was grown a perfect maſter in the arts of deceit and cruelty. The young Caligula was, in appearance, high in favour with his grandfather, and the hearts of the people were at all times ready to eſpouſe the family of Germanicus. The diſappointed miniſter ſaw, too late, the want of reſolution which reſtrained him, during his conſulſhip, when the whole power of the ſtate was in his own hands. In the arts of fraud he ſaw that he was no match for a ſyſtematic politician, who planned his meaſures in the gloom of ſolitude, and never let his counſels tranſpire, till in one and the ſame inſtant they were known and felt. Sejanus reſolved to retrieve his loſs, and by one vigorous effort to decide the fate of empire. He called together his friends and followers; he paid court to ſuch as ſeemed diſaffected; he held forth rewards and promiſes; and, having increaſed the number of his partiſans, formed a bold conſpiracy, reſolved by any means to ſeize the ſovereign power.

A powerful league was formed with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and great numbers of all deſcriptions, ſenators, as well as military men, entered into the plot. Among theſe Satrius Secundus was the confidential friend and prime agent of the miniſter. We have ſeen this man let looſe by Sejanus againſt the life of Cremutius Cordus; and now we are to ſee him, with the arts, in which he had been trained, employed againſt his maſter. Whatever was his motive, whether fear, or views of intereſt or ingratitude, (for no principle of honour can be imputed to him), he reſolved to betray the ſecret to Tiberius. For this purpoſe he addreſſed himſelf to Antonia, the daughter of Anthony the triumvir, the widow of Druſus, and the mother of Germanicus. The character of this illuſtrious woman was honoured by the court, and revered by the people. She loſt her huſband in the prime of life, when ſhe had ſtill the attractions of youth and beauty; and, though Auguſtus propoſed to her ſeveral advantageous matches,

matches, she remained faithful to her first vows, and declined every overture. Her dignity was free from pride; she had virtue without ostentation, and an elevation of mind, without the ambition and haughty spirit of Agrippina her daughter-in-law. She saw her grandchildren cut off by the wicked arts of Sejanus, and in silent grief lamented the downfal of her family. When Nero was banished to the isle of Pontia, and Drusus lay confined in a dungeon, she took Caligula their brother under her protection, and hoped that her house would prove a sanctuary for the last surviving issue of Germanicus. Her conduct gave no umbrage to Tiberius. He respected her character, and, perhaps for that reason, was inclined, at last, to shew some favour to Caligula.

Satrius, the conspirator, had no avenues of approach to Tiberius. He therefore made his advances to Antonia, concluding, that, by a stroke of perfidy, he might promote his interest in that quarter. His design was no sooner conceived than executed. He gained access to Antonia, and made a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. That prudent woman heard the particulars, and, without delay, sent dispatches to the emperor by one of her slaves, whose name was Pallas; the same who afterwards figured in a higher character, under the emperor Claudius.

Tiberius was astonished, but not dismayed. The danger pressed; his habitual slowness was out of season; the time called for vigour and decisive measures. He sent Macro to Rome, with a special commission to take upon him the command of the prætorian guards. He added full instructions for his conduct in all emergencies. If he found that Sejanus and his party were able to stir up an insurrection, he desired that Drusus should be led forth from his confinement, and presented to the people as their leader. The son of Germanicus, he was aware, would triumph over an obscure native of Vulsinii. In the mean time, Tiberius was determined to be prepared for all possible events. He ordered the fleet that lay at Misenum, to assemble at the isle of Capreæ, with intent, if any disaster happened, to sail to some distant coast, and put himself at the head of such of the legions as still remained faithful to their prince. In order to obtain the quickest intelligence, he ordered signals to be disposed along the sea-shore, on the whole way from Surrentum to Rome.

The consuls at this time were Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio, both appointed to fill the office from the middle of August to the end of the year. Trio had rendered himself infamous by the prosecution of Libo: he was besides known to be the tool and creature of Sejanus. Regulus was of a different mould, from his upright conduct deriving great consequence, and, at that time much esteemed by Tiberius. The prætorian bands, as already stated, were under the influence of Sejanus. With the cohorts, that formed the city guard, the case was different. Subject to the controul of Piso, who was then præfect of Rome, they had no connection with the minister. Under Piso, Græcinus Laco was their commanding officer; a man distinguished by his military talents and his firm integrity. In this posture of affairs, Macro arrived from Capreæ. He entered the city in a private manner, after the close of day, and went directly to Regulus the consul. He communicated the

emperor's orders. Laco was called to the meeting. They conſulted together, and ſettled their plan of operations for the following day. Tiberius, in this interval of ſuſpenſe, took his ſtation on the ſharp point of a rock, ſurveying the deep that rolled beneath, and with an anxious eye gazing at the oppoſite ſhore for the earlieſt intelligence.

The fatal day arrived, namely, the fifteenth before the calends of November. Early in the morning, by order of Regulus, a report was ſpread, that letters were arrived at Rome, in which the emperor ſignified his intention to aſſociate Sejanus with himſelf in the tribunitian power. The ſenate was ſummoned to meet in the temple of Apollo, near the imperial palace. Sejanus attended without delay. A party of the prætorians followed him. Macro met him in the veſtibule of the temple. He approached the miniſter with all demonſtrations of profound reſpect, and taking him aſide, "Be not ſurprized," he ſaid, "that you have no letter from the prince: it is his pleaſure to declare you his colleague in the tribunitian power; but he thinks that a matter of ſo much importance ſhould be communicated to the fathers by the voice of the conſuls. I am going to deliver the emperor's orders." Sejanus, elate with joy, and flushed with his new dignity, entered the ſenate houſe. Macro followed him. As ſoon as the conſuls arrived, he delivered the letter from Tiberius, and immediately went forth to the prætorian guards. He informed them, that by order of the prince, a large donative was to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He added, that, by a new commiſſion, he himſelf was appointed their commanding officer, and, if they followed him to the camp, they would there receive the promiſed bounty. The lure was not thrown out in vain: the prætorian guards quitted their ſtation. Laco, who ſtood near at hand, immediately ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe with a body of the city cohorts.

The letter to the conſuls was confuſed, embarraſſed, and with ſtudied art drawn into length, in order to keep the minds of the fathers in ſuſpenſe, while Macro gained time to execute what had been concerted. Regulus read the letter; it began with general obſervations, expatiating at large on the ſtate of the empire; a ſhort expreſſion glanced at Sejanus; new matter followed; and then, winding round with art, hints were thrown out againſt the miniſter, in a perplexed ſtyle, vague, and ambiguous. It went on in the ſame obſcure manner, intermixed with things wholly unconnected, but at each return more pointed againſt Sejanus, till at laſt the language of open invective left no room for doubt. The fathers were covered with aſtoniſhment. The change of men's minds, in the viciſſitude of human affairs, was never more remarkable. Thoſe, who a little before congratulated Sejanus on his new dignities, began to ſhun him as they would a contagion. The concluſion of the letter was like a ſtroke of thunder. The emperor ordered two ſenators, who had joined in the conſpiracy, to be put to death, and Sejanus to be thrown into priſon. He ſignified, at the ſame time, his intention to return to Rome, and, for that purpoſe, deſired that one of the conſuls ſhould be ſent with a military guard as far as Capreæ, in order to conduct an infirm old man in ſafety to the capital.

Sejanus kept his ſeat like a man benumbed,

benumbed, senseless, stupid with amazement. His friends deserted him on every side. He remained in confusion, pale and trembling, left in solitude, till the prætors and tribunes of the people gathered round him. Regulus called to him, "Rise, Sejanus, and follow me." The ruined favourite looked like a statue of despair. He gazed, but understood nothing; he remained torpid, motionless, as if he had lost the faculty of hearing. The consul raised his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words no less than three times. Sejanus rose in consternation. The door of the senate-house was thrown open: Græcinus Laco entered, and secured his prisoner. Regulus did not think it prudent to put the question to the assembly; but, contenting himself with the voice of a single senator, ordered Sejanus to be loaded with irons, and in that condition, at the head of a numerous body of magistrates, conducted him to prison.

The downfal of Sejanus filled the city with exultation. The populace, who worshipped him in the hour of prosperity, rejoiced to see the sad catastrophe to which he was now reduced. They followed in crowds, rending the air with shouts, and pouring forth a torrent of abuse and scurrilous language. The prisoner endeavoured to hide his face; but the mob delighted to see remorse and shame, and guilt and horror, in every feature of that distracted countenance. They reviled him for his acts of cruelty; they laughed at his wild ambition; they tore down his images, and dashed his statues to pieces. He was doomed by Tiberius to suffer death on that very day; but, as he had a powerful faction in the senate, it was not thought advisable, for the mere formality of a regular condemnation, to hazard a debate. Private orders were given to Macro to dispatch him without delay; but the consul, seeing the dispositions of the people, and the calm neutrality of the prætorian guards, judged it best to re-assemble the fathers. They met in the temple of Concord. With one voice Sejanus was condemned to die, and the sentence was executed without delay. He was strangled in the prison. His body was dragged to the Gemoniæ, and, after every species of insult from the populace, at the end of three days was thrown into the Tiber. Such was the tragic end of that ambitious favourite. He fell a terrible example to all, who, in any age or country, may hereafter endeavour by their vices to rise above their fellow-citizens.

Summary of the Evidence in Vindication of Richard *III. from the Charges brought against him by different Historians. From Dr.* Henry's *History of England, Vol. XI.*

IT seems then to me to appear, that Fabian, and the authors of the Chronicle of Croyland, who were contemporaries with Richard, charge him directly with none of the crimes, since imputed to him, and disculpate him of others. That John Rous, the third contemporary, could know the facts he alledges but by hearsay, confounds the dates of them, dedicates his work to Henry the Seventh, and is an author to whom no credit is due, from the lies and fables with which his work is stuffed. That we have no authors, who lived near the time, but Lancastrian authors, who wrote to flatter

Henry the Seventh, or who spread the tales which he invented. That the murder of prince Edward, son of Henry the Sixth, was committed by king Edward's servants, and is imputed to Richard by no contemporary. That Henry the Sixth was found dead in the Tower; that it was not known how he came by his death; and that it was against Richard's interest to murder him. That the duke of Clarence was defended by Richard; that the parliament petitioned for his execution; that no author of the time is so absurd as to charge Richard with being the executioner; and that king Edward took the deed wholly on himself. That Richard's stay at York on his brother's death had no appearance of a design to make himself king. That the ambition of the queen, who attempted to usurp the government, contrary to the then established custom of the realm, gave the first provocation to Richard and the princes of the blood to assert their rights; and that Richard was solicited by the duke of Buckingham to vindicate those rights. That the preparation of an armed force under earl Rivers, the seizure of the Tower and treasure, and the equipment of a fleet, by the marquis Dorset, gave occasion to the princes to imprison the relations of the queen; and that, though they were put to death without trial (the only cruelty which is *proved* on Richard) it was consonant to the manners of that barbarous and turbulent age, and not till after the queen's party had taken up arms. That the execution of Lord Hastings, who had first engaged with Richard against the queen, and whom Sir Thomas More confesses Richard was *loathe to lose*, can be accounted for by nothing but absolute necessity, and the law of self-defence. That Richard's assumption of the protectorate was in every respect agreeable to the laws and usage; was probably bestowed on him by the universal consent of the council and peers, and was a strong indication that he had then no thought of questioning the right of his nephew. That the tale of Richard aspersing the chastity of his own mother is incredible; it appearing that he lived with her in perfect harmony, and lodged with her in her palace at that very time. That it is as little credible that Richard gained the crown by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, and a speech of the duke of Buckingham, if the people only laughed at those orators. That there had been a precontract or marriage between Edward the Fourth and lady Eleanor Talbot *; and that Richard's claim to the crown was founded on the illegitimacy of Edward's children. That a convention of the nobility, clergy, and people, invited him to accept the crown on that title. That the ensuing parliament ratified the act of the convention, and confirmed the bastardy of Edward's children. That nothing can be more improbable than Richard's having taken no measures before he left London, to have his nephews murdered, if he had had any such intention. That the story of Sir James Tirrel, as related by Sir Thomas More, is a notorious falsehood; Sir James Tirrel being at that time master of the horse, in which capacity he had walked at Richard's coronation. That Tirrel's jealousy of Sir Richard Rat-

* Or Butler, by marriage.

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cliffe is another palpable falſhood; Tirrel being already preferred, and Ratcliffe abſent. That all that relates to Sir Robert Brakenbury is no leſs falſe: Brakenbury either being too good a man to die for a tyrant or murderer, or too bad a man to have refuſed being his accomplice. That Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon both confeſs that many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not; and it certainly never was proved that they were murdered by Richard's order. That Sir Thomas More relied on nameleſs and uncertain authority; that it appears by dates and facts that his authorities were bad and falſe; that if Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had really committed the murder and confeſſed it, and if Perkin Warbeck had made a voluntary, clear, and probable confeſſion of his impoſture, there could have remained no doubt of the murder. That Green, the nameleſs page, and Will Slaughter, having never been queſtioned about the murder, there is no reaſon to believe what is related of them in the ſuppoſed tragedy. That Sir James Tirrel not being attainted on the death of Richard, but having, on the contrary, been employed in great ſervices by Henry the Seventh, it is not probable that he was one of the murderers. That lord Bacon owning that Tirrel's confeſſion did not pleaſe the king ſo well as Dighton's; that Tirrel's impriſonment and execution ſome years afterwards for a new treaſon, of which we have no evidence, and which appears to have been mere ſuſpicion, deſtroy all probability of his guilt in the ſuppoſed murder of the children. That the impunity of Dighton, if really guilty, was ſcandalous; and can only be accounted for on the ſuppoſition of his being a falſe witneſs to ſerve Henry's cauſe againſt Perkin Warbeck. That the ſilence of the two archbiſhops, and Henry's not daring to ſpecify the murder of the princes in the act of attainder againſt Richard, wears all the appearance of their not having been murdered. That Richard's tenderneſs and kindneſs to the earl of Warwick, proceeding ſo far as to proclaim him his ſucceſſor, betrays no ſymptom of that cruel nature, which would not ſtick at aſſaſſinating any competitor. That it is indubitable that Richard's firſt idea was to keep the crown but till Edward the Fifth ſhould attain the age of twenty-four. That with this view he did *not* create his own ſon Prince of Wales till after he had proved the baſtardy of his brother's children. That there is no proof that thoſe children were murdered. That Richard made, or intended to make, his nephew Edward the Fifth walk at his coronation. That there is ſtrong preſumption from the parliament-roll and from the Chronicle of Croyland, that both princes were living ſome time after Sir Thomas More fixes the date of their deaths. That when his own ſon was dead, Richard was ſo far from intending to get rid of his wife, that he proclaimed his nephews, firſt the earl of Warwick, and then the earl of Lincoln, his heirs apparent. That there is not the leaſt probability of his having poiſoned his wife, who died of a languiſhing diſtemper: that no proof was ever pretended to be given of it; that a bare ſuppoſition of ſuch a crime, without proofs or very ſtrong preſumptions, is ſcarce ever to be credited. That he ſeems to have had no intention of marrying

his niece, but to have amused her with the hopes of that match, to prevent her marrying Richmond. That Buck would not have dared to quote her letter as extant in the earl of Arundel's library, if it had not been there: that others of Buck's assertions having been corroborated by subsequent discoveries, leave no doubt of his veracity on this; and that that letter disculpates Richard from poisoning his wife; and only shews the impatience of his niece to be queen. That it is probable the queen-dowager knew her second son was living, and connived at the appearance of Lambert Simnel, to feel the temper of the nation. That Henry the Seventh certainly thought that she and the earl of Lincoln were privy to the existence of Richard duke of York, and that Henry lived in terror of his appearance. That the different conduct of Henry with regard to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, implies how different an opinion he had of them; that, in the first case, he used the most natural and most rational methods to prove him an impostor; whereas his whole behaviour in Perkin's case was mysterious, and betrayed his belief or doubt that Warbeck was the true duke of York. That it was morally impossible for the duchess of Burgundy, at the distance of twenty-seven years, to instruct a Flemish lad so perfectly in all that had passed in the court of England, that he would not have been detected in a few hours. That she could not inform him, nor could he know what had passed in the Tower, unless he was the true duke of York. That if he was not the true duke of York, Henry had nothing to do but to confront him with Tirrel and Dighton, and the imposture must have been discovered. That Perkin, never being confronted with the queen-dowager, and the princesses her daughters, proves that Henry did not dare to trust to their acknowledging him. That if he was not the true duke of York, he might have been detected by not knowing the queens and princesses, if shown to him, without his being told who they were. That it is not pretended that Perkin ever failed in language, accent, or circumstances; and that his likeness to Edward the Fourth is allowed. That there are gross and manifest blunders in his pretended confession. That Henry was so afraid of not ascertaining a good account of the purity of his English accent, that he makes him learn English twice over. That lord Bacon did not dare to adhere to this ridiculous account; but forges another, though in reality, not much more credible. That a number of Henry's best friends, as the lord chamberlain, who placed the crown on his head, knights of the garter, and men of the fairest characters, being persuaded that Perkin was the true duke of York, and dying for that belief, without recanting, makes it very rash to deny that he was so. That the proclamation in Rymer's Fœdera against Jane Shore, for plotting with the marquis Dorset, not with lord Hastings, destroys all the credit of Sir Thomas More, as to what relates to the latter peer.

In short, that Henry's character, as we have received it from his own apologists, is so much worse and more hateful than Richard's, that we may well believe Henry invented and propagated by far the greater part of the slanders against Richard: that Henry, not Richard, probably

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put to death the true duke of York, as he did th earl of Warwick; and that we are not certain whether Edward the Fifth was murdered; nor, if he was, by whose order he was murdered.

After all that has been said, it is scarce necessary to add a word on the supposed discovery that was made of the skeletons of the two young princes, in the reign of Charles the Second. Two skeletons found in that dark abyss of so many secret transactions, with no marks to ascertain the time, or the age of their interment, can certainly verify nothing. We must believe both princes died there, before we can believe that their bones were found there: and upon what that belief can be founded, or how we shall cease to doubt whether Perkin Warbeck was not one of those children, I am at a loss to guess.

As little is it requisite to argue on the grants made by Richard the Third to his supposed accomplices in that murder, because the argument will serve either way. It was very natural that they, who had tasted most of Richard's bounty, should be suspected as the instruments of his crimes. But till it can be proved that those crimes were committed, it is in vain to bring evidence to show who assisted him in perpetrating them. For my own part, I know not what to think of the death of Edward the Fifth: I can neither entirely acquit Richard of it, nor condemn him; because there are no proofs on either side; and though a court of justice would, from that defect of evidence, absolve him; opinion may fluctuate backwards and forwards, and at last remain in suspense.

For the younger brother, the balance seems to incline greatly on the side of Perkin Warbeck, as the true duke of York; and if one was saved, one knows not how nor why to believe that Richard destroyed only the elder.

We must leave this whole story dark, though not near so dark as we found it: and it is perhaps as wise to be uncertain on one portion of our history, as to believe so much as is believed in all histories, though very probably as falsely delivered to us, as the period which we have here been examining.

Essay on the different Styles of Architecture, and their Origin. From Travels in India *during the Years* 1780, 1781, 1782, *and* 1783. *By* William Hodges, *R. A.*

IT is certainly curious to observe most of the ornamental parts of Grecian architecture appearing in a building erected on the plains of Hindostan. I was indeed much struck with this circumstance, and led to reflect upon it so frequently, that I was at length tempted to commit to paper a few thoughts on these different styles of architecture, which, in the form of a pamphlet upon the subject, was accompanied by two large plates engraved from pictures, entitled, 'Views of the 'Gate leading to the Tomb of 'Acbar at Secundii, and the Mau-'soleum of the Emperor Shere 'Shah at Sasseram.' As the essay accompanying these plates was printed on a scale equal to the plates, and as I have since found that it could not on that account be read with any convenience, I am determined to introduce the sub-

ſtance of it in this place, as being immediately connected with the ſubject which is now before us, and I conceive perfectly calculated for a work profeſſedly dedicated, in ſome meaſure, to the hiſtory and progreſs of the arts in India.

As I am neither ſufficiently qualified, nor willing to loſe myſelf in the unfathomable, and, perhaps, impenetrable darkneſs of eaſtern antiquities, I ſhall not, for the preſent, ſay any thing on the characteriſtic difference of the original Hindoo, and the more modern ſtyle of Mooriſh architecture, in which all the great monuments are conſtructed; but I ſhall confine myſelf to a few looſe remarks on the prototypes, or firſt models of architecture, as far as it is an art both of taſte and convenience.

That the Grecian architecture comprizes all that is excellent in the art, I cannot help conſidering as a doctrine, which is in itſelf as erroneous and ſervile, as in its conſequences it is deſtructive of every hope of improvement. Architecture undoubtedly ſhould, and muſt, be adapted to all the climates and countries which mankind inhabit, and is variouſly, more than any other art, influenced and modified by the nature of the climate and materials, as well as by the habits and purſuits of the inhabitants.

I have not read father Ladola's famous diſſertation on the abſurdity of the miſplaced and unprincipled imitation of Greek architecture; nor am I in the leaſt prejudiced againſt its very eminent beauties and perfections: but why ſhould we admire it in an excluſive manner; or, blind to the majeſty, boldneſs, and magnificence of the Egyptian, Hindoo, Mooriſh, and Gothic, as admirable wonders of architecture, unmercifully blame and deſpiſe them, becauſe they are more various in their forms, and not reducible to the preciſe rules of the Greek hut, prototype, and column? or becauſe in ſmaller parts, perhaps accidentally ſimilar, their proportions are different from thoſe to which we are become familiar by habit?

Allowing, what muſt be allowed, that the Greek columns, as they are drawn and applied by genius, are the moſt beautiful ſtone repreſentations of the wooden props or ſupports of their original hut; and that in their general forms, and each ſubordinate part, they are the *ne plus ultra* of ſimplicity, ſtrength, and elegance; ſhall we precipitately determine, that the whole excellence of architecture depends on the column alone, or forget that its great effect depends rather upon the great maſſes and forms, and upon the ſymmetry, ſtrength, and conveniency?

However partial I muſt feel, from habit and education, to the Greeks, whoſe free and unfettered genius, in a long ſeries of ages, improved the original hut of a woody country into the incomparable beauties of a marble temple or palace; yet I freely avow that this by no means prevents my entertaining a ſimilar partiality for countries, where different models have been brought to an equal perfection. The forms of the firſt habitations have differed, as the reſpective countries, climates, and manners of the builders, and as the nature, abundance, or ſcantineſs of materials have directed.

Caverns, deep vallies, ſhaggy overhanging rocks, hollow trees, and

and the thick impenetrable foliage of the foreſt, have been equally the natural retreat and occaſional habitation of the wild beaſts, and of men whom different accidents have left unacquainted with the comforts of ſociety, expoſed to the inclemencies of the ſeaſons, or to the apprehenſion of dangers from animals of prey, or the no leſs dangerous enemies of their own ſpecies. Men are neither born with tools to build with, nor can be ſuppoſed to have intuitively an innate idea of any particular form of habitation, ſuch as bountiful nature has aſſigned to the beaver, the ſwallow, or the bee; but man is born with a native ſenſe of his wants, and with judgment and intellectual powers to improve his ſituation by ſuch means as the country affords, and as the climate will ſuggeſt.

Thus far I can venture to ſtate, not only from what I have read, but likewiſe by a ſtronger conviction, from what I have ſeen in the various climates and parts of the world in which I have beheld mankind, in almoſt every ſtage of negative or poſitive civilization.

The hollow tree, and the thick foliage of the foreſt, into which even kings of Ithaca and Britain, have retired, are fitter for occaſional than for permanent reſidence. They appear evidently imitated in the wigwams of the torpid, wretched, unſettled Pecherais on the frozen coaſt of Terra del Fuego; of the equally independent, but not more fortunate, New Hollanders, in a milder climate; and of the more civilized and ſagacious hunting ſavages of North America.

Theſe wigwams, nearly the ſame every where as to form, differ in various countries only in the nature of the materials they are built with, ſuch as the boughs of trees, ſhrubs, creeping plants, reeds, ſods, and graſs. Now, if any of theſe wandering families of hunters and fiſhermen ſhould become ſtationary, or form into larger ſocieties, they would ſoon be diſpoſed to give to their habitations as much durability and conveniency as their climates, materials, and manner of life would admit of; nor is it probable they would loſe ſight of their prototype, the wigwam, or materially deviate from it in the external form of their more capacious erection. For conſtant reſidence, theſe would be improved into the various thatches and huts which I have ſeen in the South-ſea iſlands, and which the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea, and the Hottentots, inhabit; high and low, circular or ſquare, open at all ſides, incloſed with paliſades, matting, or wicker-work, hurdles, lattice, or mud walls. They will raiſe them on piles above the ground, and, as it were, ſuſpend them in the air, in countries where the dampneſs of the ſoil, or ſudden inundations, would endanger their lives and property; as on the banks of the Maranhon, or Oroonoko, in Guiana, and in the inland parts of Surinam: they will keep them low, and, as it were, ſink them under ground, in colder climates, where heavy blaſts of wind and ſnow teach them ſuch methods of ſelf-defence. Wandering nations, of herdſmen, fiſhermen, and warriors, ſuch as the Arabs, Calmucks, Monguls, Tonqueſees, Tartars, Eſquimaux, Greenlanders, Laplanders, Samojedes, and Oſtiacks, find in the ſkins of their cattle, of their flocks, and of their fiſhes, materials; and in their camels,

camels, horſes, bullocks, and fiſhing-boats, conveyances of portable huts, and imitations of their original wigwams, huts, and tents, which in ſhape will differ more or leſs, according to the different materials they are made of. We find them of ſeal and rein-deer ſkins in the north, of hides, felt, or matting; in Arabia or Tartary, in the form of cones, with ſquare roofs, and open or ſhut at the ſides.

The different habitations will retain more or leſs of their primitive form in proportion as the different builders remain independent and unmixed, unconnected, and in the ſame ſtate and culture; and as habit reconciles the human mind to almoſt every thing, each of theſe nations or tribes will regard their primitive habitations with the ſame eye of partiality as they are prejudiced in favour of their reſpective countries; but when increaſing opulence, ambition, or ſucceſsful oppreſſion, create artificial wants, and the great look for more convenience and diſtinction, the national primitive hut or tent will be enlarged, and embelliſhed with what is coſtly among them. When emigrations to foreign countries take place, their prototype will follow the coloniſt, and genius will at laſt ſtretch and improve it to the laſt degree of perfection of which it is capable. What this is, or may be, in architecture, we ſee with admiration exemplified in the old Greek and Roman architecture, which is the thatched wooden hut, metamorphoſed by genius into a marble edifice, and yet expreſſing its original parts in ſuch proportions as are conſiſtent with the nature of ſtone and marble. Agreeably to the ſame principle, the moſt elegant Chineſe buildings are evidently imitations of the tent made of bamboo, where ſtrength and ſlender tapering form, admit of higher proportions and wider intercolumniations, and muſt, of courſe, make the Greek marble column and its narrow intercolumniation appear heavy in compariſon with the Chineſe. The Chineſe idea of the beauties of their architecture muſt differ from that of the Greeks, and the Greek rule of architectural beauty cannot reaſonably be applied to the principle and materials of Chineſe buildings. How far all the above prototypes of buildings are improveable, muſt be left to the future exertions of genius.

The oblong and tapering huts of the people of Eaſter Iſland, in the Southern Ocean, are hardly improveable in that country, which is almoſt deſtitute of timber. An active people, ſuch as its former inhabitants ſeem to have been, might, indeed, imitate them in ſtone; but would theſe huts ſuggeſt any idea but that of ribbed oblong arches, tapering on every ſide? Even the ſimple wigwam will, under the influence of fortunate circumſtances, be adorned by genius with all the pomp of Flora; the roſe, the vine, the honey-ſuckle, and the gourd, will be entwined: they will be formed into cool and ſhady bowers, like thoſe which the glowing imagination of Milton aſſigned to our firſt parents in the garden of Eden.

The cavern and grotto, by nature fitted for the ſafe retreat and habitation of man, has in itſelf many advantages; in particular, a ſolidity and durability, which art has never been able ſucceſsfully to imitate;

imitate: its impenetrable ſides and external form are the mountain itſelf.

When airy, ſpacious, and lofty within, on a riſing ground, commanding an extenſive proſpect and a ſpring, on the banks of rivers, or in the cliffs on the ſea ſhore, how deſirable in a burning climate! Impenetrable to wind and weather, how acceptable in cold climates, which are deprived of timber! Let us have a nearer view of its gloomy receſſes.

They are indiſcriminately found in every climate; but in mountainous countries only, in which, as the Swiſs philoſophers tell us with a particular complacency to themſelves, ſagacity ſooner ripens into genius, and in which the materials for building artificial mountains and caves are obvious at every ſtep. Violence and ſuperior force would ſoon take poſſeſſion of thoſe which are fitteſt for habitation and ſafety. The bones and remains of the largeſt and fierceſt wild beaſts, ſuch as the elephant, rhinoceros, lion, tiger, bear, and wolf, formerly the lords of the wilderneſs, are ſtill found in many of them, and conſtitute ſo many proofs of their excluſive poſſeſſion. Is it to be wondered at, that the ſtouteſt, fierceſt, and craftieſt, amongſt the lords of the whole creation, ſhould alſo have laid hold and kept ſimilar poſſeſſion of them from the remoteſt antiquity?

A good cavern was then a ſuperb palace: under certain circumſtances it is ſo ſtill. If theſe great men, or uſurpers, became afterwards objects of ſuperſtitious adoration, or if they have themſelves been the framers of any ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, then we ſhall no longer be at a loſs to account for the almoſt univerſal tradition which characteriſes rocks and caverns as the haunts and ſacred habitations of the gods; and in conſequence of which the form and gloom of ſuch caverns have been univerſally imitated in the oldeſt temples. Their external form and appearance is the ſpiry rock, the towering cliff, and the mountain in its immenſe extent: how various! how grand! Their inner form, their breaks, and maſſes, how infinitely more various, grand, and majeſtic, than any thing which the poor wigwam, and its moſt ingenious imitations, can ſuggeſt or boaſt of, which, compared to them, dwindle into nothing; their wonderful variety, their ſhape, their ſtructure, combination of parts, and natural ornaments, depend partly on the difference of the cauſes and circumſtances under which they have been formed, and on the nature of the mountains in which they are found. The granite, which forms the higheſt maſſes of the oldeſt mountains, affects particular forms, and diſplays a mixture of parts, which are either not found, or are leſs diſcernible in other rocks, ſuch as glittering or gold-coloured mica, cryſtal, and a more or leſs hardened baſis, in which theſe are wrapped up and confined. It is found, evidently ſtratified, in uncouth beds of immenſe extent, variouſly inclined, which furniſhes ſolid maſſes of almoſt every ſize and dimenſion.

The largeſt obeliſks of Egypt have been hewn out of them. When ſhattered or broken by the irreſiſtible ſhock of earthquakes, the impetuoſity of torrents, when worn by the current of rivers, or corroded or mouldered by the ſlower action

action of froſt, wind, and weather, the horrid cruſh and downfall of mountains preſents the granite blocks and ſtrata in their rude unwieldy immenſity, wildly piled upon each other, ſo as to form accidentally huts and caverns beneath. In the ſame manner, they appear naked and laid bare on the weather-beaten tops and prominences of the higheſt mountains.

The fiſſures and diviſions of the maſſes appear in various directions, agreeably to the force which has acted upon them; and in ſome caſes they are wonderfully equipoiſed and balanced upon each other.

I have been informed by an ingenious and learned friend of mine, well acquainted with the natural hiſtory of Cornwall, that we need not go to Upper Egypt or the Alps for the ſtudy of granite mountains; the whole ſouth-weſterly end of this iſland, beginning at Dartmoor in Devonſhire, and extending through the whole county of Cornwall, to the remoteſt cliffs and rocks of the Scilly Iſlands, is more or leſs a maſs of granite, almoſt every where interſected by metallic veins; that this chiefly appears in St. Michael's Mount, in Mount's Bay, on the ſouth coaſt; that ſome metallic veins or lodes, in the high towering cliffs on the north coaſt, corroded and decompoſed by the furious battering of the ſea, have left ſtupendous caverns and excavations, of which he mentions one in Wicka Cove, between St. Ives and St. Juſt, as particularly grand, and worthy the inſpection of the artiſt, as well as of the natural hiſtorian.

In calcareous, moſtly ſtratified mountains, caverns are more various and common: beſides the accidental caves produced by the giving way and tumbling down of mountainous maſſes, and the decompoſition of metallic and other lodes, more extenſive and ſingular excavations are found in them, evidently produced by earthquakes, or by the decompoſition of parts of the rocky maſſes, or of the ſtratified rock ſalt, which they ſurrounded and covered. Such are, I am informed, among many others, the caverns near Chudleigh and Plymouth, in Devonſhire, and thoſe which are ſo juſtly famous near Caſtleton and Buxton in Derbyſhire. In theſe laſt we behold the undeniable prototype of the lofty ſemicircular dome, and of the arched vault of which the hut of the Grecians could not ſuggeſt the idea. I deſcribe them, from the accurate obſervations of the above-mentioned ingenious gentleman, as wonderfully regular, and as large conical excavations in the roof of theſe caverns, which, examined by the light of torches, appeared to reſemble ſo many ſemicircular or parabolical cupolas, or, to uſe a leſs dignified compariſon, ſo many immenſe bells. The caverns, in calcareous, or more modern adventitious mountains, ſhew in their walls, beſides the texture and ſtratification, petrified marine, or other bodies, which are never found in granite or ſimilar ſilicious ſtones; a wonderful variety of glittering ſpar cryſtals; and, in particular, incruſtations of ſnow-white ſpar or ſtalactite, which either form undulated hangings on their ſides, or icicles dripping from their roofs, in the ſhape of columns, pillars, &c. Theſe are the peculiar glories and features of the grotto of Antiparos. I paſs over the caverns in

ſlate and looſer grit-ſtone, to dwell one inſtant longer on thoſe which are produced by volcanic eruptions, and chiefly by the contraction of cooling lavas. They totally differ in form and features from the preceding: the forms which theſe aſſume will reſemble the apertures and bubbles which are found in other ſcoria. Some of them which are found in Iceland will hold numerous flocks of ſheep; they are ſpread hundreds of fathoms in various branches under ground, and have ſerved formerly as ſtrong holds and habitations to the ruſtic heroes and warriors, whoſe names are highly celebrated in the traditional hiſtory and ſongs of that country. Fingal's famous and magnificent grotto is a large ſtratum of columnar baſaltes, in the iſle of Staffa, though probably it never was fit for habitation, and ſtill leſs, what ſome philoſophers have ſuppoſed it to be, the prototype of the column. That caverns in the looſer chalk. grit-ſtone, and beds of hardened volcanic aſhes, or tufa, are exceedingly improveable; and that caverns have been inhabited and variouſly improved, is, I think, undeniably evident, from what we ſee and read in the monuments and antiquities of every part of the world, and particularly from the immenſe excavated works in the iſland of Salſette, on the coaſt of Malabar, and many others.

The eaſy taſk of ſpecific hiſtorical proof I muſt leave to others; and requeſt my readers juſt to conſider, that when enlarged and improved natural caverns in rocks and mountains became inſufficient to the increaſing numbers of men and families, their improvement and enlargement, whatever it might have been, muſt naturally bring on imitations of their forms, by artificial excavations of rocks, or artificial grottos, caverns, and catacombs, by the piling up of looſe and moveable natural ſtones; and, laſtly, by the compoſition of brick, or other artificial imitations of natural ſtones, which of courſe would produce walls, huts, and houſes of ſtone, mud, or brick, and nearly of the ſame form.

One natural inference may and ought to be drawn from what has been ſaid, that the ſeveral ſpecies of ſtone buildings, which have been brought more or leſs to perfection, (I mean the Egyptian, Hindoo, Mooriſh, and Gothic architecture) inſtead of being copies of each other, are actually and eſſentially the ſame; the ſpontaneous produce of genius in different countries; the neceſſary effects of ſimilar neceſſity and materials; older and younger brothers and ſiſters of the ſame family, conceived, brought up, and bred to more or leſs grandeur, elegance, and perfection, in the Egyptian, Hindoo, and other artificial grottos and caverns. The pyramid, the obeliſk, the ſpire ſteeple and minaret, are evidently bold, ſtupendous imitations of the romantic forms of ſpiry towering rocks, which the imitators of humble huts never preſumed to attempt. The flat-roof hundred pillared Egyptian temple, the Indian pagoda, and choultry, are as evident copies of the numerous caverns, cool grottos, and excavations in the rocky banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt, and in the iſland of Elephanta and Salſette near Bombay. Gloom and darkneſs are common and deſirable to both; for fancy works beſt when involved in the veil of obſcurity.

The

The arched vault and lofty dome was not ſuggeſted to the Egyptians and oldeſt Hindoos by the grotto and ſacred caverns in granite mountains; they are the natural forms of other caverns, and in particular the boaſt, the ſtrength, and glory of more modern Mooriſh and Gothic temples. If the ſingle or grouped pillars, in many of the props and ſupports of artificial caverns, ſhould appear heavy, they muſt be regarded as having been originally props to mountains; and ſuch would be retained in common uſe, till experience found out eaſier and more pleaſing proportions; and till aſpiring genius, at the ſight of airy and lofty caverns, dared to give them lightneſs, and all the fanciful forms and graces of the Gothic ſtyle.

Such are my ſentiments on the origin of theſe different modes of architecture. The Grecian confeſſedly was ſuggeſted by the primitive form of a rural hut in a champaign woody country; and the Oriental and Gothic I conceive has derived its form and its ornaments from thoſe ſurpriſing excavations which are found in rocky and mountainous regions. In India theſe heterogeneous ſpecies of building are ſeldom found combined; and I mention the inſtance which gave riſe to this diſcuſſion as very ſingular indeed. By what means this unnatural union has taken place it is impoſſible to determine; and conjecture would only lead us aſtray from the object of theſe pages, which is a narrative and deſcription of facts.

Character of Demades. *From the* Looker-on, *Vol.* 3.

DEMADES is a perſon of great property, and has an undoubted ſhare of good nature; he looks on nothing with ſo much abhorrence as the character of a covetous man; and, rather than be thought to want hoſpitality, would make his whole neighbourhood ſwim in an ocean of Madeira. Nothing can be more coſtly than his furniture and his liveries; all his appointments are magnificent; and it is not eaſy to excel him in the ſplendour of his entertainments. But Demades makes but a ſorry figure in the midſt of all his profuſion, with which he is evidently overſtocked and encumbered: he lets you perceive in a moment how high he rates the honour he has done you, and takes eſpecial care that no part of his magnificence ſhall eſcape your notice, which if it appear to dazzle you, he cannot help betraying the delight your embarraſſment affords him, in a ſmile of exultation. As this ſort of feeling in his gueſts is conſidered by him as the moſt unequivocal praiſe than can be offered to him, he is ſolicitous to produce it as often as poſſible, by playing off his grandeur before men of broken fortunes and bluſhing indigence. Thus it is a rule with him to propoſe a dozen ſorts of wine to a man who, he knows, has never taſted but two, and is charmed with his perplexity of choice, and miſtakes of pronunciation. His table, for the ſame reaſon, is filled with foreign diſhes, "of exquiſiteſt name," and of moſt ambiguous forms; and you might fancy yourſelf at ſupper with Lucullus, on fattened thruſhes and the cranes of Malta. Moſt of his diſhes have ſuch formidable names, that few care to riſk the ridicule of their hoſt by venturing to aſk for them; and if they name them rightly, it is ten to one but they blunder in eating them, which anſwers equally well to the

the facetious entertainer. If any thing is particularly rare and out of ſeaſon, you are told how much it coſt before you touch it, ſo that you eat it with a ſort of grudge, and with that feeling which diſappoints the reliſh of the richeſt dainties. This ham was ſent him from Weſtphalia; this pickle was prepared from the receipt of an Italian Count, this wine was imported for him by the Spaniſh ambaſſador; the veniſon he killed himſelf; the pig was fed with cheſnuts and apples. Every thing has its hiſtory: his potatoes are not common potatoes; they are the potatoes of Demades; they have an anecdote belonging to them—touch one and you will hear it. His apartments are replete with every imaginable contrivance for elegance and accommodation; but his manners render it plain that they are there, not for your convenience, but your admiration. Whatever you touch, taſte, or uſe, you cannot forget for a moment who is its owner. Egotiſm, and a certain ſtamp of property and poſſeſſion, accompany all his acts, and characteriſe all his phraſes. *My* is a monoſyllable never omitted, and always emphatic: thus it is *my* doors, *my* hinges, *my* coals, and *my* carpet. Touch his poker, and you will preſently feel that it belongs to Demades. You may always know in what part of the room Demades is ſeated, without the trouble of looking for him; for, beſides a magiſterial cough, his voice is the loudeſt in the company; and if he moves, you are ſure it is Demades, for ſome ceremony attends upon every act that marks it for his own. He breathes with a certain emphaſis; he has a motion more than any man preſent in uſing his handkerchief; there is a ſupererogatory flouriſh in his manner of drinking your health; his glaſs makes a turn or two extraordinary in its journey to his lips; and in ſeating himſelf in his chair, the toe of his right foot deſcribes on the floor a ſemicircle with the other—that is to ſay, he does it with a ſwing, that ſhews him to be the maſter of the houſe, and the chair to be his own. Thus altogether his entertainment is the grandeſt and the meaneſt, his viands the beſt and the worſt in the world.

Specimen of an intended Hiſtory of England, by the Author of a Hiſtory of the Decline of the Roman Empire, repreſenting the Life of the illuſtrious Son of Waldron. *By the Reverend* J. Beresford; *from the ſame work, vol.* iv.

NOW went forth the ſpirit of plunder. The gigantic forms of depredation, which at this time ſubjected the perſons and pockets of the metropolis to the hands and hangers of the marauder, naturally rivets our attention to the exploits of the ſon of Henry Waldron, in whom, under the wily alias of George Barrington, I darkly contemplate the father of that ſpecies of clandeſtine rapine which diſjoins the inconveniencies of robbery from its terrors, and conſiſts in the inſinuation of the finger or the hook into our perſonal coffers, and recovering them triumphant with the ſpoils of the inſenſible benefactor. This furtive aſſeſſment upon property does not, on a firſt view, appear worthy of the tranſcendent abilities of the freebooter of Kildare: but whatever underwent the touch of Midas became

became gold; and the transmuting intellect of Barrington invested with system and with science, an art which had hitherto been regarded by the more learned and more adventurous in the schools of Mercury, with contemptuous indifference, and was by them consigned to the noviciates of the lawless fraternity. Darting a keener glance into the occupation which was at once to dignify and to degrade his future day, this plunderer of the West was probably fired by those very discouragements which would have depressed a less towering altitude of genius; and discerned, through the shades of ignominy, a harvest of glory, in a proportion inverse to the fertility of the soil in which it was to be reared.

Armed with such confidence and such ambition, now walked forth the Adventurer of Ireland, sealing his ears to the syren solicitations of more honourable employs, and spurned with unhallowed contempt the proffered patronage of the pontiff of Leixlip, and the hope of histrionic eminence with which a successful appearance in the part of Jaffier had saluted his dawn. The metropolis of Hibernia was the scene of his predatory exploits no longer than till the maturity of habit had succeeded to the crudities of unpractised timidity. The ripeness of his art co-operating with a few instances of detection, sent him, fraught with presages of victory, against the capital of Albion; and the year 1773 will be connected, through the lapse of ages, with the first appearance of the son of Waldron on the shores of Britain. The giant capacities of genius are awake at those hours and in those situations wherein minds of a plebian mould resign themselves to the torpors of slumber; and the tedious interval which was passed in the Dorset Yacht was made conducive to the promotion of his future hopes, by laying the faithless foundation of a selonious friendship with one of the co-partners of his voyage.

A tale of wealth and ancestry was fabricated by our child of fortune for the purpose of lulling suspicion into security, and conciliating doubt into confidence. The latter of these pretensions was of a nature sufficiently unsubstantial to elude the fear of detection; but as the former was to be corroborated by external evidences, and as a solitary score of guineas was the only basis on which it could, at this early epoch of his life, be erected, it became necessary to make an instantaneous appeal to his mighty abilities. His first successes held the world in awe; England trembled at the name of Barrington; and the march of the hero of Hibernia was every where marked with personal depredations. From the winter solstice to the equinox of spring, he prosecuted a series of exploits unequalled in craft and ingenuity among the sons of Adam. The walls of Ranelagh were the scene of his maiden claims upon the involuntary contributions of the public; and in the transient revolution of a single evening a knight of the bath, nine peers of the realm, and five others of the brightest luminaries in the globe of fashion, were reduced, by the fingers of the son of Waldron, to the necessity of enquiring the hour of the night from those of their friends in whose fobs he had still left the sources of information.

The magic of the scenatorial rod was not wanting for the purposes of converting

converting his watches into wealth; and his intimacy with his fellow-voyager of the Dorset Yacht was supported with the glittering robberies of Ranelagh. But the gratitude of the depredator of Hibernia walked forth with unequal pace by the side of his emoluments. This friend of the Dorset Yacht, and the friends of this friend, and every collateral relative, were laid under contribution to the unasking necessities of the pupil of Mercury. At their nocturnal meetings, he silently contemplated his gains amid the unsuspicious joys of Bacchus; and promoted a full flow of hilarity, not as an aid to wit, or as an antidote to care, but as a soporific to suspicion, that his hand might find a facile entrance into those favourite haunts of his divinity, the pocket and the fob.

But these subaltern modes of chicane, however they might relieve his necessities, or supply his prodigality, could by no means saturate his ambition. He was an eagle, that aspired rather to the perilous glory of a victory over the vulture, than to the safe luxury of a meal upon the dove; and the court of the British potentate was to be the scene of his proudest achievements in this field of adventure. The ecclesiastical habit, not now assumed for the first time as a skreen to the plots of the plunderer, furnished him with a passport to the presence of majesty; and a lord of the council unconsciously resigned to the felonious hand of the Hibernian the glittering ensign of his order. Nor was a less sum than £.80, which was delivered in exchange for the trophy of St. James's, the reward of that audacity and adroitness, of which the detection would have tragically terminated in the prison and the halter.

But the wide and still widening limits of the British peerage were not commensurate to the reach of his predatory ambition; and prince Orlow, of whom the Empress had testified her estimation by the gift of a snuff-box of inestimable price, could not long retain this splendid pledge of imperial predilection within the domain of this triumphant arch-plunderer; and the queen of the Russias had nearly paid a tribute to the prince of pick-pockets, through the reluctant medium of the hyperborean peer.

But fortune, who does not always crown with success the enterprises of the warrior, or the benevolences of the saint, may well be imagined to countermine the snares of the felon; and the favourite of Catherine, by a seasonable detection of the transfer, recovered the power of dazzling English eyes with the munificence of his queen. On his day of trial, the subtlety of his defence, and the lenity of Orlow, procured his escape from the penal consequences of his boldness. But the notoriety both of the attempt and its discovery, so closely rivetted on him the scrutiny of the public, that for one year and nine days he sequestered himself from the unhallowed haunts of plunder; and, subsisting on the fruits of former spoils, beguiled the interregnum of dishonesty by resuming that attention to literary amusements which he had successfully cultivated, ere the lust of larceny had swallowed up the calmer pleasures of the pen and the page. But the influence of the *belles lettres* was shed in vain on his licentious nature; and the opportunity of appropriating the contents

of his landlord's till, was found too powerful for the ſenſe either of ſafety or compunction.

The dykes of a ſtream once removed, its courſe is not eaſily recalled within its priſtine bounds; and he now returned, with appetite proportioned to the length of his faſt, to the practices of manual conveyance. But he had wearied the liberality of fortune; and the clandeſtine capture of a ſilver timepiece, ſent the ſon of Waldron to one of thoſe ſcenes of compulſory labour, where, in the diſpoſal of his time, neither the choice nor the genius of the labourer is conſulted. Now walked forth to the hulks of Woolwich the adventurer of Ireland; and the ſpade and the mattock were the rugged implements that now filled that hand which had hitherto revelled in the ſoft and eaſy labour of ſoliciting the watch, and diving into the rich receſſes of the pocket.

The humanity of the ſuperintendant of the convicts, in concurrence with the ſedulous activity of the degraded miniſter of ſecret rapine, abridged the term of his confinement, which, from three years, was reduced to one-third of the original number; at the expiration whereof, he was once again let looſe upon ſociety, notorious in his perſon, enfeebled in his frame, and diſcarded from his creditable connections: yet was he not the more reduced in ſpirits, or leſs determined to proſecute anew his career of depredation. But frequent detection will engender caution, though it conquer not our reſolution; and, although he abated not the frequency, he redoubled the ſecreſy, and refined upon the ſubtlety of his thefts. Of the latter quality, an inſtance may be adduced, for which we ſhall in vain ſeek a parallel in the annals of readineſs and ingenuity.

As he was one day prowling for his prey in the ways of the metropolis, his eye encountered a diſtant multitude, to which, as to the field of victory, he triumphantly advanced. Urging his paſſage through the preſs, he dimly diſcovered in the centre, a gentleman who had dropped in ſudden death. He ſprung forwards with agonized impatience, gazed with affected horror on the pallid viſage of the apoplectic victim, and 'Great God! my Uncle! my Uncle!' was the burſting exclamation which drew on him the wonder and compaſſion of the ſurrounding throng. 'In the name of mercy,' continued the hypocrite of Kildare, 'in the name of mercy, procure me a hackney or other conveyance, that I may bear away and honour with the laſt gloomy offices of unperiſhing affection the remains of the brother of my father.' His urgent entreaties were humanely complied with, and the dead and the living entered at once into the chariot, while to the charioteer the latter of the two with faultering accents notified the place of his melancholy deſtination.

We have already ſeen that to the collector of Ireland a voyage or a journey was not, as to others, an interval of relaxation: the precious moments were now devoted to the lucrative labour of ſtripping from the carcaſe of his ſilent uncle his now needleſs appurtenances; and the handkerchief of the defunct was made the receiver of the perſonal property of the abrupt expirer.

Scarce

Scarce completed was the ſpoliation, ere the chariot and the charioteer arrived at the gates of a chirurgeon, to which he had clandeſtinely directed the ſon of Jehu. A purloiner of the ordinary rate of ability, would have remained exultingly content with having thus far ſucceeded in his mighty machinations. But not in theſe imperfect depredations do I recogniſe the ſon of Waldron. It was reſerved for the pickpocket of Ireland, after having feigned the ties of affinity with an unknown carcaſe, and forced from it an illegal inheritance, to round this maſter ſtroke of chicane, by conſigning the body, for a ſtipulated purchaſe, to the blade of the anatomiſt.

But the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes of the felon only lead to a confidence that terminates in diſcovery; and the plain of Enfield was deſtined perhaps to be the laſt ſcene of his violations of property upon Engliſh ground. A palpable detection of his hand in the act of invading the fob of an Engliſh commoner, occaſioned primarily his ſeizure, and finally his conviction. As his ſpirit never ſunk with his circumſtances, he incurred not the ſentence of tranſportation without vigorous efforts for its prevention; and as eloquence was not leſs eminently his talent than manual dexterity, he neglected not, when ſummoned to his defence, to appeal to the paſſions of the jury and his auditors. Eloquence, the ſubſtitute of honeſty, decks itſelf in its robes of purity, only to conſummate its impoſitions: and Barrington imagined, by his rhetorical efforts, to hoodwink with a new bandage the eye of juſtice. But his oratory was turned againſt itſelf; and he forgot, in this hour of affliction, that he was provoking ſtill further the clamours of an indignant public, by evincing the poſſeſſion of thoſe powers, a more *politic* direction of which might have tranſplanted him from the bar of the culprit to the bench of the biſhop.

The recorder of England's capital, whoſe ſombrous lips were the vehicle of his ſentence, omitted not to impreſs on the mind of the offender this deep aggravation of his criminality; and a rumour went forth, that the tears of the penitent pickpocket of Kildare were wiped with a cambrick trophy of former achievements. At this hour I mentally deſcry him in the bay of Botany, either realiſing the profeſſions of contrition which he held forth in his defence, and a ſaint among his fallen aſſociates, or employing the interval of his ſeptennial exile in deviſing new forms of fraud, new artifices of concealment, or new immunities from juſtice.

Thus in one dark day was crumbled into duſt the grandeur of the hero of Hibernia; and as he moved along, melancholy and ſlow, the hall of juſtice, there ran along the dome a collective ſigh, that ſtole from the boſoms of maids, and wives, and widows—a deſponding hoſt—while it was the common conſent of all who aſſiſted at the ſpectacle, that the ſorrowing ſon of Waldron had more the appearance of an emiſſary ſent forth on the pious errand of propagating the goſpel, or a new biſhop on his way to the ſacerdotal throne, with the prelatical *Nolo* in his mouth, than the culprit of Kildare, tranſported by the recorder of the capital of Albion to the realm of rogues in the ſouthern main.

On Singularity of Manners, from the Reveries of Solitude. *By the Rev. Mr.* Graves.

THERE are few people of such mortified pretensions, as patiently to acquiesce under the total neglect of mankind: nay, so ambitious are most men of distinction, that they chuse to be taken notice of, even for their absurdities, rather than to be entirely overlooked and lost in obscurity; and, if they despair of exciting the attention of the world, by any brilliant or useful accomplishment, they will endeavour to gain it by some ridiculous peculiarity in their dress, their equipage, or accoutrements.

Many persons may remember a little foreigner, (Des Caseaux, I think, was his name) who appeared daily in the Mall, dressed in black, with a hat of an enormous diameter, and a long roll of paper in his hand. His picturesque appearance tempted some artists to make an etching of him, which was exhibited in every shop. "I mention this gentleman, because his professed intention was, he said, "to attract the notice of the king, as he had done that of his subjects."

But we see daily instances of the same kind. One man sports a paradoxical walking-stick; another rises to fame by the shortness of his coat, or the length of his trowsers, or the multiplicity of capes on his shoulders, and the like efforts of genius and invention. I remember a young divine, some years ago, not otherwise eminent either for learning or ingenuity, who wore his own short hair, when every one else wore long wigs, "in imitation, as he said, of Gregory Nazianzen."

It would be cruel to deprive these gentlemen of their slender gratification in these harmless particulars; but when we assume any thing peculiar in our appearance, in order to disguise our real character; when we affect an uncommon sanctity and solemnity of countenance to impose upon the world; we then become more than ridiculous, and are highly immoral.

A Tartuffe indeed, or a pretender to extraordinary devotion, is not a prevailing character in this age; too many are in the contrary extreme; and, like Colonel Chartres, are guilty of every human vice—except hypocrisy. Even our young divines, though doubtless much given to fasting and prayer in private, yet "appear not to men to fast;" but anoint their hair, and exhibit their rosy faces; and, by their dress, are not to be distinguished from profane sportsmen or country 'squires. I do not exempt the orators of the tabernacle from this description; who, instead of the primitive locks of John Wesley, seem now to make female converts by their well-dressed hair, and dapper appearance.

Yet, in every profession, there are still pretenders; who, by grimace or affected solemnity, endeavour to gain the confidence of the vulgar; and to exalt themselves above their equals in skill, and assume more importance than is their due.

However, if we must distinguish ourselves from the rest of mankind, let it be by our intrinsic virtue, our temperance, and sobriety, and a conscientious regard to every relative duty; but, as we ought "to think with the wise, and talk with the vulgar," let us also act differently from a great part of the world in

matters

matters of importance, but conform to them in trifles. This is what Seneca ſo forcibly inculcates in his fifth Epiſtle to his friend Lucilius.

"I both approve of your conduct, and ſincerely rejoice that you reſolutely exert yourſelf; and, laying aſide every other purſuit, make it your whole ſtudy to improve yourſelf in wiſdom and virtue. And I not only exhort, but earneſtly intreat you to perſevere in this courſe.

"Give me leave, however, to caution you not to imitate thoſe pretended philoſophers, who are more ſolicitous to attract the notice of the world, than to make a progreſs in wiſdom; nor to affect any thing ſingular in your dreſs, or in your manner of life. Avoid that prepoſterous ambition of gaining applauſe, by your uncouth appearance, your hair uncombed, and your beard neglected; nor be always declaiming againſt the uſe of plate, of ſoft beds, or any thing of that kind. The very name of a philoſopher is ſufficiently invidious, though managed with the greateſt modeſty and diſcretion.

"Suppoſe we have entered upon our Stoical plan, and begun to ſequeſter ourſelves from the converſation and cuſtoms of the vulgar; let every thing *within* be diſſimilar; but let our *outward* appearance be conformable to the reſt of the world. Let not our apparel be ſplendid or ſhewy, nor yet mean or ſordid. Let not our plate be emboſſed with gold; but let us not imagine, that the mere want of ſuch expenſive plate is a ſufficient proof of our frugality Let us endeavour to live a better life, not merely a life contrary to that of the vulgar; otherwiſe, inſtead of conciliating the favour of thoſe whom we wiſh to reform, we ſhall excite their averſion, and drive them from our company; we ſhall alſo deter them from imitating us in any thing, when they are afraid that they are to imitate us in every thing.

"The firſt advantages which philoſophy promiſes are, a juſt ſenſe of the common rights of mankind, humanity, and a ſociable diſpoſition; from which advantages, ſingularity and diſſimilar manners will entirely ſeclude us. Let us beware, leſt thoſe peculiarities by which we hope to excite the admiration, ſhould expoſe us to the ridicule and averſion of mankind.

"Our object is to live according to nature; but to torture our bodies, to abhor cleanlineſs in our perſons, when attended with no trouble, or to affect a cynical filthineſs in our food; this ſure is living contrary to nature. As it is a mark of luxury to hunt after delicacies, to reject the common unexpenſive comforts of life is a degree of madneſs. Our Stoic philoſophy requires us to be frugal, not to mortify ourſelves; but there is ſuch a thing as an elegant frugality. This moderation is what I would recommend."

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1793. *By* Henry James Pye, *Esq.* *Poet Laureat.*

NOT with more joy from desert shades,
Where prowl untam'd the savage train,
From pathless moors and barren glades,
Sad desolation's gloomy reign
Averted, bends the weary eye
To seats of rural industry,
Where harvests wave in yellow pride,
Where spreads the fertile champaign wide,
The lucid stream while Commerce leads
Through peopled towns and laughing meads;
Than turns the mind from scenes of woe,
Where ceaseless tears of anguish flow,
Where Anarchy's insatiate brood
Their horrid footsteps mark with blood,
To shores where temperate Freedom reigns,
Where Peace and Order bless the plains,
Where men the Sovereign of their choice obey,
Where Britain's grateful Sons exult in George's sway.

Yet Albion ne'er with selfish aim
To her own race her care confines,
On all, the sacred gift who claim,
The golden beam of Freedom shines.
Sad out-cast from his native shore,
The wretched Exile wafted o'er,
Feels Pity's lenient hand assuage
The wounds of Faction's cruel rage;
Her laws, to all protective, yield
Security's impartial shield;
Who breathes her air, breathes purest liberty,
Gaunt Slavery flies the coast; who treads her soil is free.

Ambition's

Ambition's clarion has not charm'd
Her dauntleſs legions to the war,
Nor have her Sons, by fury arm'd,
Follow'd Oppreſſion's iron car;
Tho' prompt at honour's call to brave
The hoſtile clime, the adverſe wave,
Their thunder 'neath the burning zone
Shook the proud Deſpot on his throne;
Yet while aloft in orient ſkies
Conqueſt's triumphant banner flies,
The generous Victor bids the conflict ceaſe,
And 'midſt his laurels twines the nobler wreaths of peace.

Bleſt Peace! O may thy radiance mild
Beam kindly on the op'ning year!
Yet, ſhould with frantic vengeance wild
The fiends of Diſcord urge their raſh career,
Not cold in Freedom's ſacred cauſe,
Nor ſlow to guard her holy laws,
Faithful to him their hearts approve,
The Monarch they revere, the man they love;
Britannia's ſons ſhall arm with patriot zeal,
Their Prince's cauſe their own, his rights the general weal.

ODE *for His* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, *by* H. Pye, *Eſq.*

WHEN blind Ambition drives his car,
Impetuous, through the ranks of war,
Though Fame her notes of triumph breathe,
Though ſhouts of conqueſt ſoothe the ear,
Yet, o'er the victor's blood-ſtain'd wreath
Reflection drops the penſive tear;
But at Oppreſſion's lawleſs head,
When War's vindictive bolts are ſped,
When at the Deſpot's ſhrinking breaſt,
When o'er Sedition's haughty creſt
Stern Battle ſhakes the avenging ſpear,
And teaches headſtrong Arrogance to fear,
Mercy herſelf ſhall conſecrate the cauſe,
While Juſtice points the ſword that Indignation draws.

Though Albion many an ancient ſcar
Stills bears on her indented breaſt,
In every age by Gallic war
Or Gallic perfidy impreſs'd;

Yet, o'er their fields when Rapine ſtood,
When Faction drench'd their towns with blood,
No memory of inſult paſt
Urg'd her to ſwell Contention's blaſt;
With grief ſhe view'd their ſinking ſtate,
With tears deplor'd her rival's fate;
Their chiefs, whoſe falchions yet were red
With her beſt blood in battle ſhed,
Found friendly refuge on her happy ſhore;
She knew they were diſtreſs'd, nor e'er remember'd more.

Yet, when Invaſion's raging flood
Burſt dreadful o'er each ruin'd mound,
And, ſwell'd by carnage and by blood,
Threaten'd the trembling nations round;
While Europe from Batavia's wat'ry plain
By commerce ſnatch'd from Ocean's wide domain
To ſouthern ſeas, that gently lave
Baia's mild ſhores with tepid wave,
Look'd up where on her rocky throne
Unaw'd Britannia ſits alone,—
"Go forth, my ſons, in Freedom's cauſe!" ſhe cry'd,
Check'd was the torrent's courſe, and refluent roll'd the tide.

What though on this auſpicious day
Her offering to the beſt of kings,
Pluck'd from the ſober olive's ſpray,
The duteous Muſe no longer brings;
Yet, while the laurel's warrior bough
Now decks his youthful hero's brow
Untouch'd by Rapine's hand profane,
Unſoil'd by dark Ambition's ſtain,
Albion once more with kindling flame
Renews her ſcenes of ancient fame,
Again ſhe ſees, in fields of glory, ſhine,
Her ſons of dauntleſs breaſt, her chiefs of royal line.

RUNIC ODE. *The* HAUNTING *of* HAVARDUR, *by* C. Leſley.

SON of Angrym, warrior bold,
Stay thy travel o'er the wold;
Stop, Havardur, ſtop thy ſteed,
Thy death, thy bloody death's decreed.
She, Coronzon's lovely maid,
Whom thy wizard wiles betray'd,

Glides

Glides along the darken'd coaſt,
A frantic, pale, unſhrouded, ghoſt.
Where the fiſher dries his net,
Rebelling waves her body beat;
Seduc'd by thee, ſhe toſs'd her form
To the mad fury of the ſtorm.

Know, thou feeble Child of Duſt,
Odin's brave, and Odin's juſt;
From the Golden Hall I come
To pronounce thy fatal doom:
Never ſhalt thou paſs the ſcull
Of rich Metheglin deep and full;
Late I left the giant throng
Yelling loud thy funeral ſong;
Imprecating deep and dread,
Curſes on thy guilty head.
Soon, with Lok, thy tortur'd ſoul
Muſt in boiling billows roll;
Till the God's eternal light
Burſts athwart the gloom of night;
Till Surtur gallops from afar
To burn this breathing world of war.

Bold to brave the ſpear of death,
Heroes hurry o'er the heath:
Haſten to the ſmoking feaſt—
Welcome every helmed gueſt;
Liſten hymns of ſweet renown,
Battles by thy fathers won;
Frame thy face in wreathed ſmiles,
Mirth the moodieſt mind beguiles.—
Yet I hover always nigh,
Bid thee think,—and bid thee ſigh;
Yet I goad thy rankled breaſt,
Never, never, ſhalt thou reſt.

What avails thy boſſy ſhield?
What the guard thy gauntlets yield?
What the morion on thy brow?
Or the hauberk's rings below?
If to live in aguiſh fear,
Danger always thund'ring near.
Lift on high thy biting mace:
See him glaring in thy face;
Turn—yet meet him, madd'ning, fly,
Curſe thy coward ſoul, and die.

Not

Not upon the field of fight
Hela ſeals thy lids in night;
A brother of infernal brood
Bathes him in thy heart's hot blood;
Twice two hundred vaſſals bend,
Hail him as their guardian friend;
Mock thee, writhing with thy wound,
Bid thee bite the duſty ground,
Leave thee ſuffering, ſcorn'd, alone,
To die unpity'd and unknown.

Be thy naked carcaſe ſtrew'd
To give the famiſh'd eagles food;
Sea-mews, ſcreaming on the ſhore,
Dip their beaks, and drink thy gore.
Be thy fiend-like ſpirit borne
Where the ſlaves of ſorrow mourn,
Wreck'd upon the fiery tide,
An age of agony abide.

But ſoft, the morning-bell beats one,
The glow-worm fades; and, ſee, the ſun
Flaſhes his torch behind yon hill.
At night, when weary'd Nature's ſtill,
And Horror darkens all the plain,
Remember—we muſt meet again.

ODE, *occaſioned by a Lady's profeſſing an Attachment to* INDIFFERENCE. *By* T. Pennant, *Eſq.*

FLY Indifference, hated maid!
Seek Spitzbergen's barren ſhade;
Where old Winter keeps his court,
There, fit gueſt, do thou reſort:
And thy froſty breaſt repoſe
'Midſt congenial ice and ſnows.
There reſide, inſipid maid,
But ne'er infeſt my EMMA's head.

Or elſe ſeek the cloiſter pale,
Where reluctant virgins veil:
In the corner of whoſe heart
Earth with Heav'n ſtill keeps a part:
There thy fulleſt influence ſhower,
Free poor Grace from Paſſion's power.
Give! give! fond ELOISA reſt;
But ſhun, oh ſhun my EMMA's breaſt!

Or

Or on LYCE, wanton maid!
Be thy chilling finger laid.
Quench the frolic beam that flies,
From her bright fantaſtic eyes.
Teach the ſweet coquét to know
Heart of ice in breaſt of ſnow:
Give peace to her: give peace to me:
But leave, oh leave my EMMA free!

But if thou, in grave diſguiſe,
Seek'ſt to make that nymph thy prize:
Should that nymph, deceiv'd by thee,
Liſten to thy ſophiſtry:
Should ſhe court thy cold embraces,
And to thee reſign her graces;
What, alas! is left for me,
But to fly myſelf to thee.

Cheſter, March 1769.

Ode on ſeeing a Negro Funeral. From the Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, by B. Edwards, *Eſq.*

MAHALI dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: The ſable train
By youthful virgins led:
Daughters of injur'd Afric, ſay
Why raiſe ye thus th' heroic lay,
Why triumph o'er the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye:
'Tis now the hero lives they cry;—
Releas'd from ſlav'ry's chain:
Beyond the billowy ſurge he flies,
And joyful views his native ſkies,
And long-loſt bowers again.

On Koromantyn's palmy ſoil
Heroic deeds and martial toil,
Shall fill each glorious day;
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,
And bliſs unbought, unmix'd delights,
Paſt cruel wrongs repay.

Nor lordly pride's ſtern avarice there,
Alone ſhall nature's bounties ſhare;
To all her children free.—
For thee, the dulcet Reed ſhall ſpring,
His balmy bowl the Coco bring,
Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The

The thunder, hark! 'Tis Afric's God,
He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,
And ſpeeds th' impatient hours:
From Niger's golden ſtream he calls;
Fair freedom comes,—oppreſſion falls;
And vengeance yet is ours!

Now, Chriſtian, now, in wild diſmay,
Of Afric's proud revenge the prey,
Go roam th' affrighted wood;—
Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,
Thy race ſhall prowl with ſavage yell,
And glut their rage for blood!

But ſoft,—beneath yon tam'rind ſhade,
Now let the hero's limbs be laid;
Sweet ſlumbers bleſs the brave:
There ſhall the breezes ſhed perfume,
Nor livid lightnings blaſt the bloom
That decks Mahali's grave.

Addreſs to her Huſband, by Mrs. Mehetabel Wright. *From* Whitehead's *Life of the Rev.* J. Weſley, *Vol. I.*

THE ardent lover cannot find
A coldneſs in his fair unkind,
But blaming what he cannot hate
He mildly chides the dear ingrate;
And though deſpairing of relief,
In ſoft complaining vents his grief.
Then what ſhould hinder but that I,
Impatient of my wrongs, may try,
By ſaddeſt ſofteſt ſtrains,—to move
My wedded, lateſt, deareſt love?
To throw his cold neglect aſide
And cheer once more his injur'd bride.
O! thou whom ſacred rites deſign'd,
My guide and huſband ever kind;
My ſov'reign maſter, beſt of friends,
On whom my earthly bliſs depends;
If e'er thou didſt in Hetty ſee
Aught fair, or good, or dear to thee;
If gentle ſpeech can ever move
The cold remains of former love,
Turn thee at laſt—my boſom eaſe,
Or tell me why I ceaſe to pleaſe.

Is

Is it becauſe revolving years,
Heart-breaking ſighs, and fruitleſs tears,
Have quite depriv'd this form of mine
Of all that once thou fanciedſt fine?
Ah no! what once allur'd thy ſight,
Is ſtill in its meridian height:
Theſe eyes their uſual luſtre ſhew,
When un-eclips'd by flowing woe.
Old age and wrinkles in this face
As yet could never find a place;
A youthful grace adorns the lines,
Where ſtill the purple current ſhines;
Unleſs by thy ungentle art,
It flies to aid my wretched heart:
Nor does this ſlighted boſom ſhew
The thouſand hours it ſpends in woe.
Or is it, that oppreſs'd with care
I ſtun with loud complaints thine ear,
And make thy home, for quiet meant,
The ſeat of noiſe and diſcontent?
Oh no! thoſe ears were ever free
From matrimonial melody.
For though thine abſence I lament,
When half the lonely night is ſpent;
Yet when the watch or early morn,
Has brought me hopes of thy return,
I oft have wip'd theſe watchful eyes,
Conceal'd my cares, and curb'd my ſighs,
In ſpite of grief, to let thee ſee
I wore an endleſs ſmile for thee.
Had I not practis'd ev'ry art
T' oblige, divert, and cheer thy heart,
To make me pleaſing in thine eyes,
And turn thy home to paradiſe,
I had not aſk'd, why doſt thou ſhun
Theſe faithful arms, and eager run
To ſome obſcure unclean retreat,
With fiends incarnate glad to meet,
The vile companions of thy mirth,
The ſcum and refuſe of the earth?
Who when inſpir'd with beer can grin
At witleſs oaths, and jeſts obſcene;
Till the moſt learned of the throng
Begin a tale of ten hours long,
Whilſt thou in raptures, with ſtretch'd jaws,
Crowneſt each joke with loud applauſe.

Depriv'd

Depriv'd of freedom, health, and eaſe,
And rival'd by ſuch *things* as theſe,
This lateſt effort will I try,
Or to regain thy heart, or die:
Soft as I am, I'll make thee ſee,
I will not brook contempt from thee.
Then quit the ſhuffling doubtful ſenſe,
Nor hold me longer in ſuſpenſe.
Unkind, ungrateful as thou art,
Say, muſt I ne'er regain thy heart,
Muſt all attempt to pleaſe thee prove
Unable to regain thy love?
If ſo, by truth itſelf I ſwear,
The ſad reverſe I cannot bear;
No reſt, no pleaſure will I ſee,
My whole of bliſs is loſt with thee.
I'll give all thought of patience o'er,
(A gift I never loſt before)
Indulge at once my rage and grief,
Mourn obſtinate, diſdain relief;
And call that wretch my mortal foe,
Who tries to mitigate my woe;
Till life, on terms ſevere as theſe,
Shall ebbing leave my heart at eaſe;
To thee thy liberty reſtore,
To laugh when Hetty is no more.

*Addreſs to her dying Infant *, by the ſame,*

TENDER ſoftneſs! infant mild!
Perfect, ſweeteſt, loveliest child!
Tranſient luſtre! beauteous clay!
Smiling wonder of a day!
Ere the laſt convulſive ſtart
Rend thy unreſiſting heart,
Ere the long-enduring ſwoon
Weigh thy precious eye-lids down;
Ah, regard a mother's moan;
Anguiſh deeper than thy own.
Faireſt eyes, whoſe dawning light
Late with rapture bleſs'd my ſight;
Ere your orbs extinguiſh'd be,
Bend their trembling beams on me!

Drooping

* The child died the third day after it was born.

Drooping ſweetneſs! verdant flower!
Blooming, with'ring in an hour!
Ere thy gentle breaſt ſuſtains,
Lateſt, fierceſt, mortal pains,
Hear a ſuppliant! let me be
Partner in thy deſtiny!
That whene'er the fatal cloud
Muſt thy radiant temples ſhroud;
When deadly damps (impending now)
Shall hover round thy deſtin'd brow;
Diffuſive may their influence be,
And with the bloſſom blaſt the tree?

On leaving Steephill, Auguſt 1750. *From Poems by Lady* Manners.

YE towering hills, whoſe front ſublime
The miſty vapour often ſhrouds;
Whoſe ſummits, braving envious time,
Aſpire to pierce the vagrant clouds!

Ye trees, that to the balmy gale,
Low murmuring, bow your verdant heads!
Ye laviſh flowers that ſcent the vale,
Where roſy health delightful treads!

Ye ſtreams, that through the meadow ſtray,
In many a wild fantaſtic round;
Or, ſparkling, urge your rapid way
O'er rocks with bending oſiers crown'd!

Ye whitening cliffs, that o'er the main,
In dreadful majeſty ariſe,
Whoſe dangers to elude, in vain
Too oft the trembling ſailor tries!

Each varied ſcene, whoſe native charms
Excel what fancy ever drew;
Where, ſheltered in Retirement's arms,
Contentment ſweetly reſts, Adieu.

And thou, romantic, ſtraw-roof'd cot,
Whoſe walls are from diſſenſion free,
The hours ſhall never be forgot,
The happy hours I've paſſed in thee!

Where Hoſpitality preſides,
And pours from Plenty's copious horn!
Where unaffected Worth reſides,
And feſtive Mirth gilds every morn.

Oh

Oh may they long exert their power,
Long guard from ill this bleſt retreat,
And ever through life's checquer'd hour
With ſmiles of peace its owners greet.

And may no blaſt e'er rend theſe trees,
Or ſpoil this garden's gaudy bloom;
But the ſoft ſhower and gentle breeze,
Preſerve its beauty and perfume.

Ah me! I muſt no more delay;
For ſee the ſwelling ſail's in view,
The wind, propitious, chides my ſtay.
Romantic cot—again adieu!

Indian War Song. From Ouâbi, an Indian Tale, by Mrs. Morton.

REAR'D midſt the war-empurpled plain,
What Illinois ſubmits to pain!
How can the glory-darting fire
The coward chill of death inſpire!

The Sun a blazing heat beſtows,
The Moon 'midſt penſive evening glows,
The ſtars in ſparkling beauty ſhine,
And own their flaming ſource divine.

Then let me hail th' immortal fire,
And in the ſacred flames expire;
Nor yet thoſe Huron hands reſtrain:
This boſom ſcorns the throbs of pain.

No griefs this warrior ſoul can bow,
No pangs contract this even brow;
Not all your threats excite a fear,
Not all your force can ſtart a tear.

Think not with me my tribe decays,
More glorious chiefs the hatchet raiſe;
Not unreveng'd their Sachem dies,
Not unattended greets the ſkies.

To

To the NYMPH *of the* FOUNTAIN *of* TEARS.

The idea of the ſubject is taken from an *Alcaic Fragment* written by Mr. Gray, and preſerved in the Memoirs of his Life and Writings, of which Mr. Maſon ſays, that "no Poet of the Auguſtan age "produced four more perfect lines, or which would ſooner impoſe "upon the beſt critic, as being a genuine ancient compoſition."

Vide Memoirs, page 33.

Oh Lachrymarum Fons! tenero ſacros
Ducentium ortus ex animo; quater
Felix! in imo qúi ſcatentem
Pectore, Te pia Nympha! ſenſit.

HAIL, pious Nymph, whoſe guardian power,
The holy Spring of Tears protects,
And each ſoft drop, and tender ſhower
From the myſterious ſource directs;

Not tears, that on th' approach of death
Down the pale cheeks of tyrants roll,
When conſcience to the lateſt breath,
Holds up the mirror to the ſoul:

Nor ſuch as moiſten the dark cells
Where, whilſt the ſlaves the rack prepare,
The ſtern inquiſitor compels
Ev'n godlike virtue to deſpair.

Theſe bitter waters of diſtreſs
Ariſe from other ſprings than thine,
Springs which infernal gnomes poſſeſs,
Dread miniſters of wrath divine.

Heav'n gives to thee the ſacred part
Of watching the pure ſtreams, that flow
From the ſoft motions of the heart,
That learns to feel another's woe,

To raiſe the head by care depreſs'd,
With gentle, delicate relief,
To pour into the wounded breaſt,
The balm of ſympathetic grief:

Such ſoothing offices engage
Thy ſylphs, the meſſengers of grace,
Sent by thy order to aſſuage
The ſorrows of the human race.——

To thee belong the guſhing rills
Of ſudden joy, and glad ſurpriſe,
The rapt ſoul's tranſport, that diſtills
Gliſtening in th' expreſſive eyes.

Let me, thy ſuppliant, take my part
In all thy pleaſures, all thy pain;
And ne'er, tho' exquiſite the ſmart,
Of ſenſibility complain:

Oft let me leave the buſy ſcene,
Devotion at thy ſhrine to pay;
Oft taſte with thee the calm ſerene
Evening of a well-ſpent day:

And in thy grotto's hallow'd ſhade
Gaze at the children of the world,
In Vanity's light barks convey'd,
With every glittering ſail unfurl'd:

Smile at the great, for what they chooſe
In each fond wiſh, and fickle mood,
And pity them for what they loſe,
The power divine of doing good.

View the mild glory round the throne
Love with obedience command:
For others' rights maintain it's own,
And rule to bleſs a grateful land.——

To cheer me in the vale of years
Still, penſive Nymph! thy grace impart,
Still let thy ſpring of tender tears
Enlarge and purify my heart:

For with thoſe ſocial feelings flow
The beſt affections of the mind,
The warmth of friendſhip, and the glow
Of charity to all mankind.

EPITAPH *on Mrs.* MAURICE. *By the Rev. Mr.* Maurice.

SERENELY bright, in bridal ſmiles array'd,
The purple ſpring its bloſſom'd ſweets diſplay'd,
While raptur'd fancy ſaw full many a year,
In bliſs revolving, urge its gay career.
But, ah! how deep a gloom the ſkies o'erſpread!
How ſwift the dear deluſive viſion fled!
Diſeaſe and pain the ling'ring hours conſume,
And ſecret feed on youth's corroded bloom!

Cean'd

Ceas'd are the songs that fill'd the nuptial grove,
The dance of pleasure in the bow'r of love;
For Hymen's lamp, funereal torches glare,
And mournful dirges rend the midnight air.
O thou, whose cheek, the rival of the rose,
With all the flush of vernal beauty glows,
Whose pulses high with youthful vigour bound,
The brightest fair in fashion's mazy round,
Approach with awe the mansions of the dead,
And as the grave's drear bourn thy footsteps tread,
Mark, 'midst these ravages of fate and time,
Where worth lies buried in its loveliest prime;
Where youth's extinguish'd fires no longer burn,
And beauty slumbers in the mould'ring urn.
Oh! pause! and, bending o'er fair Stella's tomb,
Mourn *her* hard lot, and read thy future doom!
Soft lie the sod that shields from wint'ry rains
And blasting winds, my Stella's lov'd remains;
May angels guard the consecrated ground,
And flow'rs, as lovely, bloom for ever round.
Meek sufferer,—who, by nameless woes oppress'd,
The patience of th' expiring lamb possess'd,
When many a tedious moon thy fever'd veins
Throbb'd with the raging hectic's fiery pains,
Nor heav'd a sigh, save that alone which bore
Triumphant Virtue to a happier shore,
Stella, whose streaming eye ne'er ceas'd to flow,
When sorrow pour'd the plaint of genuine woe,
Whose mind was pure as that unsully'd ray
That beams from Heav'n, and lights the orb of day,—
Sweet be thy slumbers, on this mossy bed,
Till the last trump shall rouse the sleeping dead;
Then having nought from that dread blast to fear,
Whose echo shall convulse the crumbling sphere,
In fairer beauty wake,—a heav'nly bride,—
And rise an Angel, who a Martyr died!

LINES *on Mrs.* POLWHELE. *By Dr.* Downman, *of* Exeter.

COULD magic verse recal the fleeted breath,
The lyre, sweet-warbling charm the ear of death,
Thy husband, tuning his orphean strain,
Might lure thee to the bower of love again.
But thou, chaste soul! for highest bliss design'd,
He knows, art present with the eternal Mind.
Hence, dooom'd to silence, sleeps his harp unstrung,
Controul'd each thought sublime, and mute his tongue.
Why, join the sainted spirit to it's clod?
Why, sever the pure essence from it's God?

STANZAS *to a* WITHERED LEAF *which flew into the Bosom of the Author. From the* Looker-on, *Vol.* iv.

PALE wither'd wanderer, seek not here
A refuge from the ruthless sky;
This breast affords no happier cheer
Than the rude blighting breeze you fly.

Cold is the atmosphere of grief,
When storms assail the barren breast;
Go then, poor exile, seek relief
In bosoms where the heart has rest;

Or fall upon th' oblivious ground,
Where silent sorrows buried lie;
There rest is surely to be found,
Or, what, alas! to hope have I?

Where sepulchred in peace, repose,
In yonder field the village dead.
Go, seek a shelter among those
Who all their mortal tears have shed.

But if thou com'st a Sybyl's leaf,
Such as did erst high truths declare,
To tell me soon shall end my grief,
I bless the omen that you bear:

For sure you tell me that my woe
An end like thine at length shall have;
That wan like thee, and wasted so,
I sink to the forgetful grave:

Then come, thou messenger of peace!
Come lodge within this barren breast,
And lie there till we both shall cease,
To seek in vain for nature's rest.

To MUSIC. *From Poems by* W. Kendall.

SHALL grief the spring of youth deform
Goddess, awake! dispel the storm.

When all our early hopes decay,
What varied charms attend thy lay
What calm delight thy notes serene
Diffuse, to cheer life's lonely scene;

Let

Let bards in lofty meaſures tell,
More ſkill'd to ſound the muſe's ſhell
Let theſe, replete with lyric flame,
In rapturous verſe exalt thy name,
Inſpir'd with melting ſweetneſs ſing,
Or boldly ſweep the fervid ſtring.
Be mine an humbler wreath to gain—
To paint a fond enamour'd ſwain,
By paſſion's flattering dream betray'd,
Who flew to meet a yielding maid;
But, hapleſs, for his promis'd fair
Claſp'd the fell demon of deſpair!
Aſſiſt me in that mournful hour,
Bright goddeſs, to record thy power.

Where the wan moon in ſcatter'd ſtreams
Profuſely pours her penſive beams
Along the valley's lonely way,
I ſee the love-lorn mourner ſtray.
Oft to the ſkies he turns his ſight,
Invokes the living lamps of light,
Or throws convulſive glances round,
Or wildly gazes on the ground.
But ah! no tears bedew thoſe eyes,
From that pale lip no murmur flies:
He faints—he falls! his languid breath
Hangs fluttering o'er the verge of death.

Harmonious nymph—reſume thy reed,
Till ſorrow's wound no longer bleed!

Hark! breathing rapture o'er the ſkies,
Ætherial ſounds ſublimely riſe.
The goddeſs hears,—ſhe wakes the reed:
The wounds of ſorrow ceaſe to bleed;
And, ſweeteſt of the warbling throng,
Night's minſtrel emulates the ſong.
Again her ſwelling voice prepares
Diviner meaſures, ſofter airs.
Swift from their haunts, on ſlender wing,
The Fairy bands delighted ſpring!
In crowds they fly—no lingering ſprite
Of all the ſhadowy tribes of night,
In dripping cave, or moſſy cell,
Remains to weave the wonted ſpell.
Retired within a veiling cloud
The liſtening Fays their numbers ſhroud;
And as the ſoaring ſong aſpires
Return the ſtrain with echoing lyres.

Behold, unrivall'd power, behold
The wondrous ſcene thy lays unfold.
Enchantreſs! o'er that faded cheek
Serenely ſtealing tears beſpeak
What lenient aid thy notes impart,
What balm to heal a wounded heart.
Grief's raging pang for thee ſubſides,
And paſſion checks his whelming tides.
The ſwain revives! he feels thy breath
Diſpel the lowering gloom of death:
He drinks thy ſpirit-cheering note,
And all his fears in Lethe float.

Now, goddeſs, now, thy labours ceaſe!
The lover's ſorrow ſinks to peace.
Aſſembled Elves! in cloſe array
Your ſquadrons join, and haſte away!
In dewy grot, or leafy bower,
With myſtic dance conſume the hour,
Till orient rays of ruddy light
Announce the falling reign of night.

Bright guardian of melodious lay,
Awhile farewell! I own thy ſway:
My boſom feels thy ſacred fire,
I bend obedient to thy lyre.
Lives there a wretch of rugged ſoul
Unaw'd by Muſic's ſoft controul?
Let LOVE the ſenſeleſs ſavage wound—
Ev'n HE ſhall own the force of ſound.

FAIRY SONG. *From the ſame.*

NIGHT wakens the tempeſt! the bark ſpeeds away—
Scale the billow, fleet Elves! boldly daſh in the ſpray!
When clouds veil the ſkies,
The gleam of your eyes
Tho' mild as the moonbeam is radiant as day.

Hoarſely ſcream the fell ſpirits! oh ſilence their quire!
Smooth the wide-ſwelling ſurge! clothe the waters in fire!
Leave the miſt-cover'd ſteep!
Hurry on to the deep!
Protect the ſwift pinnace till dangers retire!

"We haſten, fair chief!—the wind ſinks at our ſtrain:
"The ſtorm diſappears that o'erſhadow'd the main:
"On the cliff, on the ſand,
"In cluſters we ſtand:
"We twinkle like ſtars on the ſea's level plain!"

'Tis

'Tis well—wait the morn! when the sunny rays glow,
Should the nymphs lave their limbs, let the tide gently flow;
Soft smiles from the fair,
Rewarding your care,
While ye sport with the wave on their bosoms of snow

Then wander the rocks, and explore every shell
Beneath whose pure roof pearly hues love to dwell;
Bring leaflets, bring flowers
From coralline bowers,
Bring gems of rich lustre to lighten my cell!

"We hear and obey—to thy banquet we fly:
"With gems of rich lustre we'll rival the sky,
"We'll bring thee bright flowers
"From coralline bowers,
"And carol thy praises till ocean reply!"

SONNET *from the* Old Manor House. *By Mrs.* C. Smith.

WHILE thus I wander, cheerless and unblest,
And find in change of place, but change of pain;
In tranquil sleep the village labourers rest,
And taste repose that I pursue in vain.

Hush'd is the hamlet now; and faintly gleam
The dying embers from the casement low
Of the thatch'd cottage; while the moon's pale beam
Lends a new lustre to the dazzling snow

O'er the cold waste, amid the freezing night,
Scarce heeding whither, desolate I stray;
For me, pale eye of evening! thy soft light
Leads to no happy home; my weary way
Ends but in dark vicissitude of care;
I only fly from doubt—to meet despair.

The SAILOR. *An Elegy. By* S. Rogers, *Esq.*

THE Sailor sighs as sinks his native shore,
And all its lessening turrets bluely fade;
He climbs the mast to feast his eye once more,
And busy Fancy fondly lends her aid.

Ah! now, each dear, domestic scene he knew,
Recall'd and cherish'd in a foreign clime,
Charms with the magic of a moonlight-view,
Its colours mellow'd, not impair'd, by time.

True as the needle, homeward points his heart,
Thro' all the horrors of the ſtormy main;
This, the laſt wiſh with which its warmth could part,
To meet the ſmile of her he loves again.

When Morn firſt faintly draws her ſilver line,
Or Eve's gray cloud deſcends to drink the wave;
When ſea and ſky in midnight darkneſs join,
Still, ſtill he views the parting look ſhe gave.

Her gentle ſpirit, lightly hovering o'er,
Attends his little bark from pole to pole;
And, when the beating billows round him roar,
Whiſpers ſweet hope to ſoothe his troubled ſoul.

Carv'd is her name in many a ſpicy grove,
In many a plantain-foreſt, waving wide;
Where duſky youths in painted plumage rove,
And giant-palms o'er-arch the yellow tide.

But lo, at laſt he comes with crowded ſail!
Lo, o'er the cliff what eager figures bend!
And hark, what mingled murmurs ſwell the gale!
In each he hears the welcome of a friend.

—'Tis ſhe, 'tis ſhe herſelf! ſhe waves her hand!
Soon is the anchor caſt, the canvas furl'd;
Soon thro' the whitening ſurge he ſprings to land,
And claſps the maid he ſingled from the world.

A WISH. *By the ſame.*

MINE be a cot beſide the hill;
A bee-hive's hum ſhall ſoothe my ear;
A willowy brook, that turns a mill,
With many a fall, ſhall linger near.

The ſwallow, oft, beneath my thatch,
Shall twitter from her clay-built neſt;
Oft ſhall the pilgrim lift the latch,
And ſhare my meal, a welcome gueſt.

Around my ivied porch ſhall ſpring
Each fragrant flower that drinks the dew;
And Lucy, at her wheel, ſhall ſing,
In ruſſet gown and apron blue.

The village-church, among the trees,
Where firſt our marriage-vows were giv'n,
With merry peals ſhall ſwell the breeze,
And point with taper ſpire to heav'n.

ACCOUNT

Account of Books for 1793.

Elements of the Philoſophy of the Human Mind. By Dugald Stewart, *Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity, and Fellow of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh; *Honorary Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at* St. Peterſburgh; *and Member of the* American *Philoſophical Society held at* Philadelphia.

THE philoſophy of the human mind is a portion of that inquiry which man is ever anxious to make reſpecting himſelf. The dawn of intellect is diſtinguiſhed by queſtions and doubts on this moſt intereſting ſubject; the vigour of knowledge is diſplayed in the purſuit of this inveſtigation; and the ſagacious precepts of wiſdom, matured by age, abound in incitements to the ſame ſtudy; in perpetual recommendations to man, to know himſelf. Where inquiry has been ſo generally purſued, and ſo many have publiſhed, in various forms, the reſult of their labours, it has inevitably happened that error has mixed itſelf with truth, and that the deductions of wiſdom and ſound judgment have been confounded with the reveries of ignorance and the dreams of dulneſs. The many volumes which have been written on metaphyſical ſubjects, far from fixing, have only divided, the opinions of mankind; and ſeveral authors who have promiſed to ſolve every doubt by their ſuperior ſagacity, or to reconcile every difference by their tranſcendant authority, have only augmented the darkneſs they pretended to diſſipate, or increaſed the confuſion they affected to unravel. Hence, many laborious volumes, from which the writers expected to derive fame, and the homage of never ceaſing gratitude, are delivered to oblivion as an act of kindneſs to thoſe who meant no harm; or occaſionally conſecrated to everlaſting deriſion, by the ſentence of indignant virtue or irritated wit. The conſequence of this inquiry, perpetually renewed, and never entirely ſucceſsful, has been a general miſtruſt of the reſult of ſpeculation, which has at length aſſumed the appearance of indifference. Could any author ſilence objection, and enforce general conviction, his work, on a topic ſo intereſting, would be read with avidity, and retained with reverence; but they who wiſh only for information, and love truth without being ambitious of renown, are alarmed at an invitation to receive opinions which they cannot profeſs without embarking on the ocean of metaphyſical diſputation, or incurring ſome portion of the ridicule which attends unſucceſsful theoriſts, or the contempt which awaits detected impoſtors. Metaphyſical ſpeculations have alſo been made the medium through which the beſt and moſt.

most useful doctrines of religion and rules of government have been attacked. For this reason, the prudent, the timid, and often the wise and the virtuous, have been unwilling to confide to their own judgment the preservation of their principles, which an insidious appeal against prejudice might overturn, or to trust in their own powers of disputation for the defence of those truths on which future as well as present happiness depends, and for the maintenance of which they would think no sacrifice too great. Still, whatever doubt or mistrust may interpose to prevent a confident reliance on any final decision, the public must be obliged to him, who, after perusing and comparing the speculations of ancient and modern philosophy, endeavours to guide the judgment in the investigation of mind, by publishing the Elements of its philosophy. The work of Mr. Stewart is avowedly incomplete, but what he has performed gives abundant reason for wishing that he may perfect a task which he has commenced with so much judgment, and prosecuted with so much vigour and discernment. Avowing in general an opinion highly favourable to Mr. Stewart, the writer of this article does not intend to offer many separate observations on his production, but to analise it with as much accuracy as the limits of this work will allow. It may be necessary to premise that the Author has dedicated his book to Dr. Thomas Reid, professor of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and that his systems and arguments are often referred to and quoted in the course of it, with great respect and admiration, though not with universal acquiescence.

The Introductions is divided into two parts, forming three sections, and treating of the "nature and object," and of the "utility," of "the philosophy of the human mind." Professor Stewart begins by observing, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained against metaphysical speculations seems to arise principally from two causes: First, from an apprehension that the subjects about which they are employed are placed beyond the reach of the human faculties; and, secondly, from a belief that those subjects have no relation to the business of life. The frivolous and absurd discussions which abound in the writings of most metaphysical authors, afford but too many arguments in justification of these opinions: and if such discussions were to be admitted as a fair specimen of what the human mind is able to accomplish in this department of science, the contempt, into which it has fallen of late, might with justice be regarded as no inconsiderable evidence of the progress which true philosophy has made in the present age. Among the various subjects of inquiry, however, which, in consequence of the vague use of language, are comprehended under the general title of Metaphysics, there are some, which are essentially distinguished from the rest, both by the degree of evidence which accompanies their principles, and by the relation which they bear to the useful sciences and arts: and it has unfortunately happened, that these have shared in the general discredit, into which the other branches of metaphysics have justly fallen. To this circumstance is probably to be ascribed, the little progress which has hitherto been made

made in the philosophy of the human mind; a science so interesting in its nature, and so important in its applications, that it could scarcely have failed, in these inquisitive and enlightened times, to have excited a very general attention, if it had not accidentally been classed, in the public opinion, with the vain and unprofitable disquisitions of the schoolmen.

To obviate misapprehensions, the author proceeds to explain the nature of the truths which he purposes to investigate, and to point out some of the more important applications of which they are susceptible. Using an argument which had been advanced by Dr. Reid, the author shews that we have the same evidence for the existence of mind that we have for the existence of body; and as our notions of both are merely relative, since we know the one only by such sensible qualities as extension, figure, and solidity; and the other, by such operations as sensation, thought, and volition; the distinction between mind and matter becomes established without any long process of metaphysical reasoning. As our knowledge of the material world, he observes, is derived from the information of our senses, natural philosophers have, in modern times, wisely abandoned to metaphysicians all speculations concerning the nature of that substance of which it is composed, concerning the possibility or impossibility of its being created; concerning the efficient causes of the changes which take place in it; and even concerning the reality of its existence, independent of that of percipient beings; and have confined themselves to the humbler province of observing the phenomena it exhibits, and of ascertaining their general laws. A similar distinction takes place among the questions which may be stated relative to the human mind: whether it be extended or unextended; whether or not it has any relation to place, (and, if it has,) whether it resides in the brain, or be spread over the body by diffusion; are questions perfectly analogous to those which metaphysicians have started on the subject of matter; and although metaphysicians may differ on some of these points, as natural philosophers disagree in the explanation of certain laws by which matter is governed, still, in the study of the human mind, the conclusions to which we are led, by a careful examination of the phenomena it exhibits, have no necessary connexion with our opinions concerning its nature and essence. This real and important distinction has not, however, been sufficiently attended to, or steadily kept in view by any one but Dr Reid; and although in the writings of several other modern metaphysicians a variety of important and well ascertained facts is found, yet they are, in general, blended with speculations which are placed beyond the reach of the human faculties. It is this mixture of facts and hypotheses, which has brought the philosophy of the mind into some degree of discredit, from which it can only be recovered by a due understanding of, and attention to, the distinction disclosed by Dr. Reid, and illustrated by Mr. Stewart.

The little progress which has been hitherto made in the philosophy of the mind, he observes, will not appear surprising to those who observe that the study of natural knowledge has been prosecuted with success

ſucceſs only ſince the time of Lord Bacon, and from that period only has the proper method of conducting it been generally underſtood. Conſidering, then, how open the laws of matter are to obſervation, in compariſon with thoſe which regulate the phenomena of thought, we ſhould neither be diſpoſed to wonder that the philoſophy of mind ſhould ſtill remain in its infancy, nor be diſcouraged in our hopes concerning its future progreſs. The models of inveſtigation, exhibited in the writings of Dr. Reid, give room to expect that the time is not far diſtant when it ſhall aſſume that rank which it is entitled to hold among the ſciences.

It would probably contribute much to accelerate the progreſs of the philoſophy of mind, if a diſtinct explanation were given of its nature and object, and if ſome general rules were laid down, with reſpect to the proper method of conducting the ſtudy of it; but this the profeſſor reſerves for a ſeparate work, confining himſelf, for the preſent, to the illuſtration of a few important fundamental principles.

The operations of mind he deems not ſo complicated as at firſt they appear, but are the reſult of a comparatively ſmall number of ſimple and uncompounded faculties, or of ſimple and compounded principles of action. In the philoſophy of the mind, as in phyſics, principles are to be inveſtigated only by the examination of facts; in both inquiries terminate in ſome general fact of which no account can be given. When we have once aſcertained a general fact, ſuch as, the various laws which regulate the aſſociation of ideas, or the dependence of memory on that effort of the mind which we call attention, it is all we ought to aim at in this branch of ſcience. If we proceed no farther than facts for which we have the evidence of our own conſciouſneſs, our concluſions will be no leſs certain than thoſe in phyſics; but if our curioſity leads us to attempt an explanation of the aſſociation of ideas, by certain ſuppoſed vibrations, or other changes, in the ſtate of the brain; or to explain memory, by means of ſuppoſed impreſſions and traces in the ſenſorium; we evidently blend a collection of important and well aſcertained truths, with principles which reſt only on conjecture.

To the neglect of this limitation of curioſity Mr. Stewart aſcribes the ſtrange mixture of fact and hypotheſis which has brought diſcredit on metaphyſical writings. Another ſource of error proceeds from the diſpoſition which is ſo natural to every perſon at the commencement of his philoſophical purſuits, to explain intellectual and moral phenomena by the analogy of the material world. The two ſubjects are eſſentially diſtinct; and as each of them has its peculiar laws, the analogies we are pleaſed to fancy between them can be of no uſe in illuſtrating either; and it is no leſs unphiloſophical to attempt an explanation of perception, or of the aſſociation of ideas, upon mechanical principles, than it would be to explain the phenomena of gravitation, by ſuppoſing, as ſome of the ancients did, the particles of matter to be animated with principles of motion; or to explain the chemical phenomena of elective attractions, by ſuppoſing the ſubſtances among which they are obſerved, to be endowed with thought and volition.

An improvement in this particular, the author contends, has taken place since the writings of Des Cartes were published; but even Locke and Newton were not free from the weakness of drawing analogical theories. It is however to be regretted, he adds, that even since the period when philosophers began to adopt a more rational plan of inquiry, with respect to such subjects, they have been obliged to spend so much of their time in clearing away the rubbish collected by their predecessors. This indeed was a preliminary step, which the state of the science, and the conclusions to which it had led, rendered absolutely necessary; for, however important the positive advantages may be, which are to be expected from its future progress, they are by no means so essential to human improvement and happiness as a satisfactory refutation to that sceptical philosophy which had struck at the root of all knowledge and all belief. Such a refutation seems to have been the principal object which Dr. Reid proposed to himself in his metaphysical inquiries; and to this object his labours have been directed with so much ability, candour, and perseverance, that unless future sceptics should occupy a ground very different from that of their predecessors, it is not likely that the controversy will ever be renewed. These controversies, however, Mr. Stewart for himself states, that he has cautiously avoided, as they have no peculiar connexion with the subject of his inquiry.

The sections on the utility of the philosophy of the mind are introduced by judicious observations on the connexion between the different arts and sciences, illustrated by the benefits which have accrued to navigation from the modern discoveries in astronomy and mathematics, and to astronomy, anatomy, and botany, from the art of the optician. But, although the different departments of science and of art mutually reflect light on each other, it is not always necessary either for the philosopher or the artist to aim at the acquisition of general knowledge. Both of them may safely take many principles for granted, without being able to demonstrate their truth. A seaman, though ignorant of mathematics, may apply with correctness and dexterity the rules for finding the longitude: an astronomer, or a botanist, though ignorant of optics, may avail himself of the use of the telescope, or the microscope. The researches of men of science are, however, rarely confined to one branch; the curiosity which has been successfully applied to one source of knowledge, easily extends itself to another; and the active principles of our nature, which by their various modifications and combinations, give rise to all the moral differences among men, are fitted in the highest degree to interest those who are either disposed to reflect on their own characters, or to observe with attention the characters of others. But while all the sciences, and all the pursuits of life, have this common tendency to lead our inquiries to the philosophy of human nature, this last branch of knowledge borrows its principles from no other science whatever. Hence there is something in the study of it, which is peculiarly gratifying to a curious and inquisitive mind; and

something

something in the concluſions to which it leads, on which the mind reſts with peculiar ſatisfaction.

Not intending to treat his ſubject as a mere matter of ſpeculative curioſity, the profeſſor deſcribes, firſt, the light which a philoſophical analyſis of the principles of the mind would neceſſarily throw on the ſubjects of intellectual and moral education; and next proceeds to conſider how far the philoſophy of mind may be uſeful in accompliſhing the ſecond object of education, by aſſiſting us in the management of early impreſſions and aſſociations. Theſe inveſtigations, which are conducted with great ability, are, as Mr. Stewart obſerves, of a very general nature, and apply equally to all deſcriptions of men. Beſides, however, theſe more obvious advantages of the ſtudy, there are others, which though leſs ſtriking and leſs extenſive in their application, are nevertheleſs, to ſome particular claſſes of individuals, of the higheſt importance.

The philoſophy of the human mind, he contends, not only forms an intereſting object of curioſity to literary men of every denomination, but, if ſucceſsfully proſecuted, cannot fail to furniſh uſeful lights for directing their inquiries, whatever the nature of the ſubjects may be, which happen to engage their attention. In order to be ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of this obſervation, it is ſufficient to recollect, that to the philoſophy of the mind are to be referred all our inquiries concerning the diviſions and the claſſifications of the objects of human knowledge; and alſo all the various rules, both for the inveſtigation and the communication of truth. Theſe general views of ſcience, and theſe general rules of method, ought to conform to the ſubjects of a rational and uſeful logic, a ſtudy undoubtedly in itſelf of the greateſt importance and dignity, but in which leſs progreſs has hitherto been made than is commonly imagined.

To the explanation and illuſtration of the benefits which would accrue from ſuch a new ſyſtem of logic, the reſidue of the introduction is devoted. The author applies it to the ſtudy of phyſics, morals, juriſprudence, philoſophical criticiſm, and a moſt eſſential point, the reform of the eſtabliſhed plan of public or academical education. Another very important branch of a rational ſyſtem of logic, he obſerves, ought to be, to lay down the rules of inveſtigation which it is proper to follow in the different ſciences. The utility of eſtabliſhing general laws, ſimilar in effect to thoſe which in mechanics are termed rules of art, is ſtrongly inſiſted on, and ably enforced both by original arguments, and by quotations from the beſt authors.

In the firſt chapter of his work, Mr. Stewart treats of the powers of external perception, noticing in his firſt ſection the theories which have been formed by philoſophers, to explain the manner in which the mind perceives external objects. For a particular detail of the errors which have prevailed on this ſubject, he refers to Dr. Reid; but in a courſe of general remarks, he obſerves, that the various theories, which have been formed to explain the operations of our ſenſes, have a more immediate reference to that of ſeeing; and that the greater part of

of the metaphyſical language, concerning perception in general, appears evidently, from its etymology, to have been ſuggeſted by the phenomena of viſion. In the different hypotheſes which philoſophers have advanced on the ſubject, it is obvious that the authors have been influenced by ſome general maxims of philoſophiſing, borrowed from phyſics; and that they have been influenced by an indiſtinct but deep-rooted conviction, of the immateriality of the ſoul, which although not preciſe enough to point out to them the abſurdity of attempting to illuſtrate its operations by the analogy of matter, was yet ſufficiently ſtrong to induce them to keep the abſurdity of their theories as far as poſſible out of view, by alluſions to theſe phyſical facts, in which the diſtinctive properties of matter are the leaſt groſsly and palpably expoſed to our obſervation. To the former of theſe circumſtances is to be aſcribed the general principle upon which all the known theories of perception proceed; that in order to explain the intercourſe between the mind and diſtant objects, it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe the exiſtence of ſomething intermediate, by which its perceptions are produced; to the latter, the various metaphorical expreſſions of *ideas*, *ſpecies*, *forms*, *ſhadows*, *phantaſms*, *images*, which, while they amuſed the fancy with ſome remote analogy to the object of our ſenſes, did not directly revolt our reaſon by preſenting to us any of the tangible qualities of body. To theſe cauſes are aſcribed the *ſenſible ſpecies*, *phantaſms*, and *intelligible ſpecies* of Ariſtotle, the improvements made by his followers, eſpecially the ſchoolmen; the notion of Plato, who compares the proceſs of the mind in perception to that of a perſon in a cave, who ſees not external objects themſelves, but only their ſhadows; the repetition of the ſame thought, two thouſand years afterward, by Mr. Locke, who only varies the form of the expreſſion by uſing the ſimile of a dark cloſet. The ſhadows or images thus perceived were by the ancients termed *ſpecies*, *forms*, or *phantaſms*; by the moderns, ſince the time of Des Cartes, commonly *ideas*, but by Mr. Hume, *impreſſions*. From theſe circumſtances it is apparent that the common theories of perception, have proceeded on a ſuppoſition founded on the phenomena of phyſicks. By refining away the groſſer qualities of matter, and by alluſions to ſome of the moſt aërial and magical appearances it aſſumes, theſe philoſophers endeavoured, as it were, to ſpiritualize the nature of their medium; while, at the ſame time, all their language concerning it implied ſuch a reference to matter as was neceſſary for furniſhing a plauſible foundation for applying to it the received maxims of natural philoſophy. Thus was a mode of expreſſion introduced into their ſyſtems, unphiloſophical and fanciful at beſt, even when applied to the ſenſe of ſeeing, but in the caſe of all the other ſenſes, obviouſly unintelligible and ſelf contradictory. "As to objects of ſight," ſays Dr. Reid, "I underſtand what is meant "by an image of their figure in "the brain; but how ſhall we con-"ceive an image of their colour, "where there is abſolute dark-"neſs? And as to all other objects "of ſenſe, except figure and co-"lour, I am unable to conceive

"what

"what is meant by an image of "them. Let any man say what "he means by an image of heat "and cold, an image of hardness or "softness, an image of sound, or "smell, or taste. The word *image*, "when applied to these objects of "sense, has absolutely no meaning."

Having explained these points, the author comes, in the second section of the chapter, to treat of certain natural prejudices which seem to have given rise to the common theories of perception. He begins by stating a pretty general agreement among philosophers, that there is no instance in which we are able to perceive a necessary connexion between two successive events, or to comprehend in what manner the one proceeds from the other as its cause. From experience, indeed, we learn, that there are many events which are constantly conjoined, so that the one invariably follows the other; but it is possible, for any thing we know to the contrary, that this connexion, though a constant one, as far as our observation has reached, may not be a necessary connexion; nay, it is possible, that there may be no necessary connexions among any of the phenomena we see; and if there are any such connexions existing, we may rest assured that we shall never be able to discover them. This doctrine, however, does not, he says, lead to those sceptical conclusions, concerning the existence of a first cause, which an author of great ingenuity has attempted to deduce from it. It is not intended to follow him through his course of reasoning or illustration on this head, nor indeed on many others, for his reasoning is so compressed, and his illustrations so precise and unadorned, that no abridgment could be made without injury to the author. Of the present section, a large part is employed in shewing the mistaken conclusions, to which the vulgar notions, concerning the connexions among physical events, have given rise in natural philosophy, for the purpose of illustrating clearly the origin of the common theories of perceptions, and at the same time satisfying the reader with respect to the train of thought which suggested the foregoing observations.

Having investigated the erroneous and fanciful opinions expressed by various philosophers on the subject of perception, Mr. Stewart unfolds Dr. Reid's speculations on that point. It was chiefly, he says, in consequence of the sceptical conclusions which Bishop Berkeley and Mr. Hume had deduced from the ancient theories of perception, that Dr. Reid was led to call them in question; and he appears to me to have shewn, in the most satisfactory manner, not only that they are perfectly hypothetical, but that the suppositions they involve are absurd and impossible. His reasonings, on this part of our constitution, undoubtedly form the most important accession which the philosophy of the human mind has received since the time of Mr. Locke. But although Dr. Reid has been at much pains to overturn the old ideal system, he has not ventured to substitute any hypothesis of his own in its place. And, indeed, he was too well acquainted with the limits prescribed to our philosophical inquiries, to think of indulging his curiosity in such unprofitable speculations. The most profound discoveries which are placed within the reach of our researches lead to a con-

confession of human ignorance; for, while they flatter the pride of man, and increase his power, by enabling him to trace the simple and beautiful laws by which physical events are regulated, they call his attention, at the same time, to those general and ultimate facts which bound the narrow circle of his knowledge; and which, by evincing to him the operations of powers whose nature must for ever remain unknown, serve to remind him of the insufficiency of his faculties to penetrate the secrets of the universe. Wherever we direct our inquiries, whether to the anatomy and physiology of animals, to the growth of vegetables, to the chemical attractions and repulsions, or to the motions of the heavenly bodies; we perpetually perceive the effects of powers which cannot belong to matter. To a certain length we are able to proceed; but in every research we meet with a line which no industry nor ingenuity can pass. It is a line too, which is marked with sufficient distinctness; and which no man now thinks of passing, who has just views of the nature and object of philosophy. It was, in fact, chiefly by tracing out this line, that lord Bacon did so much service to science.

Applying these observations to the theory of perception, Dr. Reid, as quoted by professor Stewart, remarks, that a person unaccustomed to metaphysical speculations may easily be deceived into an opinion, that philosophers clearly understand the sense of certain unmeaning expressions respecting invisible fluids propagated from the mind to the organ moved, and producing a required effect in the case of volition, and that the intercourse between the mind and the body by means of species, phantasms, or images, is less mysterious than he had supposed. Modern physiologists have, however, acknowledged that the influence of the will over the body is a mystery which has never yet been unfolded; and, singular as it may appear, Dr. Reid was the first person who had courage to lay completely aside all the common hypothetical language concerning perception, and to exhibit the difficulty in all its magnitude, by a plain statement of the fact. To what then, it may be asked, does this statement amount? Merely to this, that the mind is so formed, that certain impressions produced on our organs of sense by external objects, are followed by correspondent sensations; and that these sensations (which have no more resemblance to the qualities of matter than the words of a language have to the things they denote) are followed by a perception of the existence and qualities of the bodies by which the impressions are made; that all the steps of this process are incomprehensible; and that, for any thing we can prove to the contrary, the connexion between the sensation and the perception, as well as that between the impression and the sensation, may be both arbitrary: that it is therefore by no means impossible, that our sensations may be merely the occasions on which the correspondent perceptions are excited; and that, at any rate, the consideration of these sensations, which are attributes of mind, can throw no light on the manner in which we acquire our knowledge of the existence and qualities of body. From this view of the subject, it follows, that it is external objects

themſelves, and not any ſpecies or images of theſe objects, that the mind perceives; and that, although by the conſtitution of our nature, certain ſenſations are rendered the conſtant antecedents of our perceptions, yet it is juſt as difficult to explain how our perceptions are obtained by their means, as it would be, upon the ſuppoſition, that the mind were all at once inſpired with them, without any concomitant ſenſations whatever.

That this diſcovery may be termed merely negative, Mr. Stewart readily admits, but he inſiſts on its importance, by obſerving that although juſter views in pneumatology now begin to prevail, chiefly in conſequence of Dr. Reid's writings, and the ideal ſyſtem appears to many unphiloſophical and puerile; yet the caſe was very different when this author entered upon his inquiries; and few poſitive diſcoveries, in the whole hiſtory of ſcience, can be mentioned, which found a juſter claim to literary reputation, than to have detected, ſo clearly and unanſwerably, the fallacy of an hypotheſis which has deſcended to us from the earlieſt ages of philoſophy, and which, in modern times, has not only ſerved to Berkeley and Hume as the baſis of their ſceptical ſyſtems, but was adopted as an indiſputable truth by Locke, by Clarke, and by Newton.

In his fourth ſection, on the origin of our knowledge, the author obſerves, that the philoſophers who endeavoured to explain the operations of the human mind by the theory of ideas, and who took for granted, that in every exertion of thought there exiſts in the mind ſome object diſtinct from the thinking ſubſtance, were naturally led to inquire whence theſe ideas derive their origin; in particular, whether they are conveyed to the mind from without by means of the ſenſes, or form part of the original furniture? The ancients had various opinions on this point, nor were the moderns leſs divided. Some held with Des Cartes, that the mind is furniſhed with certain innate ideas; others, with Mr. Locke, that all our ideas may be traced from ſenſation and reflection; and many, (eſpecially among the latter metaphyſicians in France,) that they may all be traced from ſenſation alone. Of theſe theories, Mr. Locke's claims moſt attention, becauſe it has formed the baſis of moſt metaphyſical ſyſtems ſince his time. He refers to ſenſation, all the ideas which we are ſuppoſed to receive by the external ſenſes; our ideas, for example, of colours, of ſounds, of hardneſs, of extenſion, of motion; and, in ſhort, of all the qualities and modes of matter; to reflection, the ideas of our own mental operations which we derive from conſciouſneſs; our ideas, for example, of memory, of imagination, of volition, of pleaſure and of pain. Theſe two ſources, according to him, furniſh us with all our ſimple ideas, and the only power which the mind poſſeſſes over them, is to perform certain operations, in the way of compoſition, abſtraction, generaliſation, &c. on the materials which it thus collects in the courſe of its experience.

Mr. Locke's ſyſtem gradually loſt its authority in England; the ſceptical concluſions, which it had been employed to ſupport by ſome late writers, furniſhed its opponents with very plauſible arguments againſt it; the late learned Mr. Harris mentioned it always in terms

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of high indignation, as tending to make the human soul a kind of crucible where truths are produced by logical chemistry. The reasonings of Dr. Reid tend to destroy all these speculations, and reduce the subject to a question of fact. No one can be at a loss to ascertain the occasions on which the notions of colours and sounds are first formed by the mind; for these notions are confined to individuals who are possessed of particular senses, and cannot, by any combination of words, be conveyed to those who never enjoyed the use of them. The history of our notions of extension and figure (which may be suggested to the mind by the exercise either of sight or of touch) is not altogether so obvious; and accordingly, it has been the subject of various controversies. Dr. Reid in treating on them admits no hypothesis, but adheres strictly to facts. Similar inquiries may be proposed, concerning the occasions on which we form the notions of *time*, of *motion*, of *number*, of *causation*, and an infinite variety of others. Every perception of change suggests to the mind the notion of a *cause*; without the faculty of memory, our perceptive powers could never have led us to form the idea of *motion*. Without the same faculty of memory, we never could have formed the notion of *time*; and without the faculty of abstraction, we could not have formed the notion of *number*. Such inquiries, with respect to the origin of our knowledge, are curious and important; and if conducted with judgment, they may lead to the most certain conclusions, as they aim at nothing more than to ascertain facts, which, although not obvious to superficial observers, may yet be discovered by patient investigation.

With respect to the general question, Whether all our knowledge may be ultimately traced from our sensations? The author observes, that the mind cannot, without the grossest absurdity, be considered in the light of a receptacle which is gradually furnished from without, by materials introduced by the channel of the senses; nor in that of a *tabula rasa*, upon which copies or resemblances of things external are imprinted. Although, therefore, we should acquiesce in the conclusion, that, without our organs of sense, the mind must have remained destitute of knowledge, this concession could have no tendency whatever to favour the principles of materialism; as it implies nothing more than that the impressions made on our senses by external objects, furnish the occasions on which the mind, by the laws of its constitution, is led to perceive the qualities of the material world, and to exert all the different modifications of thought of which it is capable. From this slight view of the subject, it is clear that the doctrine, which refers the origin of all our knowledge to the occasions furnished by sense, must be received with many limitations. Those which Mr. Locke calls ideas of reflection, or in other words, the notions we form of the subjects of our own consciousness, are not suggested to the mind immediately by the sensations arising from the use of our organs of perception, and, therefore, the amount of the doctrine now mentioned is nothing more than this—that the first occasions on which our various intellec-

tual faculties are exercised, are furnished by the impressions made on our organs of sense; and consequently, that, without these impressions, it would have been impossible for us to arrive at the knowledge of our faculties.

But although from this doctrine it would plausibly, and perhaps truly, be inferred, that the occasions on which all our notions are formed, are furnished either immediately or ultimately by sense, yet this is not the meaning commonly annexed to it, either by its advocates or opponents, nor does it in this sense lead to those consequences which have interested one party of philosophers in its defence, and another in its refutation. It is also to be observed, that even on the supposition that certain impressions on our organs of sense are necessary to awaken the mind to a consciousness of its own existence, and to give rise to the exercise of its various faculties, yet all this might have happened, without our having any knowledge of the qualities, or even of the existence of the material world. To facilitate the admission of this proposition, Mr. Stewart supposes a being, formed in every other respect like a man, but possessed only of the senses of hearing and smelling; senses by means of which alone he could never have arrived at the knowledge of the primary qualities of matter, or even of the existence of things exernal. The first moment in which a particular sensation was excited in his mind, this being must have acquired a knowledge of two facts, the *existence of the sensation*, and *his own existence*. Afterward, he could *remember* having felt it, and *conceive* that he felt it again; comparison of various sensations would make him *desire* the return of those which were agreeable, and *fear* the renewal of those which were painful. If smell and sound occurred at the same time, he could *attend* to either, or withdraw his attention from both, to fix it on some sensation he had felt formerly. Thus he might be led, merely by sensations existing in his mind, and conveying to him no information concerning matter, to exercise many of his most important faculties; and feel, with irresistible conviction, that they all belonged to one and the same sentient and intelligent being; or, in other words, that they were all modifications and operations of himself. Beside these, other simple ideas, or notions, would arise in his mind, as of *number*, *duration*, *cause and effect*, and *personal identity*. These remarks, the author observes, will not appear superfluous to those who recollect that although the celebrated doctrine, which refers the origin of all our knowledge to our sensations, has, for many years past, been a subject of controversy in England, it continues still to be implicitly adopted by the best philosophical writers in France; and that it has been employed by some of them to support the system of materialism; and by others to shew, that the intellectual distinctions between man and brutes, arise intirely from the differences in their animal organization, and in their powers of external perception.

In his second chapter, the author treats of attention, describing various particulars denoting its exercise, or suspension. This subject leads to many curious and interesting details, which cannot be entered

into in this work. The points chiefly inſiſted on are, that our thoughts do not ſucceed each other at random, but according to certain laws of aſſociation, which modern philoſophers have been at much pains to inveſtigate. Sudden tranſitions ſometimes occur, but even in them a connexion by aſſociation may be rendered evident. Perceptions may paſs through the mind, without leaving any trace by which they can be remembered, but that ariſes only from want of attention. Not ſpeaking confidently, the author inclines to ſuppoſe that it is eſſential to memory, that the perception or the idea that we would wiſh to remember, ſhould remain in the mind for a certain ſpace of time, and ſhould be contemplated by it excluſively of every thing elſe; and that attention conſiſts partly (perhaps intirely) in the effort of the mind, to detain the idea of the perception, and to exclude the other objects that ſolicit its notice. This obſervation leads him to conſider the effect of practice in facilitating many operations, and at length, in rendering them ſo fluent and apparently ſpontaneous, as to make ſome perſons doubt whether the performance is aided by volition, and even whether it is poſſible ſo to exert the will as to prevent thoſe actions from being done when the occaſion preſents itſelf. Admitting the force of habit, but denying its omnipotence, the profeſſor endeavours to account for ſome ſudden performances, even when the attention ſeems otherwiſe engaged (as in the caſe of a muſician who plays with great rapidity on the harpſichord while he is talking on another ſubject) by noticing the incredible rapidity with which the attention may be directed to various objects. This is particularly inſtanced by the celerity remarkable in rope-dancers and balancers, and in thoſe who play tricks by ſleight of hand. In all theſe caſes, a ſeparate effort of volition is neceſſary to the ſtriking of every note, to every turn of the body or limbs in adjuſting an equilibrium, and to every motion of the eye, tongue, or finger, in giving grace and diſpatch to a legerdemain deception; but yet each act is ſo ſmoothed by habit, and ſo unoppoſed by any contending deſire, that no conſciouſneſs of it is left in the mind of the performer. The recollection of this rapidity of volition is neceſſary in determining the queſtion, whether the ſame perſon can attend to two different things at the ſame time. He who liſtens to two ſpeakers, and learns the ſenſe of each, exerciſes not the faculty of attending to two at the ſame moment, but an inconceivable rapidity of tranſferring his attention from one to the other. The ſame is ſaid of him, whoſe refined ear enables him in a concert to attend equally to ſeveral of the inſtruments. The author alſo notices ſome other phenomena purely intellectual, as the ready aſſent given to ſome propoſitions; and enforces the eſſential neceſſity, that a public ſpeaker ſhould be able to ſtate clearly every different ſtep of thoſe trains of thought by which he himſelf was led to the concluſions he wiſhes to eſtabliſh.

The third chapter treats of conception, or that power of the mind which enables it to form a notion of an abſent object of perception; or of a ſenſation which it has formerly felt. Conception is often confounded with other powers, as he who paints a dead or abſent friend

is erroneouſly ſaid to paint from memory. The power of conception enables him to make the features of his friend an object of thought, ſo as to copy the reſemblance; the power of memory recognizes theſe features as a former object of perception. Every act of memory includes an idea of the paſt; conception implies no idea of time whatever. Conception, according to Mr. Stewart, correſponds with what the ſchoolmen called ſimple apprehenſion, except that it does not include the apprehenſion of general propoſitions. It is frequently uſed as ſynonimous with imagination, but differs from it as a whole from a part, ſince imagination implies no more than a lively conception of the objects of ſight. The buſineſs of conception is to preſent an exact tranſcript of what we have felt or perceived; imagination has a power of modifying conceptions, by combining the parts of different ones together, ſo as to form new wholes of our own creation. This is not a ſimple faculty of the mind. It preſuppoſes abſtraction, to ſeparate from each other qualities and circumſtances which have been perceived in conjunction; and alſo judgment and taſte to direct us in forming the combinations. If they are made wholly at random, they are proofs of inanity. The objects of ſome ſenſes are more eaſily conceived than others; thus it is more eaſy to form a conception of a building or friend that is familiar to us, than of a particular ſound, taſte, or pain formerly felt. Perhaps in this obſervation the author is not quite correct: he acknowledges, indeed, that a perſon ſkilled in muſic may conceive ſounds by peruſing notes with his eye, and that the harmony of verſe may engage the mind, when the ſyllables which compoſe it are not recited even in a whiſper. This is undoubtedly true, and to minds capable of theſe efforts, they muſt be more eaſy than the perfect conception of a friend or a building. Much indeed depends on habit, as the profeſſor allows: a perſon accuſtomed to drawing, he ſays, retains a much more perfect notion of a building or a landſcape which he has ſeen, than one who has never practiſed that art. A portrait-painter traces the form of the human body from memory, with as little exertion of attention as he employs in writing the letters which compoſe his name. A talent for lively deſcription, at leaſt in the caſe of ſenſible objects, he juſtly obſerves, depends chiefly on the degree in which the deſcriber poſſeſſes the power of conception; and this obſervation is illuſtrated and enforced by remarks on the faults in deſcription, which ariſe not only from the want of accuracy, but the want of judgment to ſelect and combine. It is common with logicians to conſider conception, or imagination, which with them is ſynonimous, as being attended with no belief of the exiſtence of its object. Againſt this opinion, though ſanctioned by Dr. Reid, profeſſor Stewart argues at conſiderable length, and not without great effect, ſhewing that the fears and alarms which ariſe from conception, proceed during their operation, on a belief that their cauſes are well founded. Thus a man who on no other occaſion believes in apparitions, is frightened when alone in the dark, becauſe at that time he does really believe in them, although a moment's recol-

lection, the ſound of a voice, or a ray of light would reſtore him to his more rational incredulity. In the ſame manner he who feels his head turn and his knees tremble when he looks down from a lofty battlement, does, in fact, for that time believe that he is in danger of falling, although on a moment's recollection his reaſon convinces him that he is as ſafe in the tower as he would be on the plain. By the ſame mode of reaſoning Mr. Stewart maintains that the effect produced by the exhibition of fictitious diſtreſs ariſes in part from a momentary belief that it is real, although the general conviction that the whole is a fiction may be firmly implanted in the mind; but he allows that, independently of any ſuch belief, there is ſomething contagious in a faithful expreſſion of any of the paſſions.

The following, being the fourth chapter, treats of abſtraction. It is divided into eight ſections, the arguments and illuſtrations in which cannot be juſtly imparted by deſcription or analyſis, and are therefore left, with general expreſſions of approbation and aſſent, to the contemplation of the reader. It would however be unjuſt to omit a particular notice of the outline which is given of the riſe and progreſs of the ſects called nominaliſts and realiſts, and the intermediate party called conceptualiſts; and of the ſection which treats on the uſe and abuſe of general principles in politics. Theſe parts, for their clearneſs and cogency, are entitled to very high commendation; and in many other portions of this chapter the accuracy of the author's judgment, and the depth of his obſervation, claim the tribute of applauſe.

The author, in his next chapter, diſcourſes at great length on the aſſociation of ideas. That one thought is often ſuggeſted to the mind by another, he ſays, and that the ſight of an external object often recalls former occurrences, and revives former feelings, are facts which are perfectly familiar, even to thoſe who are the leaſt diſpoſed to ſpeculate concerning the principles of their nature. In paſſing along a road which we have formerly travelled in the company of a friend, the particulars of the converſation in which we were then engaged, are frequently ſuggeſted to us by the objects we meet with. In ſuch a ſcene, we recollect that a particular ſubject was ſtarted; and in paſſing the different houſes, and plantations and rivers, the arguments we were diſcuſſing when we laſt ſaw them recur ſpontaneouſly to the memory. The connexion which is formed in the mind between the words of a language and the ideas they denote; the connexion which is formed between the different words of a diſcourſe we have committed to memory; the connexion between the different notes of a piece of muſic in the mind of the muſician; are all obvious inſtances of the ſame general law of our nature. The influence of perceptible objects in reviving former thoughts and former feelings, is more particularly remarkable. After time has, in ſome degree, reconciled us to the death of a friend, how wonderfully are we affected the firſt time we enter the houſe where he lived! Every thing we ſee, the apartment where he ſtudied, the chair upon which he ſat, recal us to the happineſs we have enjoyed together; and we ſhould feel it a ſort of violation of that reſpect we owe to his memory, to engage in any light or indifferent

diſcourſe when ſuch objects are before us. In the caſe, too, of thoſe remarkable ſcenes which intereſt the curioſity, from the memorable perſons or tranſactions which we have been accuſtomed to connect with them in the courſe of our ſtudies, the fancy is more awakened by the actual perception of the ſcene itſelf, than by the mere conception or imagination of it. Hence the pleaſure we enjoy in viſiting claſſical grounds; in beholding the retreats which inſpired the genius of our favourite authors, or the fields which have been dignified by exertions of heroic virtue.

After illuſtrating theſe remarks by quotations from ancient and modern authors, and remarking the difference between the effect of a perception and an idea, in awakening aſſociated thoughts and feelings, the profeſſor notices the general reception and comprehenſion of the doctrine of aſſociation, and its effect on ſociety, in preventing all expreſſions and topics of diſcourſe which have any relation, however remote, to ideas of an unpleaſant nature, and in cauſing delicate flattery to be uſed rather than groſs or direct. Dr. Reid did not conſider the aſſociation of ideas as an original principle, but as an effect of habit; Mr. Stewart, however maintains the contrary, beſtowing, in conformity with the beſt writers in our language the name of *fancy* peculiarly on the power of ſummoning up at pleaſure ideas related by reſemblance or analogy, which is the groundwork of poetical genius.

Mr. Hume attempted to reduce all the principles of aſſociation of ideas to three, reſemblance, contiguity in time and place, and cauſe and effect. Other authors have added many to this number, and Mr. Stewart ſubjoins ſeveral, as alliteration, and a ſpecies of unknown relation often uſed by poets, and exemplified in the following lines by Thomſon:—

Oh thou, whoſe tender, ſerious eye,
Expreſſive, ſpeaks the ſoul I love;
The gentle azure of the ſky,
The penſive ſhadows of the grove.

Without enumerating the principles of aſſociation, the author mentions ſome others, and notices particularly thoſe digreſſions, which would be offenſive in proſe, though eminently beautiful in poetry, and thoſe tranſitions, exemplified in Goldſmith's poem of the Traveller, which, however ſkilful on ſuch an occaſion, would utterly deſtroy the effect of a logical argument.

By means of the aſſociation of ideas, a conſtant current of thought is made to paſs through the mind while we are awake. Sometimes the current is interrupted, and the thoughts diverted into a new channel, in conſequence of the ideas ſuggeſted by other men, or of the objects of perception with which we are ſurrounded. So completely, however, is the mind in this particular ſubjected to phyſical laws, that it has been juſtly obſerved, we cannot, by an effort of our will, call up any one thought; and that the train of our ideas depends on cauſes which operate in a manner inexplicable by us. This axiom, diſputed by ſome, but, in the opinion of the profeſſor, almoſt ſelf-evident, forms the baſis of an inveſtigation of the power which the mind has over the train of its thoughts, in which the force of habit is particularly inſiſted on, and inſtances are given of punning, and even real wit, and certainly facility in verſification, depending very much,

much, if not altogether, on habit. The illuſtrations of theſe points occupy three ſections, on wit, on rhyme, and on poetical fancy; theſe, with the portion which treats of invention in the arts and ſciences, are well deſerving of attention, for the ſkill and ability with which the ſeveral topics are enforced, and the clear and able manner in which many principles are ſtated, acquiring many of the charms which belong to novelty, although in fact they are far from new. The ſame obſervations may be applied to the explanation of the phenomena of dreaming, by the laws of aſſociation of ideas. On this point Mr. Stewart maintains, that during ſleep the power of volition is not ſuſpended, although the connexion between the will and our voluntary operations is diſturbed or interrupted. He who dreams he is in danger, endeavours to call for aid; a proof that he poſſeſſes the power of volition; but his cry is feeble and indiſtinct, which demonſtrates that his organs are not intirely ſubject to the commands of his will.

In the ſection which diſcuſſes the influence of caſual aſſociations on our ſpeculative concluſions, the author obſerves, that the aſſociation of ideas has a tendency to warp our ſpeculative opinions chiefly in the three following ways: Firſt, by blending together in our apprehenſions, things which are really diſtinct in their nature; ſo as to introduce perplexity and error into every proceſs of reaſoning in which they are involved—Secondly, by miſleading us in thoſe anticipations of the future from the paſt, which our conſtitution diſpoſes us to form, and which are the great foundation of our conduct in life. Thirdly, by connecting in the mind erroneous opinions, with truths which irreſiſtibly command our aſſent, and which we feel to be of importance to human happineſs. He illuſtrates theſe points by many ſtriking, though obvious remarks on the mixture or confuſion of thought and expreſſion which is occaſioned by continually contemplating certain objects in connexion with or relation to others. For example, colour and extenſion, time and ſpace, which he aſcribes to the continual habits of ſeeing time meaſured by the hands of a clock. From theſe he proceeds to the philoſophical, and thence to the religious errors ariſing from the aſſociation. In enſuing ſections the author treats of the influence of this aſſociation of ideas on our judgment in matters of taſte; and on our active principles and moral judgments; and he concludes this diviſion of his ſubject with general remarks on the principles he has before endeavoured to eſtabliſh.

In the chapter on memory, the author obſerves that the word is not employed uniformly in the ſame preciſe ſenſe; but it always expreſſes ſome modification of that faculty, which enables us to treaſure up, and preſerve for future uſe, the knowledge we acquire; a faculty which is obviouſly the great foundation of all intellectual improvement, and without which, no advantage could be derived from the moſt enlarged experience. This faculty, he ſays, implies two things; a capacity of retaining knowledge, and a power of recalling it to our thoughts when we have occaſion to apply it to uſe. The word memory is ſometimes employed to expreſs the capacity, and ſometimes the power. When we

we speak of a retentive memory, we use it in the former sense; when of a ready memory, in the latter. The various particulars which compose our stock of knowledge are, from time to time, recalled to our thoughts in one of two ways: sometimes they recur to us spontaneously, or at least, without any interference on our part; in other cases, they are recalled in consequence of an effort of our will. For the former operation of the mind, we have no appropriated name in our language distinct from memory. The latter, too, is often called by the same name, but is more properly distinguished by the word recollection. There are some other acceptations beside these, in which the word memory has been employed, but as its ambiguities are not of such a nature as to mislead us in our present inquiries, I shall not dwell any longer on the illustration of distinctions, which to the greater part of readers might appear uninteresting and minute. One distinction only, relative to this subject, occurs to me, as deserving particular attention. The operations of memory relate either to things and their relations, or to events. In the former case, thoughts which have been previously in the mind, may recur to us, without suggesting the idea of the past, or of any modification of time whatever; as when I repeat over a poem which I have got by heart, or when I think of the features of an absent friend. In this last instance, indeed, philosophers distinguish the act of the mind by the name of conception; but in ordinary discourse, and frequently even in philosophical writing, it is considered as an exertion of memory. In these and similar cases, it is obvious, that the operations of this faculty do not necessarily involve the idea of the past. The case is different with respect to the memory of events. When I think of these, I not only recal to the mind the former objects of its thoughts, but I refer the event to a particular point of time; so that, of every such act of memory, the idea of the past is a necessary concomitant.

In his treatise on this interesting subject, Mr. Stewart notices many curious and instructive particulars relative to the various modes in which it is exercised, its spontaneous intrusion, or casual exertion, its culture, improvement, artificial aids, and its connexion with genius. This division of the subject is not less entitled to attention from the able and luminous manner in which it is displayed, than from its general importance to every class of mankind.

The seventh and last chapter is composed of six sections, in which the professor investigates imagination; stating as a primary principle, the difference, already noticed, between that faculty and conception; that the province of the former is to present us with an exact transcript of what we have formerly felt and perceived; that of the latter, to make a selection of qualities and of circumstances from a variety of different objects, and by combining and disposing these, to form a new creation of its own.

The operation or effects of imagination in relation to the fine arts, and to taste and genius, are forcibly displayed, and illustrated by quotations from the best authors. Its influence on human character and happiness, the inconveniences which result

result from it when ill regulated, and the uses to which it is subservient, are treated with equal ability.

At the end of the volume, about fifty pages are devoted to notes, illustrative of the various opinions to which they apply, selected in general from other authors, but occasionally original.

Such is the work in which Mr. Dugald Stewart has attempted to impart Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. That such an undertaking was not called for by necessity, few will be sufficiently hardy to affirm; and of those who peruse the book without being under the influence of such an opinion, still fewer will hesitate in pronouncing it a valuable accession to the stores of metaphysical knowledge. They who have adopted systems to which the sentiments in this work are repugnant, may view it with dislike; and they whose expectations of sudden perfection lead to the requisition of that which is ever unattainable, will be dissatisfied with an essay which the author does not profess himself to have finished: but they who know the value of clearness, facility, and method, introduced into a subject where obscurity, difficulty, and confusion have too much prevailed, will not hesitate to feel gratitude toward the author, and to pronounce favourably of his labours.

The History, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, in two volumes, by Bryan Edwards, Esq. *of the island of Jamaica,* F. R. S. S. A. *and member of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. Illustrated with maps.*

THESE volumes have the recommendation of being produced by an author, whom experience has made intimately acquainted with his subject, and interested as he is in the prosperity of the possessions of which he has given a political and commercial survey, it is pleasing to see that they are, with permission, dedicated to his majesty, the author acknowledging, that under his mild and auspicious government, they are become the principal source of the national opulence and maritime power.

The design of Mr. Edwards, as disclosed in his preface, is to present the reader with an historical account of the origin and progress of the settlements made by our own nation in the West Indian islands; to explain their constitutional establishments, internal governments, and the political system maintained by Great Britain towards them; to describe the manners and dispositions of the present inhabitants, as influenced by climate, situation, and other local causes—comprehending in this part of his book, an account of the African slave trade, some observations on the negro character and genius, and reflections on the system of slavery established in our colonies; to furnish a more comprehensive account than has hitherto appeared of the agriculture of the sugar islands in general, and of their rich and valuable staple commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton, in particular;—finally, to display the various and widely extended branches of their commerce; pointing out the relations of each towards the other, and towards the several great interests,

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the manufactures, navigation, revenues, and lands of Great Britain.

To these objects he adds disquisitions on collateral topics, in which he has endeavoured to collect and convey useful and acceptable information. As a necessary introduction to his commercial and political speculations, he has ventured, he says, on a retrospective survey of the state and condition of the West Indian islands when first discovered by Columbus; and endeavoured to delineate the most prominent features in the character and genius of their ancient inhabitants. On this point he strongly insists on the benefits derived from actual experience and personal observation, without which neither genius nor industry can at all times enable an author to guard against the mistakes and misrepresentations of prejudiced, ignorant, or interested men; to whose authority he submits, merely from the want of advantages which those who have possessed them have perverted. In illustration of this remark, he notices the errors which have crept into histories and systems, partly from the love of theory, partly from the too confident repetition of facts or opinions gravely asserted by preceding writers, and sometimes from the fluent manner in which some persons endeavour to solve by a guess, or a confident assertion, those difficulties which yield only to patient research and personal investigation. In this view Mr. Edwards exposes many errors in Buffon and other French theorists, on the condition and character of the American nations; some mistakes and apparent contradictions into which Dr. Robertson has fallen by a too easy adoption of their assertions; and the remarkable ignorance which prevails respecting the agricultural system of the West Indies. This last proposition is illustrated by the mistake of a learned judge, who gravely stated from the bench, that "melasses "was the raw and unconcocted "juice extracted from the cane, "and from which sugar was after-"wards made by boiling!"

Perhaps in this part of his preface, Mr. Edwards assumes too much in favour of the advantages which he is conscious of possessing. History can never be perfect; they who see and know the facts on which they treat, may generally be suspected of partiality, passion, or interest; while they who relate only from research into the writings of others must frequently adopt that which is specious, instead of that which is correct, and receive as true many things which have no recommendation to belief, except the confidence with which they are asserted. Yet an enlightened and careful historian of the latter class is likely to afford more ample and correct information than can be gained from mere personal observation. These remarks are, however, rather general, than peculiarly applicable to the present instance. Whatever may be thought of Dr. Robertson, M. Buffon and the French theorists do not deserve the character of impartial judges; and Mr. Edwards is not to be considered as a mere witness in a cause where he has an interest, because he has evidently taken great pains to consult those authorities by a due attention to which a writer may learn to cure prejudice and subdue passion, by investigation and reason.

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The charge of intereſtedneſs, prejudice, or paſſion, will hardly be made againſt Mr. Edwards, except in thoſe parts of his work which relate to the ſlave trade, and the commerce between the Weſt India iſlands and America. On both theſe ſubjects his arguments and aſſertions ſhall be fairly and duly noticed.—With reſpect to Jamaica, the iſland where his own eſtate is ſituated, and where his reſpectability and talents have gained him numerous friends, and the beſt means of information, the knowledge which Mr. Edwards poſſeſſes is undoubted. As to other iſlands, it appears, by the acknowledgments in his preface, that he has exerted himſelf with equal induſtry and ſucceſs in obtaining ſuch communications as would ſupply the deficiency of knowledge under which he muſt have laboured had he conſulted books alone.

The firſt book of Mr. Edwards's work is devoted to a general view of the ancient ſtate and inhabitants of the Weſt Indies, and is compriſed in four chapters. The geographical arrangement, name, climate, ſea breeze and land wind, and other natural circumſtances and appearances are treated of in the firſt chapter. As theſe particulars are generally known, and, even in the hands of this author, preſent little novelty, to make detailed obſervations on them would be ſuperfluous. The reflections at the end of the chapter, ſuggeſted by the deſcription of the Weſt Indian mountains, and the unſatisfactory hypotheſes by which eminent writers have endeavoured to account for their exiſtence, are worthy of commendation, but too much connected with previous matter to afford pleaſure if they were tranſcribed. The ſecond chapter treats of the Charaibes, a part on which it is little neceſſary here to dilate, as all the information it contains is already inſerted in a previous page of this volume.* The portion of the chapter which ſucceeds the extract is occupied in conſiderations on the religious opinions and practices of the Charaibes, in the delineation of which the author diſplays great learning and accuracy of reſearch, together with that genuine and firm piety, without which learning is diſgraceful and injurious to its poſſeſſor, and a ſevere ſcourge to all who peruſe his writings, or fall within the ſphere of his dangerous converſation. In ſuch an author as Mr. Edwards this quality is the more valuable, as the new world has long been a great reſource for the arguments and conjectures of the diſciples of infidelity. Their falſifications of ancient hiſtory, and attempts to undermine the fabric of Chriſtianity, by pretended authorities drawn from diſtant ages, have been ſo often detected as to be no longer capable of deceiving even the ignorant; but the remote and leaſt known regions of the old world, and the general ſtate of the new, have afforded great ſcope for aſſertions and theories, for doubts and for raillery, which are not yet ſufficiently reprobated to make their authors or retailers aſhamed of them. Mr. Edwards is therefore entitled to great applauſe for the manly firmneſs with which he connects his religious faith with his hiſtorical fame, content to hazard the obloquy of thoſe

* See Characters, p. 37.

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whose adherence to the cause of infidelity makes them the willing dupes of every perverter of truth who will deck his fallacious reveries with the name of history, and the implacable persecutors of every one who detects the errors or exposes the absurdities of their oracles. The reasonings of Mr. Edwards are equally hostile to general infidelity, and all the more refined, though not less deceitful, arguments of false philosophy, in favour of the perfection of savages. "That we receive both good and evil," he observes, "at the hands of God, and that the supreme being is equally wise and benevolent in the dispensation of both, are truths which we are taught as well by cultivated reason as by holy writ, but they are truths to the right apprehension of which uncivilized man was perhaps at all times unequal. The savage, indeed, amidst the destructive terrors of the hurricane and the earthquake, might easily conclude, that nothing less than Omnipotence itself, 'visiting the nations in his wrath,' could thus harrow up the world; but the lesser calamities of daily occurrence, the various appearances of physical and moral evil which hourly embitter life, he dared not ascribe to an all perfect and merciful being. To his limited conception such a conclusion was derogatory from divine justice, and irreconcileable with infinite wisdom. To what then would he impute these terrifying and inexplicable phenomena, but to the malignant influence of impure spirits and aërial demons? The profanations built on such notions certainly throw a light on the christian religion, if they serve not as a collateral evidence of its divine origin. A minute detail of the rights and ceremonies which these, and other religious tenets, gave birth to among the Charaibes, most of them unamiable, many of them cruel, together with an illustration of their conformity to the superstitions of the Pagan theology, would lead me too far; nor is such a disquisition necessary. It is sufficient for me to have shewn, that the foundations of true religion, the belief of a deity, and the expectation of a future state, (to borrow the expression of an eloquent prelate) "are no less "conformable to the first natural "apprehensions of the untutored "mind, than to the soundest prin-"ciples of philosophy." I have thus selected and combined, from a mass of discordant materials, a few striking particulars in the character, manners, and customs of the ancient inhabitants of the Charibean islands. The picture is not pleasing; but, as I have elsewhere observed, it may lead to some important conclusions; for, besides correcting many wild and extravagant fancies which are afloat in the world; respecting the influence of climate on the powers of the mind, it may tend to demonstrate the absurdity of that hypothesis of some eminent philosophers, which pronounces savage life the genuine source of unpolluted happiness; falsely deeming it a state conformable to our nature, and constituting the perfection of it. It is indeed no easy task, as Rousseau observes, to discriminate properly between what is originally natural, and what is acquired, in the present constitution of man: yet thus much may be concluded, from the account I have given of the Charaibes, that they derived their furious and sanguinary

guinary disposition—not from the dictates of nature, but from the perversion and abuse of some of her noblest endowments. Civilization and science would not only have given them gentler manners, but probably have eradicated also many of their barbarous rites and gloomy superstitions, either by the introduction of a purer religion, or by giving energy and effect to those latent important principles which I have shewn had a foundation among them. But while I admit the necessity and benevolent efficacy of improved manners and social intercourse; conceiving that man, by the cultivation of his reason, and the exercise of his faculties, alone answers the end of his creation; I am far from concurring with another class of philosophers, who, widely differing from the former, consider a state of pure nature as a state of unrelenting ferocity and reciprocal hostility; maintaining, that all the soft and tender affections are not originally planted in us, but are superinduced by education and reflection. A retrospect to what has been related of the Charaibes will shew the fallacy of this opinion. Man, as he comes from the hands of his Creator, is every where constituted a mild and merciful being. It was by rigid discipline and barbarous example, that the Charaibe nation trained up their youth to suffer with fortitude, and to inflict without pity the utmost exertions of human vengeance. The dictates of nature were as much violated by those enormities of savage life, as they are suppressed by the cold unfeeling apathy of philosophical refinement. Still, however, to the honour of humanity, it is as certain that compassion and kindness are among the earliest propensities of our nature, as that they constitute the chief ornament and the happiness of it."

In his third chapter, Mr. Edwards treats of the natives of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, their origin, and other particulars, ending with a pathetic description of the monstrous cruelties by which the Spaniards exterminated this harmless and helpless race. The infamous policy, equally unwise and inhuman, of securing the possession of a colony, by the extirpation of the original inhabitants, is sufficiently exposed to the detestation of mankind by such recitals, without the aggravations of eloquence or the aids of fiction. Doubts have been thrown by Dr. Robertson on the veracity of Las Casas; Mr. Edwards vindicates the fame of this author with temper and moderation. "Las Casas," he says, "where he speaks of numbers in the gross, certainly overrates the original inhabitants. But it does not appear that he meant to deceive; nor is there any just reason to suspect his veracity when he treats of matters susceptive of precision; more especially in circumstances of which he declares himself to have been an eye-witness. Let the reader judge of Las Casas from the following narrative, in which his falsehood (if the story were false) could have been very easily detected. "I once be-"held" (says he) "four or five "principal Indians roasted alive at "a slow fire; and as the miserable "victims poured forth dreadful "screams, which disturbed the "commanding officer in his after-"noon slumbers, he sent word that "they should be strangled; but the "officer on guard (I KNOW HIS

"NAME,

"NAME, AND I KNOW HIS RELA-"TIONS IN SEVILLE) would not "suffer it; but causing their "mouths to be gagged, that their "cries might not be heard, he stir-"red up the fire with his own hands, "and roasted them deliberately till "they all expired——I SAW IT "MYSELF."

In the fourth chapter the author turns from these horrible contemplations to describe the land animals used as food, the fishes and wild-fowl, with the Indian method of taking them; the esculent vegetables, and other useful productions of the islands in their original state. The land animals of use for food, as described by Mr. Edwards, are the agouti, the pecary, the armadillo, the opossum, the racoon, the musk rat, the alco, and the smaller monkey of several varieties. Of each of these he gives a general account, not however so minute as to trench on the province of the zoologist; and he concludes with the following reflection: "Thus it appears that out of eight different species of edible quadrupeds, one only (the alco) was domestick and sequacious. Few indeed are the animals that own allegiance to man in his savage state. Of the beasts of the forest, the strongest dispute his superiority, and the weakest avoid his approach. To his conveniency, therefore, they contribute nothing, and towards his nourishment, the supplies that they afford are casual and uncertain." Pursuing this part of his subject, the author treats more at length, and in a manner highly satisfactory, on the two peculiar animals, the iguana and the mountain crab; the former a species of the lizard, the hunting and eating of which have been described with equal delight by Father Labat. Of the mountain crab, the particulars which are related are extracted from Du Tertre and Brown, and would exceed belief were they not, as Mr. Edwards observes, corroborated by persons narrating from their own knowledge, and who could not possibly know what had been published. The wild-fowl and fish are in astonishing plenty, and two contrivances of the natives for catching them are mentioned as eminently curious. The first is that of fishing with a *remora*, or sucking fish, which the Indians used as falconers do hawks, feeding and keeping them for the purpose, and dragging on shore by means of their inflexible tenacity, not only smaller natives of the deep, but even the largest turtle, and the sea cow. The other contrivance, for catching wild-fowl, is that still practised by the Chinese, of throwing into the water where these animals resort, calibashes; and when they are so familiar as not to be alarmed at those objects floating, sending in men, with their heads inclosed in calibashes, who drag the fowl under water, and, without disturbing the rest, take away as many as they can carry.—Of esculent vegetables little account is given.

Having disposed of these general topics, the author in his second book enters on the history of the British colonies, beginning with Jamaica. In a clear, perspicuous, and authentic narrative, he details the discovery of the island by the great and unfortunate Columbus, with the other events relating to it until it was invaded and plundered by sir Anthony Shirley in 1596, and by colonel Jackson in 1638.

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These transactions are introductory to the conquest of Jamaica during the protectorate of Cromwell. Mr. Edwards takes great pains to vindicate, by historical authorities, the conduct of the protector in beginning a war with Spain, reciting the cruelties and indignities which the British inhabitants of the West Indies underwent from that haughty and malignant power, and the moderation which Cromwell and his ministers displayed in seeking security and redress before recourse was had to arms. The state of the island and its inhabitants at the period of conquest in 1655, is worthy of consideration, as a proof of the bad consequences which must ever ensue from the detestable system pursued by the Spaniards. "Upon the whole, although the Spaniards had possessed the island a century and a half, not one hundredth part of the plantable land was in cultivation when the English made themselves masters of it. Yet the Spanish settlers had no sooner exterminated, in the manner we have seen, the original proprietors, than they had recourse, with their neighbours of Hispaniola, to the introduction of slaves from Africa. We are told that the number of negroes in that island at the time of its capture, nearly equalled that of the whites. It is not easy to discover to what useful purpose the labour of these blacks was applied. The sloth and penury of the Spanish planters, when the English landed, were extreme. Of the many valuable commodities which Jamaica has since produced in so great abundance, some were altogether unknown, and of the rest the inhabitants cultivated no more than were sufficient for their own expenditure. Their principal export, besides cocoa, consisted of hog's lard, and hides. The sale of these articles, and supplying the few ships that touched at their ports with provisions, in barter for European manufactures, constituted the whole of their commerce, which the savages of Madagascar conduct with equal ability and success. They possessed nothing of the elegancies of life, nor were they acquainted even with many of those gratifications which, in civilized states, are considered as necessary to the comfort and conveniency of it. They were neither polished by social intercourse, nor improved by education; but passed their days in gloomy languor, enfeebled by sloth and depressed by poverty. Having at the same time little or no connexion with Europe, nor the means of sending their children thither for education (a circumstance that might have introduced among them, from time to time, some portion of civility and science) they had been for many years in a state of progressive degeneracy, and would probably, in a short time, have expiated the guilt of their ancestors, by falling victims themselves to the vengeance of their slaves. Time indeed had wrought a wonderful change in the manners and dispositions of all the Spanish Americans. It must, however, be acknowledged, that if they possessed not the abilities of their forefathers, they were unstained with their crimes. If we find among them no traces of that enterprising genius; that unconquerable perseverance, that contempt of toil, danger, and death, which so wonderfully distinguished

the great adventurers who first explored and added a new hemisphere to the Spanish dominion; we must own at the same time that they were happily free from their guilty ambition; their remorseless fanaticism, and frantic cruelty. But, whatever was their character, it is impossible to justify the hard terms imposed by the English commanders on the poor settlers in Jamaica, in requiring them to deliver up their slaves and effects, and quit the country altogether. They pleaded that they were born in the island, and had neither relations, friends, nor country elsewhere, and they declared that they were resolved to perish in the woods rather than beg their bread in a foreign soil. This was their final answer to Venables, the English general; nor could they be brought again to enter into treaty. The resistance they afterwards made against the efforts of our troops to expel them from the island, may furnish this important lesson to conquerors—that even victory has its limits, and that injustice and tyranny frequently defeat their own purposes."

Continuing this part of his subject, Mr. Edwards relates the confusion and misery which attended the possession of Jamaica in the years immediately following the conquest, the gradual melioration of condition in the days of Cromwell, and still more in the early part of the reign of Charles II. This prince in his first years relieved the colony from the military tyranny established by the protector, but he afterward endeavoured to enslave the people more effectually by taking from their legislative bodies all power of making laws, until they had first been recommended from the privy council in England. Against this attempt the spirit of the people was magnanimously and effectually exerted; but the contest, which originated respecting revenue, was not finally adjusted till 1728, and in describing these events, Mr. Edwards professes to have traced the political constitution of Jamaica from infancy to maturity. In a note which follows the chapter, is an interesting account of the son of the duke of Albemarle who effected the restoration, and his widow, who under the influence of frenzy, imagined herself empress of China.

The residue of this book, consisting of two more chapters, is occupied in the geographical and topographical description of Jamaica, including its natural productions, exclusive of those most used in commerce, its towns, villages, and parishes, courts of justice, public offices, laws, revenues, trade, cultivation, and many other particulars. In the statement of these, the author has displayed great care and minuteness, and from the authorities cited, and the appendixes subjoined, he seems intitled to the credit of exactness.

In his third book, the author gives the history of the English Charaibean islands. The first is Barbadoes, which by its attachment to the cause of royalty occasioned Cromwell to frame the celebrated navigation act. In old times Barbadoes was in part supplied with slaves by decoying the Indians of the neighbouring continent. On one of these events the story of Inkle and Yarico is founded. The narrative given by an unrefined, though

though not unfaithful author, named Ligon, has been embellished and made additionally interesting by the classical pen of Addison: a poet of our days has made a still more pathetic appeal to popular feeling, by framing from the story an admirable drama; and the abbé Raynal, forgetting that he was no poet, was hardly restrained from raising all the negroes in Barbadoes in a general revolt to avenge the cause of Yarico. After all this, it may be some grief to those who love a finely painted scene of woe, to learn that Yarico bore her misfortune with less anguish than they have felt in reading, or in seeing it acted. Ligon, who was her contemporary, praises her excellent complexion, which, he says, was "a bright bay," and relates the circumstances of her having a child, after she was sold by her first betrayer, by a christian servant. But whatever might be the sensibility of this unfortunate Indian girl, and however the civilized reader may have erred in ascribing to her, feelings too like his own, no reader nor no observer can be mistaken while he loads with execration and devotes to infamy the ungrateful, sordid, and avaricious Inkle.

Grenada, discovered by Columbus, but inhabited by a race of Charaibes, remained unclaimed by Europeans till 1650, when a body of French from Martinique treacherously took possession, and inhumanly massacred all the natives. In 1762 it was ceded to Great Britain. The little islands called Grenadines were formally all considered as dependencies of Grenada, but now a line of division passes in an east and west direction between Cariacou and Union island. The former of these, and some smaller islands south of it, are all that are now comprized in the Grenada government; Union island, with all the little islands adjoining to the north, being annexed to the government of St. Vincent.

After the account of Grenada, the author proceeds to describe and trace historically the state of Saint Vincent and his dependencies, and Dominica. The colonies included in the leeward Charaibean island government then claim his attention, comprehending St. Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and the Virgin isles. In the account of Antigua, the biography of Daniel Park, who was governor in the reign of queen Anne, is well deserving of attention. He was killed in an insurrection of the people, driven to despair by his unrelenting tyranny, and his death was well fitted to his profligate life and inhuman character. To the honour of Antigua it is mentioned as having presented the first example to the sister islands of a melioration of the criminal law respecting negro slaves, by giving the accused party the benefit of a trial by jury: and allowing in the case of capital conviction four days between the time of sentence and execution. And it is still more to the honour of Antigua, Mr. Edwards observes, that its inhabitants have encouraged, in a particular manner, the laudable endeavours of certain pious men, who have undertaken, from the purest and best motives, to enlighten the minds of the negroes, and lead them into the knowledge of religious truth. "In the report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave trade, is an account of the labours of the society known by the

name of the *Unitas Fratrum* (commonly called *Moravians*) in this truly glorious purſuit; from which it appears that their conduct in this buſineſs diſplays ſuch ſound judgment, breathes ſuch a ſpirit of genuine chriſtianity, and has been attended with ſuch eminent ſucceſs, as to intitle its brethren and miſſionaries to the moſt favourable reception from every man whom the accidents of fortune have inveſted with power over the poor Africans; and who believes (as I hope every planter believes) that they are his fellow creatures, and of equal importance with himſelf in the eyes of an all-ſeeing and impartial governor of the earth."

The Virgin iſlands belonging to Great Britain are Tortola and Virgin Gorda, Joſvan Dykes, Guana Iſle, Beef and Thatch Iſlands, Anegada, Nichar, Prickly Pear, Camana's, Ginger, Cooper's, Salt Iſland, Peter's Iſland, and ſeveral others of little value. For want of materials, the author omits the governments of Bahama and Bermudas, and the iſlands of Anguilla and Barbuda are left unnoticed as being of too little importance to merit particular deſcription. The former belongs to the leeward iſland government; the latter is the private property of the Codrington family.

Under all the diſcouragements felt by the proprietors of Weſt India eſtates, Mr. Edwards obſerves, the wealth which ſtill flows from theſe little dependencies into the mother country, muſt fill every reflecting mind with ſurpriſe and admiration, an extent of cultivated territory not equal to the one-tenth part of the county of Eſſex, adding yearly one million and a half to the national income, is a circumſtance that demonſtrates beyond all abſtract reaſoning, the vaſt importance to Great Britain of having ſugar iſlands of her own. At the ſame time, it is both amuſing and inſtructive to conſider how little the preſent returns from theſe iſlands are anſwerable to the hopes and expectations of their firſt European poſſeſſors; or rather it affords an animated illuſtration of the wiſdom of providence, which frequently renders the follies and weakneſſes of man productive of good. The firſt Engliſh adventurers were influenced wholly by the hopes of opening a golden fountain, ſimilar to that which was flowing from Peru and Mexico into Spain. The nation was told of countries where the mountains were compoſed of diamonds, the cities built wholly of ingots of gold. Such were the dreams of Cabot, Frobiſher, and Gilbert, and it is a lamentable diſplay of the power of avarice on the human mind, to behold the ſagacious and learned Raleigh bewildered in the ſame folly. Experience has at length corrected this frenzy, and Europe is now wiſe enough to acknowledge that gold and ſilver have only an artificial and relative value; that induſtry alone is real wealth, and that agriculture and commerce are the great ſources of national proſperity.

Having completed his hiſtorical outline, for it is nothing more, Mr. Edwards proceeds in his ſecond volume to treat of the preſent inhabitants of the countries he deſcribes, and in a numerical table ſtates the amount in each iſland, making a total of 65,305 whites, and 485,684 blacks, the portion of Jamaica being 30,000 whites, and 250,000 blacks. "There is likewiſe," he adds, "in

each

each of the islands, a considerable number of persons of mixed blood, and native blacks of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have shewn, at ten thousand; and I have reason to believe they do not fall short of the same number in all the other islands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great classes—1. European whites; 2. Creole or native whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free native blacks; 4. Negroes in a state of slavery. There are also persons not comprehended in either class; such as emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almost every privilege possessed by the christian whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections; of being returned to serve in the assembly, and of holding any office of magistracy; but they have the liberty of purchasing and holding lands as freely as any other people; and they are likewise allowed the publick exercise of their religion; for which purpose they have erected two or more synagogues; and I have not heard that Jamaica has had any reason to repent of her liberality towards them."

Of each of the four great classes above mentioned, the author treats separately, interspersing his statements with philosophical remarks on the habits and characteristic qualities of each, correcting vulgar errors, and affording much original information. His descriptions are too minute for abridgment, and too long for insertion, but they are of great value as portraits drawn by a firm and skilful hand, guided by an experienced discriminating eye. The mixed breeds produced from white and black or coloured persons are thus distinguished.—They are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Quandroons*, and *Mestizos*; but the Spaniards, from whom these appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer distinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Anthonio de Ulloa, in his description of the inhabitants of Carthagena: "Among the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the whites with the negroes, the first are the *Mulattoes*; next to these are the *Tercerones*, produced from a white and a Mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these follow the *Quarterones*, proceeding from a white and a Terceron. The last are the *Quinterons*, who owe their origin to a white and a Quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a white and Quinteron consider themselves as free from all taint of the negro race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or cast, that if, through inadvertance, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the class of the *Quinterones*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Samboes*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. Betwixt the Tercerones and Mulattoes, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are those called *Tente en el ayre*,

Suſpended in the air; becauſe they neither advance nor recede. Children whoſe parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are *Salto atras retrogrados*; becauſe inſtead of advancing towards being whites, they have gone backwards towards the negro race. The children between a negro and a Quinteron are called *Samtos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron*, &c." In the Britiſh Iſlands, however, it appears that the negro origin is allowed to be obliterated ſooner than among the Spaniards; the gradation being, from a white man and a negro woman,--Mulatto; Quadroon; Meſtize, or Muſtee; and the off-ſpring of a Meſtize by a white perſon, is white by law, and intitled to all the rights and liberties of white ſubjects. On the laws reſpecting people of colour, Mr. Edwards makes many remarks, equally replete with judgment and humanity. On their characteriſtic qualities he deſcants with equal knowledge and good ſenſe, but it is rather to be regretted that after a long diſſertation on their want of chaſtity, and the benefits which would accrue from the encouragement of that virtue, he has ſhewn the contradiction between his feelings and his reaſon, by inſerting a very indifferent ode, called the Sable Venus.

The conſideration of negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery naturally brings the author to treat on the ſlave trade, on which ſubject, although conſcious of the danger to which he is expoſed, he expreſſes himſelf with firmneſs and freedom. He does not appear to be a lover or advocate of ſlavery, but maintains with great force of reaſoning and appearance of truth, that the abolition, or rather renunciation, of the trade by Great Britain, would not be productive of any real advantage to the native African, while it would be utterly ruinous to the Weſt India planters. On this ſubject, whatever concluſions may be drawn, or whatever opinions the reader may be diſpoſed to entertain, he will find great advantage in the peruſal of Mr. Edwards's work, the facts being collected with great care, and the information of the utmoſt importance. The range of inquiry embraces the origin and preſent ſtate of the ſlave trade between the nations of Africa and ſuch of the ſtates of Europe as are concerned in it; thoughts on the negro character and diſpoſition; on the means by which ſlaves are procured in Africa; the mode of conveying them to the Weſt Indies; and their general treatment and ſituation when ſold to the planters.

The origin of the trade is aſcribed to an accidental ſeizure of ſome Moors on the coaſt of Africa by Anthony Gonſalez in 1442, and he, being ordered by prince Henry of Portugal to carry them back to Africa, received from the Moors in exchange, ten blacks and a quantity of gold duſt. This ſucceſs ſtimulated the avarice of the Portugueſe, who immediately purſued the ſame trade, and by degrees, other nations alſo engaged in it. The firſt Engliſhman who undertook it, was the celebrated John Hawkins, afterwards knighted by queen Elizabeth, and appointed treaſurer of the navy; he made his voyage in 1562, with ſufficient ſucceſs to ſtimulate other adventurers, and from that period to the preſent time, the trade has continued under different circumſtances. Sometimes private adventurers

venturers fitted out ships, and gained slaves by force or fraud; and at other times there were chartered companies who held an exclusive right to engage in this traffic. Of the transactions under each system, and the extent of coast where the trade was carried on, the author gives an accurate account, referring always for more ample information to the collections of voyages. The number of slaves annually obtained by the various nations engaged in the trade, is stated to be 74,000; of which the british traders have 38,000.

The different nations in Africa who are the objects of this commerce are marked by strong varieties of character, and Mr. Edwards describes each with great exactness. They are the Mandingoes, the Koromantyns, the Whidahs, the Nagoes, and those from Benin, Kongo, and Angola. This account of them on their native coast is followed by a delineation of their character in the West Indies, which is omitted with regret, on account of its length. It is an admirable specimen of experience blending itself with theory, for the advancement and support of truth. In a note, the author has given a poem, the production of early youth on seeing a negro funeral, and founded on the superstitious notion entertained by them, that after death their souls return to Africa. This ode will be found in this volume, p. 139, it makes amends for that to the Sable Venus. The description of the Obeah, or Obia, is peculiarly interesting.

The author next treats on the means used to obtain slaves in Africa, and among the principal reasons why the trade in them cannot and ought not to be intirely abolished, states, on good authority, that in all parts of the coast, and most probably, inland, the body of the people are in a state of absolute and unlimited slavery; their children born to no other inheritance, and liable to be sold by their owners as they think proper. Most parts of the coast differ in their governments; some are absolute monarchies, while others draw near to an aristocracy. In both, the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exercised as often as criminal cases require, unless death is commuted into slavery; in which case the offender is sold, and if the shipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death. Fathers of free condition have power to sell their children, but this power is very seldom enforced, neither are many procured by wars or intestine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people are born slaves to great men, reared as such, held as property, and as property sold. There are indeed many circumstances by which a free man may become a slave; such as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in some of such cases, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewise, become the slaves of his creditors, and may be sold. Adultery is commonly punished in the same manner; both the offending parties being sold, and the purchase money paid to the injured husband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poisoning) is another, and a very common offence, for which slavery is adjudged the lawful punishment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes

which subject the offender and his children to be sold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy.

From a consideration of these circumstances, the author vindicates the trade in slaves. "To attempt its defence in all cases," he justly observes, "were to offer an insult to the common sense of mankind, and an outrage to the best feelings of our nature. Yet a good mind may honestly derive some degree of consolation, in considering that all such of the wretched victims as were slaves in Africa, are, by being sold to the whites, removed to a situation infinitely more desirable, even in its worst state, than that of the best and most favoured slaves in their native country. It is on all hands admitted that the condition of those poor people, under their own governments, is the most deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be subject to. They have no security for property, nor protection for their persons; they exist at the will and caprice of a master, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may slaughter them at his pleasure. He has in truth but very little interest in their preservation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when provisions are scarce, he has even a strong inducement to destroy them. The chief objection to the slave trade arises from the great encouragement which, I fear, it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppression, and fraud, among the natives, towards each other. Without doubt, this is the strong part of the petitioners case; and I admit it to be so, with that frankness which I trust no honest West Indian will condemn. At the same time it deserves very serious consideration, whether a direct and immediate discontinuance of the trade by the British nation only (the other nations of Europe continuing to purchase as usual) would afford a remedy to those miseries, the existence of which every enlightened mind cannot but admit, and every good mind must deplore; or rather, whether a partial and sudden abolition (so inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate them in a high degree."

Considering the effect of a sudden abolition, both on the persons already in slavery in the West Indies, and on the inhabitants of Africa, the author is of opinion that it would be the very reverse of justice or humanity. The partial abolition he considers nearly impracticable, from the deficiency of female slaves on plantations, and the burthens of debt which affect most sugar estates. On the subject of the middle passage, Mr. Edwards makes some statements, strongly contradicting the evidence given in parliament, but however, he admits, as every one must, that this matter is peculiarly an object of legislative regulation. The horrible devastation occasionally made by the effects of stowing these persons too close, excite in him as much indignation as justice will warrant; and who can be otherwise than indignant at learning that by the avarice of captains in the trade, a loss was sometimes sustained of one-fifth part of the whole number shipped? To this evil, parliament had applied a remedy, by directing that slave ships shall only carry five slaves for every three tons of their burthen, with some other restrictions. Closing this part of his subject, the author

author describes with interesting minuteness, the arrival and sale of the slaves in the West Indies; their treatment on plantations, and the laws and customs affecting them. On these points it is not possible in a small space to follow him through the various particulars of his detail, but is to be observed that in all cases he shews the utmost candour; admitting, without subterfuge, that some complaints are well supported by instances, but denying that they are so extensive as to warrant an inference of their being either usual or authorized. He enumerates the measures which have been adopted for meliorating the condition of slaves, and suggests others, which might probably be attended with still further advantage. An attentive perusal of this work, if it fails to convince those who are anxious for an immediate abolition of the slave trade, and even (for some are so extravagant) the instant emancipation of all slaves; will at least prove to the liberal and candid, that the contrary opinion may be supported with force, and at the same time with moderation; and perhaps a few of the more considerate may pause to weigh with the scrupulousness they deserve, the arguments and facts which this ingenious and well-informed writer has so ably detailed.

In the ensuing book, the author invites attention to the more gratifying subject of West India agriculture. He begins with its most important object, the sugar cane; giving those curious particulars which appear in this volume, p. 57. He also enters scientifically into the subject, describing the earths best calculated for its production, the modes of planting and manuring in all their varieties; the crop, and subsequent preparation of sugar and rum, with all the buildings and apparatus required, and giving minute calculations to shew the relative advantage of various methods recommended by authors, or adopted in different colonies. This chapter is followed by one not less curious, and to those who are inclined to speculate in sugar plantations, highly interesting, on the capital, stock, and general disbursements incident to them, with a view of the profits reasonably to be expected.

Proceeding then to what he terms the minor staple commodities, Mr. Edwards treats of the growth and culture of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, ginger, arnotto, aloes, and pimento or allspice. In all these he displays his wonted minuteness and judgment, mingling his descriptive passages with instructive documents and useful calculations. A splendid specimen of his powers in describing the productions of nature is already extracted (See Natural History, p. 60.) in the account of that beautiful plant the pimento.

The government and commerce of the islands engage the author's attention in the sixth and last book of his work. The governor in some degree represents the king; but where several islands are consigned to the superintendance of one man, as in the Leeward Charaibean government, a lieutenant general is frequently nominated, or in case of his not being appointed, or absent, the president of the council is invested with the authorities necessary for immediate operations. The council in each island has some analogy to the privy council and the house of lords, the seats are not hereditary, but the members are appointed

pointed by royal mandamus, directed to the governor, and countersigned by the secretary of state. The house of assembly is similar to the British house of commons, and Mr. Edwards employs a chapter in proving that the colonists do not owe this branch of their government to the benevolence of the crown, but hold it as British subjects, by inherent right.

The chapters on commerce are full of information, supported by documents for which every reader will feel great obligations to the author, although his observations on the navigation laws of England are not intitled to general assent, especially that part of them which relates to the intercourse between the West Indies and North America. The concluding chapter is devoted to the refutation of charges frequently made against the planters, to claims of relief from some hardships, and to the exposure of some projects supposed to be entertained to their disadvantage, particularly that of establishing sugar-plantations in India. These topics are not, however, urged in the temper and manner of a man discontented, or desirous to render others so. Alarmed at opinions and projects which he considers as striking at the vital interests of the colonies, the author expresses himself with warmth and freedom; but "in this important business" he adds, "satisfaction being given; to the rest, if candour were to dictate an answer, although much must be admitted, much too might be said, and honestly said, to soften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harsh and unkind the conduct of the mother country has occasionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all they possess; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion and liberty; deriving from her paternal solicitude and powerful protection, every circumstance that renders them prosperous in themselves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and destructive war, which terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, they had their share—perhaps more than their share—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had suffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were restored by the peace to the blessings of a British constitution and government. Perhaps, since that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might, in some points, been wished and expected; but it should be remembered, that they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compensation for commercial restraint, the privilege of the British market, and the benefit of British capital. They possess, too, every characteristic mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed solely by their own representatives, and have not only the image, but the substance also, of an English constitution. This whole state of commercial servitude and civil liberty (as a great writer hath well observed) taken together, though certainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition. To the candid and ingenuous, I trust I need not offer any apology for thus having, in the conclusion of my book, suggested considerations which may tend to obviate misapprehensions, remove prejudice, and mitigate anger between those

thoſe who, though divided by local ſituation, are allied to each other by the deareſt ties of intereſt, affection, and conſanguinity. I have thought this the more neceſſary, as it appears, by the bitterneſs and acrimony with which ſome men ſpeak of the ſugar colonies, that their aim is to inſtigate the national reſentment, and heighten the public animoſity towards them. Inſtead of manifeſting a diſpoſition, "fond to ſpread friendſhips and to cover hearts," theſe gentlemen ſeem to me to exert their talents in miſrepreſentations, which can anſwer no other end than to ſet the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of thoſe fanatical writings on ſlavery and the ſlave trade, which, equally diſgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the moſt daring and outrageous falſehoods, without ſcruple or ſhame. I allude to authors of a very different ſtamp; to perſons who, having the means of better information, and poſſeſſing the abilities to influence the public opinion, have ſuffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man perſonally intereſted in the welfare of the ſugar colonies, I have attempted, by diſplaying their importance and value, to point out the wiſdom and neceſſity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindneſs on the one ſide, I have, as a loyal and dutiful ſubject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the coloniſts reflect ſoberly, I am perſuaded they will perceive that, in a conteſt with the mother country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may diſpoſe to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the ſtrength, proſperity, and glory of Great Britain!"

After this ample analyſis, it is not neceſſary to enter at length into opinions on this work. The author has ſhewn great knowledge on all the topics which have engaged his attention; his language is forcible, juſt, and often eminently beautiful. He who has expreſſed his ſentiments on ſo many points cannot expect that all ſhall be received with general concurrence, but he who affords ſo much and ſuch varied information will have great cauſe to complain, if his labours are not rewarded with preſent favour and permanent fame.

The Works of Tacitus. *Tranſlated by* Arthur Murphy, *Eſq.*

BEFORE we attempt to diſcuſs the merits and demerits of Mr. Murphy's tranſlation of ſuch of the works of Tacitus as have reached our times, it is preſumed that it will not be deemed irrelevant to touch lightly on the character of the Roman hiſtorian.

Caius Cornelius Tacitus, the intimate friend of Pliny the younger, was born in the year of Rome 809 or 810, about the ſixth of Nero's reign. At an early age, when probably not more than two or three and twenty, his eloquent exertions at the bar were crowned with fame and honour; and his friend's greateſt

eſt ambition aſpired, as he confeſſes, to be known to follow him the neareſt of all, yet ſtill far diſtant*.

The place of his birth, and even his father, are not proved with poſitive certainty. His mode of education, with reſpect to which we are equally in the dark, is of more conſequence to us. Mr. Murphy's conjectures in his "Eſſay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus," are ingenious, and in ſome meaſure ſatisfactory: "If he was educated at Rome, we may be ſure that it was after a method very different from the faſhion then in vogue. The infant, according to the practice of the age, was committed to the menial ſervants, who were generally Greeks, and conſigned, as ſoon as he grew up, to the tuition of ſlimſy profeſſors, who called themſelves rhetoricians, and pretended to teach the rules of attic eloquence. But Greece was fallen into a ſtate of degeneracy. The ſublime of Demoſthenes was out of date. Point, antitheſis, and brilliant conceit, were the delight of vain preceptors, who filled the city of Rome, and held ſchools of declamation, by Cicero called *Ludus impudentiæ*. The manners were corrupted at the fountain-head; virtue was undermined by the profeſſors of morals; the doctrine of Epicurus ſpread the miſchief wider, and the proud philoſophy of the ſtoics was not able to repair the breach.

"Tacitus, it is evident, did not imbibe the ſmalleſt tincture of that frivolous ſcience and that vicious eloquence that debaſed the Roman genius. He moſt probably had the good fortune to be formed upon the plan adopted in the time of the republic; and with the help of a ſound ſcheme of home diſcipline, and the beſt domeſtic example, he grew up, in a courſe of virtue, to that vigour of mind which gives ſuch animation to his writings. The early bent of his own natural genius was ſuch, that he may be ſaid to have been ſelf-educated; *ex ſe natus*, as Tiberius ſaid of one of his favourite orators. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he attended the lectures of Quintilian, who, in oppoſition to the ſophiſts of Greece, taught, for more than twenty years, the rules of that manly eloquence which is ſo nobly diſplayed in his inſtitutes."

The ſubſequent paſſage in Quintilian† has been underſtood to point at Tacitus: "*Supereſt adhuc, et exornat ætatis noſtræ gloriam, vir ſæculorum memoriâ dignus, qui olim*

* Lib. vii. epiſt. 20. Pliny's regard for Tacitus, and how they were eſteemed, are ſhewn in the following anecdote. In epiſt. 23 of b. ix. the former writes: "I never was touched with a more ſenſible pleaſure than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me, that, at the laſt Circenſian games, he ſat next to a ſtranger, who, after much diſcourſe on various ſubjects of learning, aſked him if he was an Italian or a provincial? Tacitus replied, Your acquaintance with literature muſt have informed you who I am. Aye! ſaid the man; pray then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with? *Ad hoc illum: Tacitus es, an Plinius?* I cannot expreſs how highly I am pleaſed to find that our names are not ſo much the proper appellations of men, as a kind of diſtinction for learning itſelf."

† Lib. x. cap. 1.

nominabitur,

nominabitur, nunc intelligitur." If this can be admitted, we may indeed coincide with Mr. Murphy in the opinion that "the prediction has been fully verified."

Coming into the world during the reign of Nero, he might be truly ſaid to have fallen upon evil times; but not being more than twelve years of age when that deteſted ſovereign was, for the good of mankind, called to his fathers, his mind eſcaped that contamination to which, at a more advanced period, it would, in all probability, have been expoſed. It may be affirmed, that he flouriſhed equally under Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, ſince, notwithſtanding their various tempers, and the diverſity of the times, he ſucceeded in obtaining favour with them all, without in the leaſt degrading his genius, or diminiſhing his good name. In his life of Agricola, he has ſaid, and in his own proved, *poſſe etiam ſub malis principibus magnos viros eſſe.*

Although the critics have agreed to place the publication of the *life of Agricola* in the reign of Nerva, Mr. Murphy holds it to be more probable that it firſt appeared in the days of Trajan. *De ſitu, moribus et populis Germaniæ libellus,* or the deſcription of Germany, it is not doubted, ſaw the light in the courſe of the year 851. A. U. C. Both theſe works are infinitely eſtimable, and, to Britons, of all the labours of Tacitus, the moſt intereſting. "In the manners of the Germans," ſays Mr. Murphy in his dedication to Edmund Burke, "we have the origin of that conſtitution which you have ſo ably defended: in the life of Agricola, we ſee the holy flame of liberty, which has been for ages the glory of Engliſhmen, and the wonder of foreign nations." In this laſt tract we alſo behold how Agricola, the father in law of Tacitus, carried his victorious arms from the ſouthern provinces of Britain, to the Grampian hills in Caledonia, and reduced the whole country as far as the Firth of Tay.

His *Hiſtory*, long projected, was publiſhed while Trajan held the imperial ſeat; but at what period, is uncertain. He began, according to our tranſlator, from the acceſſion of Galba, A. U. C. 822, and followed down the thread of his narrative to the death of Domitian, in the year 849; the whole compriſing a period of ſeven and twenty years, full of important events, and ſudden revolutions, in which the prætorian bands, the armies in Germany, and the legions of Syria, claimed a right to raiſe whom they thought proper to the imperial ſeat, without any regard for the authority of the ſenate. Such was the ſubject Tacitus had before him. The ſummary view, which he had given of thoſe diſaſtrous times, is the moſt awful picture of civil commotion, and the wild diſtraction of a frantic people. Voſſius ſays the whole work conſiſted of no leſs than thirty books, but, to the great loſs of the literary world, we have only four books, and the beginning of the fifth. In what remains, we have little after the acceſſion of Veſpaſian. The reign of Titus, the delight of human kind, is totally loſt, and Domitian has eſcaped the vengeance of the hiſtorian's pen. The hiſtory being finiſhed, Tacitus did not think that he had completed his Tablature of Slavery: he went back to Tiberius, who left a model

of

of tyranny for his ſucceſſors. This ſecond work included a period of four and fifty years, from the year 767 to the death of Nero in 821. The part of the hiſtory which has come down to us, does not include two entire years."

The Annals were alſo given to the world during the ſame reign. The ſtyle of this work, as Mr. Murphy juſtly obſerves, "differs from that of the Hiſtory, which required ſtately periods, pomp of expreſſion, and harmonious ſentences. The Annals are written in a ſtrain more ſubdued and temperate; every phraſe is a maxim, the narrative goes on with rapidity; the author is ſparing of words, and prodigal of ſentiment; the characters are drawn with a profound knowledge of human nature, and when we ſee them figuring on the ſtage of public buſineſs, we perceive the internal ſpring of their actions; we ſee their motives at work, and are of courſe prepared to judge of their conduct. The Annals, as well as the Hiſtory, have ſuffered by the barbarous rage, and more barbarous ignorance, of the tribes that overturned the Roman empire. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius, the entire four years of Caligula, the ſix firſt of Claudius, and the two laſt of Nero, have periſhed in the wreck of literature. We find that Tacitus intended, if his life and health continued, to review the reign of Auguſtus, in order to detect the arts by which the old conſtitution was overturned to make way for the government of a ſingle ruler. This, in the hands of ſuch a writer, would have been a curious portion of hiſtory; but it is probable that he did not live to cary his deſign into execution."

In addition to what we have noticed of his performance, and what he had it in contemplation to perform, we have the authority of Pliny to believe that he poſſeſſed a talent for poetry; and was, it is alſo reported, the author of a collection of apothegms called *Facetiarum Libri*. Theſe indulgences are, it is ſuppoſed, to be attributed to a deſire of ingratiating himſelf with the emperor Domitian.

We have, until now, purpoſely avoided any obſervation of the dialogue *de Oratoribus*, which Mr. Murphy, with Brotier, aſcribes to our author. Admitting that it is his compoſition, he muſt have been permitted to join in this learned debate when he was about eighteen* years of age, and the remarkable difference of the ſtyle muſt be conſidered as affording no ground to doubt its authenticity. Lipſius, on the other hand, would give it to Quintilian, and Melmoth, in Fitzoſborne's letters, believes it to belong to the younger Pliny, and "this," ſays he, "I may one day or other perhaps attempt to prove in form†." This "perhaps" never came to paſs. After all, on every ſide, it would, we think, have been wiſe, had each concluded his various ſurmiſes with the candour of Lipſius: "*Cum multa dixerim, claudo tamen omnia hoc reſponſo; mihi*

* The ſcene of this dialogue is laid in the ſixth year of Veſpaſian, A. U. C. 828, A. D. 75.

† Page 193. This work contains a tranſlation of the *Dialogue*, by no means inelegantly done.

non liquere;" adding, with him, whether we give the dialogue to Quintilian or Tacitus, no inconvenience can arise. Whoever was the author, it is a performance of uncommon beauty.

Any comment from us on this great historian's perfect knowledge of the human heart, the magic of his pencil in the description of events, and the truth and excellence of his delineation of character, would in this article be unfit, and at this time, perhaps, in any place, superfluous. We shall therefore merely add, before we proceed to his translator, that the period of the death of Tacitus is not mentioned by any ancient author, and that no stone or monument exists to tell us where he lies.

To possess the English reader with these noble, interesting, and beautiful relics of antiquity, is an arduous, although not novel attempt. Previously to this period, to say nothing of the French translations, or the Italian, which are far better, three versions of the same author had appeared in England. The first in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by Greenaway and sir Henry Saville; the second, about one hundred years afterward, by Dryden and others; and the third by Gordon, under the patronage of sir Robert Walpole. Mr. Murphy treats the first two of these with, as it seems, contemptuous silence; and the third, which is certainly affected in its style, sometimes even to the most laughable absurdity, and yet not rarely a perfect picture of the original, he takes some pains to expose. Now, although we cannot but grant that if any one not situated as Mr. Murphy is, might do all this with justice and propriety, yet we think that our translator should not have done it, without terminating with something like a compliment extorted, if by nothing else, by gratitude to those who have travelled the rugged road before him, levelling many obstacles, and clearing the way for his more easy journey. We shall not say to him, however,

Η αλυεις, ὁτι Ιρου ενικησας τον αλητην;

since, forgetting the neglect of that just tribute which ought to have been paid to his predecessors, we are ready to confess that he has, on the whole, done more, much more, than merely fought with the weak, and triumphed over imbecility.

Mr. Murphy has, perhaps, in the performance of this great undertaking, acted contrary to many precedents to be found among former translators. Whatever time has spared of the original, he has rendered into English; but not content with this, he has presumed on a work of supererogation, and supplied various deficiencies, even parts and books, to preserve what he appears to have deemed a concatenation, necessary for the ease and satisfaction of the reader. At Paris, in the year 1771, after consulting the M.S.S. in Italy, France, and England, Gabriel Brotier published, in 4. vols. quarto, an edition of all the works of Tacitus. And here Brotier has, "to avoid the inconvenience of a broken text," in the dialogue *de Oratoribus* written a supplement, which is executed with considerable elegance. This also, Mr. Murphy has translated, with this apology: "It is hoped that "the insertion of it will be more "agreeable than a dull pause of "melancholy

"melancholy regret." Whether this will be thought wrong or right, admiſſible or not, it is impoſſible to give a deciſive opinion—ſome will think one way, others the reverſe—But even thoſe who conſider theſe ſupplements as indecently intruded into the works of Tacitus, will not eaſily refrain from admiring the ſkill and ingenuity of their authors The defect in the 5th book of the *Annals*, ſupplied by Mr. Murphy, where he deſcribes the downfall of Sejanus, poſſeſſes an uncommon degree of merit. The addition of the 16th book treating of the death of Nero, is alſo very ably performed. The ſame credit is not due to what he has furniſhed from Joſephus to the hiſtorian's diſagreeing account of the origin of the Jews.

We are deſirous to give a ſpecimen of our tranſlator's labour, but feel at a loſs from what quarter to ſelect it. Before us are diſplayed numberleſs pictures exquiſitely drawn, and copied in a ſkilful manner, but they are ſtill aſſuredly all of the inferior value of copies. Whichever way we turn, there we are inclined to fix—on Meſſalina in the gardens of Lucullus—Germanicus on the bed of death—Agrippina embarking with her children and the aſhes of her huſband—*aſcendit claſſem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis miſerantibus cunctis*—or on the hiſtory of the reign of Tiberius, the *chef d'œuvre* of the hiſtorian. Theſe, however, we leave for a more intereſting paſſage, for one which firſt catches the eye and rivets the attention of every Engliſhman that turns over the pages of Tacitus—we mean the invaſion of Britain by the Romans, under Agricola. Previouſly to that fatal battle which produced, according to ſir Henry Sackville's interpretation of "*vaſtum ubique "ſilentium*," "every where deſolation "and ſilence." Galgacus, the Caledonian chief, with the aid of the hiſtorian's eloquence, thus nobly harangues the multitude:

"When I conſider the motives that have rouſed us to this war; when I reflect on the neceſſity that now demands our firmeſt vigour, I expect every thing great and noble, from that union of ſentiment that pervades us all. From this day I date the freedom of Britain. We are the men, who never crouched in bondage. Beyond this ſpot, there is no land where liberty can find a refuge. Even the ſea is ſhut againſt us, while the Roman fleet is hovering on the coaſt. To draw the ſword in the cauſe of freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, in our condition, cowardice itſelf would throw away the ſcabbard. In the battles which have been hitherto fought with alternate viciſſitudes of fortune, our countrymen might well repoſe ſome hopes in us; they might conſider us as their laſt reſource; they knew us to be the nobleſt ſons of Britain, placed in the laſt receſſes of the land, in the very ſanctuary of liberty. We have not ſo much as ſeen the melancholy regions where ſlavery has debaſed mankind. We have lived in freedom, and our eyes have been unpolluted by the ſight of ignoble bondage.

"The extremity of the earth is ours; defended by our ſituation, we have to this day preſerved our honour, and the rights of men. But we are no longer ſafe in our obſcurity: our retreat is laid open; the enemy ruſhes on, and as things unknown are ever magnified, he thinks a mighty conqueſt lies before him. But this is the end of the habitable world,

world, and rocks and brawling waves fill all the space behind. The Romans are in the heart of our country; no submission can satisfy their pride, no concessions can appease their fury. While the land has any thing left, it is the theatre of war; when it can yield no more, they explore the seas for hidden treasure. Are the nations rich? Roman avarice is their enemy. Are they poor? Roman ambition lords it over them. The east and the west have been rifled, and the spoiler is still insatiate.

"The Romans, by a strange singularity of nature, are the only people who invade, with equal ardour, the wealth, and the poverty of nations. To rob, to ravage, and to murder, in their imposing language, are the arts of civil policy.

"When they have made the world a solitude, they call it peace. Our children and relatives are dear to us all: it is an affection planted in our breast by the hand of nature. And yet those tender pledges are ravished from us to serve in distant lands. Are our wives, our sisters, and our daughters, safe from brutal lust and open violation? The insidious conqueror, under the mask of hospitality and friendship, brands them with dishonour. Our money is conveyed into their treasury, and our corn into their granaries. Our limbs and bodies are worn out in clearing woods, and draining marshes; and what have been our wages? stripes and insult. The lot of the meanest slave, born in servitude, is preferable to ours: he is sold but once, and his master maintains him; but Britain every day invites new tyrants, and every day pampers their pride. In a private family, the slave who is last bought in, provokes the mirth and ridicule of the whole domestic crew; and in this general servitude, to which Rome has reduced the world, the case is the same; we are treated at first as objects of derision, and then marked out for destruction.

"What better lot can we expect? We have no arable lands to cultivate for a master; no mines to dig for his avarice; no harbours to improve for his commerce. To what end should the conqueror spare us? Our virtue and undaunted spirit are crimes in the eyes of the conqueror, and will render us more obnoxious. Our remote situation, hitherto the retreat of freedom, and on that account the more suspected, will only serve to inflame the jealousy of our enemies. We must expect no mercy. Let us therefore dare like men. We all are summoned by the great call of nature; not only those who know the value of liberty, but even such as think life on any terms the dearest blessing. The Trinobantes, who had only a woman to lead them on, were able to carry fire and sword through a whole colony. They stormed the camps of the enemy, and if success had not intoxicated them, they had been, beyond all doubt, the deliverers of their country. And shall not we, unconquered and undebased by slavery, a nation ever free, and struggling now, not to recover, but to ensure our liberties, shall we not go forth the champions of our country? shall we not, by one generous effort, shew the Romans, that we are the men whom Caledonia has reserved to be asserters of the public weal.

"We know the manners of the Romans; and are we to imagine that their valour in the field is equal to their arrogance in time of peace? By our dissensions their glory rises;

the vices of their enemies are the negative virtues of the Roman army; if that may be called an army, which is no better than a motley crew of various nations, held together by ſucceſs, and ready to crumble away in the firſt reverſe of fortune. That this will be their fate, no one can doubt, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Gaul, the German, and (with ſhame I add) the Britons, a mercenary band, who hire their blood in a foreign ſervice, will adhere from principle to a new maſter, whom they have lately ſerved and long deteſted. They are now enliſted by awe and terror: break their fetters, and the man who forgets to fear will ſeek revenge.

"All that can inſpire the human heart, every motive that can excite us to deeds of valour, is on our ſide. The Romans have no wives in the field to animate their drooping ſpirit; no parents to reproach their want of courage. They are not liſted in the cauſe of their country: their country, if any they have, lies at a diſtance. They are a band of mercenaries, a wretched handful of devoted men, who tremble and look aghaſt as they roll their eyes around, and ſee on every ſide objects unknown before. The ſky over their heads, the ſea, the woods, all things conſpire to fill them with doubt and terror. They come like victims, delivered into our hands by the Gods to fall this day a ſacrifice to freedom.

"In the enſuing battle, be no deceived by falſe appearances: the glitter of gold and ſilver may dazzle the eye; but to us it is harmleſs, to the Romans no protection. In their own ranks we ſhall find a number of generous warriors ready to aſſiſt our cauſe. The Britons know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging ſword. The Gauls will remember that they were once a free people; and the Germans, as the Uſipians lately did, will deſert their colonies. The Romans have left nothing in their rear to oppoſe us in the purſuit; their forts are ungarriſoned; the veterans in their colonies droop with age; in their municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, deſpotic government, and diſaffected ſubjects. In me behold your general; behold an army of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, and in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the horrors of ſlavery. Are thoſe calamities to be entailed upon us? Or ſhall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that determine. Let us ſeek the enemy, and, as we ruſh upon him, remember the glory delivered down to us by our anceſtors, and let each man think that upon his ſword depends the fate of all poſterity."

The language of Tacitus has incurred much injudicious cenſure from ſciolifts and ignorant perſons. It is however, notwithſtanding he wrote in the decline of the Roman Empire, remarkably pure, and occaſionally too poetical; wonderfully grand, expreſſive, and appropriate. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of his writings is, a perpetual deſire of expreſſing much in few words, or a ſtudied brevity; and the character of Mr. Murphy's verſion is a continued indulgence in periphraſis, or a graceful circumlocution. For this reaſon, he will appear, to thoſe who conſult the original, to have ſucceeded better in tranſlating the hiſtory and the dialogue than the annals To omit the ſecond,

the first was an earlier production, and is in a more easy and full style of composition. Of Mr. Murphy's performance, we may affirm that it is polished, and though sometimes loose, for the most part correct in a strict preservation of the sense of the text; but that it certainly exhibits little of the peculiar spirit, manner, force, and colouring of the original. We have Cato, it is true—not however in his *short Toga*,* but in a flowing robe. His excuse for diffuseness, that he might give a "transcript of the original in such English as an Englishman of taste may read without disgust," has been by many accepted, but we must, to speak our judgment, acknowledge, that we think it has been often unnecessarily, and sometimes, as to effect, destructively persisted in. Still, with all its imperfections—and what human labour is wholly perfect?—we esteem Mr. Murphy's translation of these inestimable remains, as a lasting honour to literature, a rich bequest to his country, and a perennial monument of his learning, taste, and industry.

To this work are added, "An Essay on the Life and Genius of Tacitus," notes, supplements and maps. The *Essay* affords every information that research and erudition could furnish on a subject so involved in darkness, and is in itself a composition full of merit. Of the *supplements* we have spoken—the maps are good, and exceedingly useful. The *notes* though often instructive and entertaining, do not, perhaps, deserve so much praise——He has laboured most with the tract on the manners of the Germans; but not with the happiest success. For this encounter, he appears not to have come into the field sufficiently armed.

* Hor. Epist. lib. i. 19. v. 13.

THE

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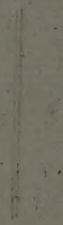
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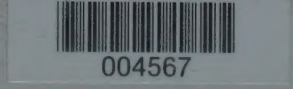
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